

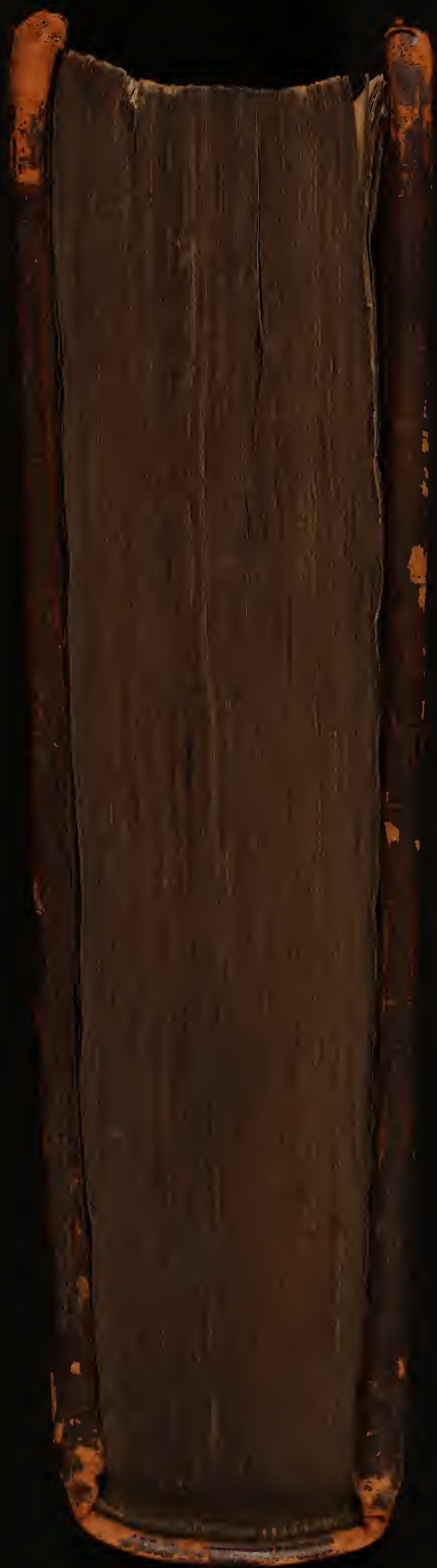
CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF
ENGLAND

BAKER

1679

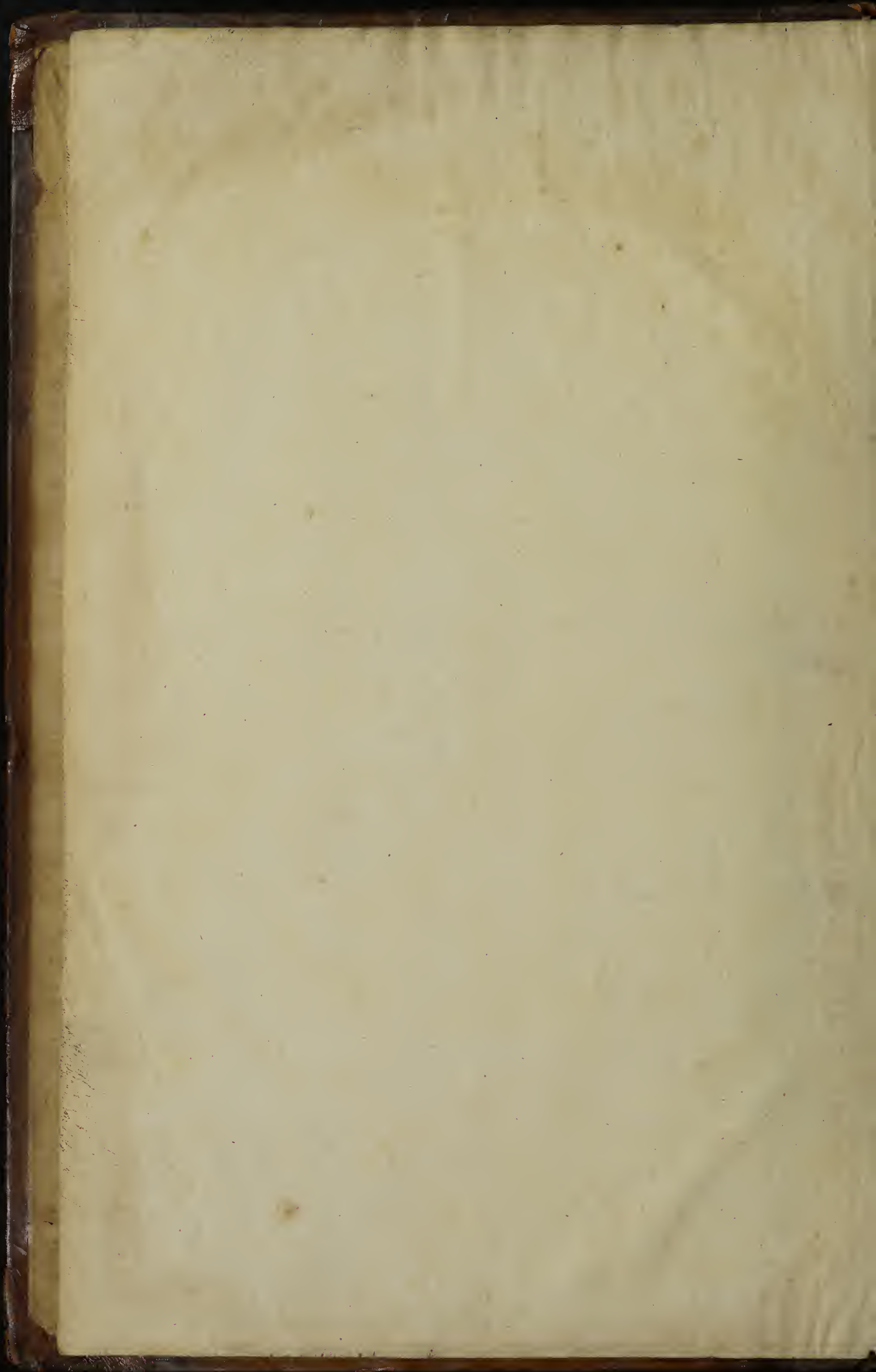






1175/2

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666







CAROLUS Secundus
Britanniae Franciae



Dei gratia Magnae
et Hiberniae Rex

VEROLAM.

LINCOLN



CAROLUS inter Reges ut
Lilium inter Flores



A ROMAN

A SAXON

LONDON.

YORK.

A
CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS OF ENGLAND
From the Time of the
ROMANS Government
unto the Death of
KING JAMES

Containing all Passages of State
and Church, With all other observations
proper for a CHRONICLE.
Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancient
and Moderne; and digested into a new
Method
by S^r RICHARD BAKER K^t.
Where unto is now added the reign
of KING CHARLES I.
And the first thirteen years of the
Reign of King Charles the II.



A DANE

A NORMAN

LONDON

Printed for George Sawbridge, at the
Bible on Ludgate hill.
And Thomas Williams at y^e Golden
Ball in Hosier Lane 1679

W. Marshall sculpsit

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A
CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS
OF
ENGLAND,

From the Time of the ROMANS Government, unto the
Death of KING JAMES.

Containing all Passages of STATE and CHURCH, with all other Ob-
servations proper for a CHRONICLE.

Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancient and Modern; and Digested into a Method,

By Sir RICHARD BAKER, Knight.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

The REIGN of KING CHARLES the First,
AND

The First Thirteen Years of His Sacred MAJESTY,

King Charles the Second,

That now REIGNETH.

In which are many Material AFFAIRS of STATE,

Never before Published; and likewise the most Remarkable Occurrences re-
lating to His MAJESTIES most Happy, and Wonderful
RESTAURATION, by the Prudent Conduct, under GOD, of

GEORGE late Duke of ALBEMARLE,
Captain General of all His Majesties ARMIES.

As they were Extracted out of His Excellencies own Papers, and the Journals and Memorials
of those employ'd in the most Important and Secret Transactions of that Time.

All which Additions are Revised in this Seventh Impression, and freed from many
Errors and Mistakes of the former Editions: With a more exact Table than hath
been hitherto Published to it.

72

L O N D O N,

Printed for George Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate-Hill, and Rich. Chiswel, Ben. Took,
and Tho. Sawbridge, Assigns of Thomas Williams. M. DC. LXXIX.

CHRONICLE
A. I. N. G.
ENGLAND

From the time of the first settlement in the
Island of KING JAMES
to the present time
by RICHARD BAKER

THE HISTORY OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST



By CHARLES THE SECOND

STREET, NEW YORK

1700

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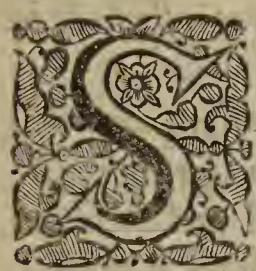
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The Epistle to the Reader.



I R Richard Baker who writ, and published this History, to the beginning of the Reign of King Charles the First, affirmed; That it was Collected with so great Care and Diligence, that if all other of our Chronicles should be lost, this only would be sufficient to inform Posterity of all Passages memorable or worthy to be known; And if so much might be said of what he did, I presume, nothing that hath been since added to it, and published, has impaired the Credit and Worth thereof.

The many Impressions that have been made and sold of the Book both before, and after the Addition, are a sufficient Testimony of the kind acceptance it has had in the World. How necessary this present Continuation is (which alone might have made a Competent History) will best appear by the perusal thereof; and in that part which describes the Transactions of the Duke of Albemarle, there is not only so exact an Accompt as is no where else to be found, but also many secret Passages of particular Remark, which could never have been known, but from his Excellencie's own Papers, and several other private Collections of Persons active with him in that Service, which I had the permission to make use of; wherein I have been so faithful, that there is not any Letter, Speech, or Discourse in Publick Conferences, which are not exactly set down as they were written, or spoke, save only that of such Letters, or Speeches, as were very long, the most pertinent parts are only retained.

The Wonderful Restauration of his Majesty, which is the Subject of that part of the Continuation, is one of the most Extraordinary Actions, that has been ever mentioned in Story, both for the Generosity of the Attempt, and the Prudent Conduct of it: For certainly, nothing was ever enterprized with greater Generosity and Courage, then with * Nine thousand Six hundred Foot, and Fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, (and those long Train'd up in an aversion to Kingly Government) to preserve the whole Kingdom of Scotland in English hands, and to Invade England, at a time when the Governing Power was in those that were irreconcilable to his Majestie's Person and Government, supported by Thirty Thousand Experienced and Victorious Souldiers in England, of the same Affections (besides what were at their devotion in Ireland, and Dunkirk) and a Militia of Trained Bands in all Counties, to a greater number than those in Pay, all of Chosen Men, of the like Principles: and this at a time, when by the Defeat of Sir George Booth, his Majestie's greatest Hopes were frustrated, and most of the Nobility and Gentry which were engaged with him, were

* See pag. 685.
Where the numbers of his Forces are mentioned.

The Epistle to the Reader.

* Page 700.

disarmed, and their Estates confiscated, and ready to be divided amongst the Enemies of Royalty, to alter, with the Riches, - the Interest of the Kingdom; and when they were about to Enact, and many of the Legislators themselves had taken an * Oath of Abjuration of his Majestie's Person and Family: But then his Secresie in the Conduct of this Great Affair is very Remarkable, being obliged to act very differently from his Intentions, to gain the Confidence of those Jealous Masters whose Authority he pretended to obey: for if he had but once trod awry in any of the paths he mov'd, all had miscarried; and notwithstanding his greatest Subtilty, many objected, (thinking thereby to weaken his Credit with the Army) That the King was in the bottom of his Design.

His most Prudent Contrivances were often disappointed, but by his Wisdom and Dexterity as often retrived; one of his greatest Difficulties was to temper his own Officers and Souldiers to his Purposes, to which the Opinion they had of his Conduct and Courage, did much contribute; and when that was effected, he the easier Modelled the rest.

† See pag. 731. towards the end.

It is evident that he acquainted but one † Person with his Design, and that he did, supposing it impossible alone without correspondence to manage so hazardous an undertaking; for he was to compass his Ends by several and different means, which could not without great address be prepared and disposed thereunto. And how necessary this Correspondence was, is apparent by many Transitions, but by none more, Then in the lucky * Contrivance of getting the Army out of London, and the Quartering his Souldiers in their places, and dispersing the rest; Whereby the Parliament, City and Kingdom became at his Reverence; and without which his Majesties Restauration could never have been effected in this way.

* See pag. 701, 702, & 703.

† Bishop of Winchester in the Sermon he Preach'd at the Coronation, when he was Bishop of Worcester, Pag. 29, & 30.

The Consideration of these things leads me unto so great a Labyrinth of Admiration, that I cannot easily desist from detaining the Reader too long from the perusal of the matter, which induces me to it: I shall therefore conclude this Epistle with that Commendation of this Renowned General's Undertaking, which a Reverend and Pious Prelate most justly delivered in a late * Sermon, That it was A Generous, Glorious, and Heroical Design, whereby he hath at once redeemed his Country both from Slavery and Oppression, by restoring the King to his People, and the People to their King; and withal hath purchased unto himself, Honour without Envy; Greatness with Safety; and (which is the best Reward of Virtue in this World) a perpetual Satisfaction and Complacency in himself, for having so Nobly performed his Duty.

E. Phillips.

A

Catalogue of Writers,

Both *ANTIEN*T and *MODER*N,

Out of whom This

CHRONICLE

Hath been COLLECTED.

- 1 **G**ildas Britannicus, surnamed the Wise, an Antient Writer of our English Nation; who amongst other his Works, writ a Treatise, De Excidio Britanniae: He was born in the Year 493. and died in the Year 580.
- 2 Nennius, a Monk of Bangor, writ the Story of Britain, and lived about the Year 620.
- 3 Venerable Bede, a Saxon, and a Priest, writ the Ecclesiastical Story of the English Nation from the coming in of Julius Cæsar, to the Year 733. about which time he died.
- 4 Ethelwardus, an Eminent Historian, compiled a general Chronicle from the Creation to the end of King Edgar.
- 5 Radulphus de Diceto, who lived about the Year 1210.
- 6 Segebert, King of the East-Angles, writ an Institution of Laws, in his latter days became a Monk, and was slain by Penda King of the Mercians, in the Year 652.
- 7 Cymbertus, Bishop of Linsey, in the Kingdom of Mercia, writ the Annals of that Country, and lived about the Year 730.
- 8 Daniel Wentalus, a Bishop, writ the History of his Province, and the Acts of the South Saxons, and died in the Year 746.
- 9 Asserius Menevensis, born in Pembrokehire, writ the Story of Britain, and the Acts of King Alphred, and lived about the Year 890.
- 10 Alphredus, the great King of the Angles, fourth Son of King Ethelwolp, writ, besides many other Works, a Collection of Chronicles, and died at Winchester in the Year 901.
- 11 Osbernus, a Benedictine Monk, writ the Life of Archbishop Dunstan, and other Works: and lived about the Year 1020.
- 12 Colemanus Anglicus, writ a Chronicle and a Catalogue of the English Kings, and lived in the time of King Harold the First.
- 13 Gulielmus Gemeticensis, a Norman and a Monk, writ the Lives of the Dukes of Normandy, to William the First, to whom he dedicated his Work: and after enlarged it to the death of King Henry the First, in the Year 1160. at which time he lived.
- 14 Marianus Scotus, a Monk, writ Annals from the beginning of the World to his own time, and died in the Year 1086.
- 15 Alphredus, a Priest of Beverley, writ a History from the first Original of the Britains to his own time, and lived about the Year 1087. in the time of William the First.
- 16 Veremundus a Spaniard, and a Priest, but who lived much in Scotland, writ the Antiquities of the Scottish Nation, and lived about the Year 1090.
- 17 Lucianus a Monk, and an English Writer, and lived in the first times of the Normans.
- 18 Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, writ from the Year 664. to the Year 1066. and lived in the time of Henry the First, whose Secretary he had been.
- 19 Turgotus, an Englishman, Prior of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, writ a History of the Kings of Scotland; also Chronicles of Durham, Annals of his own time, and the Life of King Malcolm, and lived in the Year 1098. in the time of King William the Second.
- 20 Gulielmus Pictaviensis, writ a Treatise of the Life of William the First.
- 21 Gualterus Mapæus, writ a Book De Nugis Curialium, and lived about the Year 1210.
- 22 William of Malmesbury, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation from the first coming of the Saxons into Britain, to his own time; which Work he Dedicated to Robert Duke of Gloucester, base Son of King Henry the First, and lived to the first year of King Henry the Second.
- 23 Florentius Bravonius, a Monk of Worcester, compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the Year 1118. in which Year he died; his Work was continued by another Monk to the Year 1163.
- 24 Eadmerus, a Monk of Canterbury, writ the Lives of William the First, William the Second, and King Henry the First, in whose time he lived.
- 25 Raradocus born in Wales, writ the Acts of the Britain Kings, from Cadwalladar to his own time, and lived in the time of King Stephen.
- 26 Gervasius Dorobernensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived about the Year 1200.
- 27 Johannes Fiberius, commonly called De Bever, or Castorius, writ short Annals of the English Nation, and lived about the Year 1306.
- 28 Henry, Archdeacon of Huntington, writ a History of the Kings of England, to the Reign of King Stephen, in whose time he lived.
- 29 Geoffry of Monmouth, a Benedictine Monk, and afterwards Bishop of Asaph, writ a History of the Britains, and was the first that makes mention of Brute, and of Merlin's Prophecies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authors of his own time, and after; he lived about the Year 1150. in the time of King Stephen.
- 30 William of Newborough, born at the beginning of King Stephen's Reign, writ a History of the English Nation, and bitterly inveighs against Geoffry of Monmouth, as a Deviser of Fables.
- 31 Sylvester Gyraldus, born in Wales, and thereof called Cambrensis, after long Travel abroad was called home, and made Secretary to King Henry the Second; and

A Catalogue of Authors.

- after was sent Tutor to his Son John into Ireland; he writ the History of that Nation very exquisitely; also an Itinerarium of Wales and Britain; the Life of Henry the Second; the Acts of King John, and a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the Year 1190. in the times of King Richard the First, and King John.
32. John of Hagulfstad, a Town in the North, a Benedictine Monk in Durham, writ the most memorable Things from the Ninth year of King Henry the Second, to the first year of Richard the First, in whose time he lived, about the Year 1190.
33. Roger Hoveden, a Priest of Oxford, writ the Annals of the Kings of England, and the memorable Passages under the Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; he lived in the time of King Richard the First, and died in the time of King John.
34. Johannes Tilberientis, a Secular Priest, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived in the time of King Richard the First.
35. Richardus Canonicus, travelled with King Richard the First into Palestine; and writ of his Journey and Acts there.
36. Aluredus Rivalensis, or de Rivallis, a Cistercian Monk, in the Diocese of York, writ the Life of Edward King of England, and David King of Scots, and died in the year 1166.
37. Simon Dunelmensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, from the death of Venerable Bede, to the year 1154, and lived in the time of King Henry the Second.
38. John de Oxenford, first Dean of Salisbury, and after Bishop of Norwich, writ the British History, and continued it to his own time; wherein he agreeth much with Geoffry of Monmouth, and lived about the year 1174, in the time of King Henry the Second.
39. Johannes Sarisburiensis, writ an Excellent Book De Nugis Curialium; and lived about the year 1182. in the time of King Henry the Second.
40. Gulielmus Parvus, a Canon regular in the Province of York, writ an History of the Norman Kings; and lived about the Year 1216. in the time of King John.
41. Johannes Campobellus, a Scotchman, writ the History of the Scots, from the first Original of the Nation, to his own time; and lived in the Year 1260.
42. John Breton an Englishman, Bishop of Hereford, writ a Book De Juribus Anglicanis, and lived in the Year 1270. in the time of King Henry the Third.
43. Thomas Wyke, an Englishman, a Canon Regular of Osney near Oxford, writ a short History, from the coming in of William the First, to his own time, and lived in the year 1290. in the time of King Edward the First.
44. Thomas Langford, an Englishman, a Dominican Frier of Chelmsford in Essex, writ an Universal Chronicle, from the beginning of the World to his own time; and lived in the Year 1320. in the time of King Edward the Second.
45. Radulphus de Diceto, an Englishman, writ a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the Year 1210. in the time of King John.
46. Robertus Montensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the Year 1112, to the Year 1210. at which time he lived.
47. Johannes Brugenfis, an Englishman, a Benedictine Monk, writ Annals of the English Nation.
48. Thomas Spot, an Englishman, a Benedictine Monk of Canterbury, writ the Chronicles of Canterbury, and lived about the time of King Edward the Second.
49. Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, called Florilegus, for Collecting Flores Historiarum, chiefly of Britain, containing from the beginning of the World, to the Year 1377. about which time he lived.
50. Ranulphus Higden, a Benedictine Monk of Chester, writ a Book which he called Polychronicon, containing from the beginning of the World to the 16th year of King Edward the Third, in whose time he lived.
51. Matthew Paris, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ a History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, of the English Nation, and brought it down to the Year 1259.
52. William Pachenton, an Englishman, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived about the time of King Edward the Third.
53. Bartholomeus Glanville, a Franciscan Frier, writ a Book intituled De Proprietatibus rerum, and a History de Sanctis, and lived in the Year 1360. in the time of King Edward the Third.
54. Nicholas Trivet, born in Norfolk, of a Worshipful Family, became a Dominican Frier, writ many Excellent Books in Divinity and Philosophy; also Annals of the English Kings, from King Stephen, to King Edward the Second, and lived in the Year 1307. in the time of King Edward the Third.
55. Alexander Essebiensis, Prior of a Monastery of Regular Canons, writ divers learned Works; amongst other, an Epitome of the British History; and lived in the Year 1220.
56. John Froyssart born in the Low-Countries, writ a Chronicle in the French Tongue, containing 74 years; namely, beginning with King Edward the Third, and ending with King Henry the Fourth, in whose time he lived; whose Chronicle, Sir John Bouchier Knight, Translated into English, and John Sleyden a Frenchman hath lately contracted into an Epitome.
57. Thomas de la Moore, born in Gloucestershire, in the time of King Edward the First, by whom, as having Twenty pounds Land, holden by Knights Service, he was made a Knight; and afterwards being very inward with King Edward the Second, writ a History of his Life and Death.
58. Thomas Rodbourn an Englishman, and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the Year 1480.
59. John Trevisa born in Cornwall, a Priest, Translated Polychronicon into English, adding to it an Eighth Book, intituled, De Memorabilibus eorum temporum, containing from the year 1342, to the year 1460. He writ also of the Acts of King Arthur, and Descriptions both of Britain and Ireland, and lived in the time of King Edward the Fourth.
60. John Harding, a Gentleman of a good Family in the North, writ a Chronicle in Verse, of the Kings of England, to the Reign of King Edward the Fourth; wherein he alleadgeth many Records, which he had got in Scotland, that testifie the Scottish Kings submissions to the Kings of England; he lived in the Year 1448. in the time of King Henry the Sixth.
61. John Capgrave, born in Kent, an Augustin Frier, writ many learned Works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the English Saints, and lived in the Year 1464. in the time of King Edward the Fourth.
62. John Lydgate, Monk of Saint Edmundsbury in Suffolk, writ divers Works in Verse, and some in Prose: as the Lives of King Edward, and King Ethelstan, of the Round Table of King Arthur, and lived in the Year 1440. in the time of King Henry the Sixth.
63. John Weathamstead Abbot of St. Albans, in his Work of English Affairs, accuseth Geoffry of Monmouth of meer Fabulousness, and lived about the Year 1440.
64. Gulielmus Elphinston, a Scotchman, Bishop of Aberdeen, writ the Antiquities of Scotland, and the Statutes of Councils, and lived in the Year 1480. in the time of James the Third, King of Scotland.
65. George

A Catalogue of Authors.

65. George Buchanan a Scotchman, writ the Story of Scotland from Fergusius, to Queen Mary, in whose time he lived.
66. William Caxton an Englishman writ a Chronicle to the Three and twentieth year of King Edward the Fourth, which he calls *Fructus Temporum*: also a Description of Britain, the Life of St. Edward, and the History of King Arthur, and lived in the Year 1484.
67. Thomas Walsingham born in Norfolk, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ two Histories; one shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the Year 1273, and continued to the Year 1423. the other beginning at the coming in of the Normans, and continued to the beginning of King Henry the Sixth, to whom he dedicateth his Work.
68. Robert Fabian a Sheriff of London, writ a Concordance of Histories, from Brute the first King of the Britains, to the last year of King Henry the Second, and another Work from King Richard the First, to King Henry the Seventh, in whose time he lived.
69. Sir Thomas Moore born in London, Lord Chancellour of England, besides many other learned Works, writ the Life of King Richard the Third; and dyed for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, in the Year 1535.
70. Hector Boetius a Scotchman, writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of Scotland, also a Description of that Kingdom, and lived in the Year 1526. in the time of James the Fifth, King of Scotland.
71. Polydor Virgil an Italian, but made here in England Arch-Deacon of Wells; amongst other his Learned Works, writ the History of England from its first beginning, to the 30th year of King Henry the Eighth, to whom he Dedicated his Work.
72. Edward Hall a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle, which he calls, *The Union of the Two Roses*, the Red and the White, containing from the beginning of King Henry the Fourth, to the last year of King Henry the Eighth, and died in the Year 1547.
73. John Leland a Londoner, amongst divers other Works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of Britain, and of the Famous Men and Bishops in it, and lived in the Year 1546. in the time of King Henry the Eighth.
74. John Rogers, first a Papist, and afterward a Protestant; amongst other his Learned Works, writ a History from the beginning of the World; and lived most in Germany in the Year 1548. in the time of King Edward the Sixth.
75. Philip Commynes a Knight of Flanders, writ the Lives of Lewis, and Charles the Eighth, Kings of France, wherein he handles many passages between them and the Kings of England, their Contemporaries.
76. Richard Grafton a Citizen of London, writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the World, to the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in whose time he lived.
77. Raphael Holinghed a Minister, writ a large Chronicle from the Conquest to the Year 1577. and was continued by others, to the Year 1586.
78. Doctor Goodwin Bishop of Hereford; writ the Lives of King Henry the Eighth, King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, and dyed in the Year 1638.
79. Doctor Heyward writ the History of the first Kings, William the Conquerour, William Rufus, and Henry the First; also the Reign of King Henry the Fourth, and Edward the Sixth, and lived to the time of King James.
80. Samuel Daniel writ a Chronicle of the Kings of England, to the end of King Edward the Third, and is continued by John Trussel to the beginning of Henry the Seventh.
81. Sir Francis Bacon Viscount St. Albans, hath written an History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in a most elegant style, and lived in the time of King James.
82. John Fox writ three large Volumes of the Acts and Monuments of the Church; particularly treating of the English Martyrs in the Reigns of King Henry the Eighth, and Queen Mary, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.
83. Thomas Cowper Bishop of Winchester, writ a Continuation of Chronicle-Notes of all Nations, especially of England, from the beginning of the World to his own time, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.
84. William Camden King at Arms, writ the Life of Queen Elizabeth, and a Description of Britain, and lived in the time of King James.
85. William Martin Esq; writ the Reigns of the Kings of England, from William the First, to the end of King Henry the Eighth; to which was afterwards added the Reigns of King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.
86. Francis Biondi an Italian Gentleman, and of the Privy Chamber to King Charles the First, hath written in the Italian Tongue, the Civil Wars between the Two Houses of Lancaster and York, from King Richard the Second, to King Henry the Seventh: Translated Elegantly into English by Henry Earl of Monmouth.
87. Henry Isaackson a Londoner, hath written a Chronology of all Kingdoms, from the beginning of the World, to the Year 1630. being the fifth year of King Charles the First his Reign.
88. Nicholas Harpsfield Arch-Deacon of Canterbury, hath written an Ecclesiastical History of England, to which Edmund Campion the Jesuite, made an Addition.
89. John Stow Citizen of London, writ a Chronicle from Brute, to the end of Queen Elizabeth, and is continued to this present time, being the 18 year of King Charles the First, by Edward Howes a Londoner.
90. John Speed a Londoner, writ the Story of Britain, from the first beginning to the Year 1605. being the second Year of King James.
91. William Habington Esq; hath written the Reign of King Edward the Fourth in a very fine style, and is yet living.
92. Thomas Fuller Batchelour of Divinity, and Prebendary of Sarum, hath written the Holy War in very fine Language, wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of England in the Holy Land.
93. Andre du Chesne a Frenchman, Geographer to the King of France, hath written the History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from their first beginning, to the Seventeenth year of King Charles the First, 1641.

Of the Modern, These:

The End of the Catalogue of Authors.



THE
Beginning, Continuance, and Ending
OF THE
REIGNS
OF THE
KINGS
OF
ENGLAND,
To this Year 1678.

After the time of the *ROMAN'S* Government.

1. **K**ing *Vortigern* a *Britain*.
2. King *Vortimer* his Son, a *Britain*, reigned 4 years. Then deposed.
3. King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a *Roman*, reigned 32 years.
4. King *Uter*, began his Reign *Anno Christi* 497, and reigned 18 years.
5. King *Arthur* his Son, reigned 26 years.
6. King *Constantine* his Cousin, reigned 3 years.
7. King *Aurelius Conanus*, Nephew to King *Arthur*.
8. King *Vortiporus* reigned 4 years.
9. King *Malgo Conanus* reigned 6 years.
10. King *Careticus* reigned 3 years.
11. King *Cadwan* reigned 22 years.
12. King *Cadwallo* his Son, reigned 48 years.
13. King *Cadwalladar* his Son, the last of the *British* Kings, who died at *Rome* in the Year 689, after he had reigned 3 years. After which, *Britain* was a Colony of the *Saxons*; who divided it into Seven Kingdoms: But the *Saxons* before the death of King *Cadwalladar* took *Kent* from the *British* Kings, and had it in their possession: Which Kingdom of *Kent* began by *Hengist* the *Saxon* in the year 455, in the Reign of King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, before mentioned, and lasted 372 years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings of *Kent*: The last of which *Kentish* Kings was overcome by *Egbert* King of the *West Saxons*, who made *Kent* a Province to his Kingdom in the year 827. The second Kingdom was of the *South-Saxons*, began by *Ella* in 488, in the Reign of the same *British* King *Aurelius Ambrosius*, containing
Sussex.

The Beginning, Continuance, and Ending, &c.

Sussex and *Surrey*, and continued 113 years during the Reigns of Five Kings only; the last of which Kings was overcome by *Ine* King of the *West-Saxons*, and so became a Province to that Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* in the year 601. The third Kingdom was of the *West-Saxons*; which began by *Cerdic* in 519, in the Reign of the *British* King *Arthur*, containing *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of Eighteen Kings; the last of whom *Egbert* became King of the whole Nation. The fourth Kingdom was of the *East-Saxons*, begun by *Erchenwin* in the year 527, containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281 years, during the Reigns of Fourteen Kings; the last of which Kings, *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, subdued, and so made the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons* to be a Province to his own Kingdom. The fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland*, begun by *Ella* and *Ida* in the year 547, containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of 23 Kings; after the last of which, this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*. The sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, begun by *Crida* in the year 522, containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicester*, *Northampton*, *Derbyshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Bedfordshire*, and *Hartfordshire*, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings; after which they were subdued by the *West-Saxons*. The seventh Kingdom was of the *East Angles*, begun by *Uffa* in 575, containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the *Isle of Ely*, and continued 353 years, during the Reigns of Fifteen Kings; and at last was subject to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*: But this Kingdom of the *East Angles* was enjoyed by the *Danes* fifty years before the *West-Saxons* had it; so the Kingdom of the *East Angles* continued distinct from the rest of the Nation in the whole 403 years: So it appears that after King *Vortigern* the first of the *Britain* Kings in the year 455, had called in the *Saxons* out of *Germany* to assist him in defending the Kingdom against the Invasions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, every *Britain* King who succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the *Saxons*; till at last in the year 689, *Cadwallader* the last *Britain* King lost all at his death; and then the *Saxon* Kings striving amongst themselves for Sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818, *Egbert*, or some under him, reduced them all under his subjection, who then caused all the South of the Island to be called *England*; the Dominion whereof continued under him and his Successors, till the *Danes* in the year 1017, made the great interruption.

14. King *Egbert* began his Reign in 818, reigned 18 years, at whose time the *Danes* began first to infect *England*; he was buried at *Winchester*.
15. King *Ethelwolph* his Son, began his Reign in 836, reigned 21 years.
16. King *Ethelbald* his Son, began his Reign 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*, then an Episcopal See.
17. King *Ethelbert* his Brother, began his Reign in 857, reigned 1 years, and was buried at the same place.
18. King *Ethelred* his Brother, began his Reign in 864, and was buried at *Winborn* in *Dorsetshire*.
19. King *Alfred* his Brother, reigned 27 years, who divided *England* into Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, and began the Foundation of the University of *Oxford* in the year 895, and is accounted the Founder of the Town of *Shaftesbury* in *Dorsetshire*; and was buried in *St. Peters* in *Winchester*, but removed afterward.
20. King *Edward* the First, called *Edward* the Elder, his Son, began his Reign in 901, reigned 24 years, and was buried in the New Monastery at *Winchester*, which his Father and himself wholly finishen.
21. King *Athelstan* his eldest Son, began his Reign in 924. reigned 15 years, who was Knighted by his Grand-father King *Alfred* with his own hands in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a Purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. He caused the Bible to be Translated into the *Saxon* Tongue, then the Mother Tongue of *England*. He was buried at *Malmesbury* in *Wiltshire* in the year 940, having never been married.
22. King *Edmund* the First, his Brother, began his Reign in 929, reigned 5 years and 7 months: he was buried at *Glastenbury* in *Somersetshire*.
23. King *Edred*, his Brother, began his Reign in 946, reigned 9 years; who was crowned King, for that his Nephew *Edwyn*, Son to King *Edmund*, was then in his Minority, the Title of Lord Protector unto a young King being not then in use; which King *Edred* died, and was buried in the old Minster without the City of *Winchester*, when his said Nephew was but 14 years old, who notwithstanding, upon his death, was Crowned King by the name of King *Edwin*. Which
24. King *Edwin*, his Nephew, began his Reign in 955, reigned 4 years, and was buried in the New Abby of *Hyde* at *Winchester*.
25. King *Edgar*, his Brother, began his Reign at 16 years of age in 959, reigned 16 years, and was buried with great Funeral Pomp in the Abby of *Glastenbury*.
26. King *Edward* the Second, his Son, called *Edward* the Martyr, began his Reign, being but 12 years of Age, in 979, reigned 37 years and 6 months; and was buried at *Winchester*; afterwards removed to *Shaftesbury* in *Dorsetshire*.

27. King

The Beginning, Continuance, and Ending

27. King *Ethelred*, his half-brother, began his Reign at 12 years old in 982, reigned 34 years, and was buried in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*.
28. King *Edmund* the Second, his Son, called *Edmund Iron-side*, began his Reign in 1016, reigned 7 moneths, and was buried at *Glastenbury*.
29. King *Canutus* a *Dane*, began his Reign in 1017, reigned 19 years, and was buried in the Old Monastery at *Winchester*.
30. King *Harold* the First, his Son, surnamed *Harefoot*, began his Reign in 1036, reigned 4 years, and 7 months, and was buried at *Westminster*; afterwards thrown into the *Thames*, and then afterwards buried in *St. Clement Danes Church* at *Temple-Barr*, having never been married.
31. King *Hardicnute*, his half-brother, the third and last of the *Danish* Line, began his Reign in 1040, reigned 2 years; which *Danes* had afflicted the Kingdom for the space of 240 years, though in Regal Government but onely 26: he was buried at *Winchester*, having never likewise been married.
32. King *Edward* the Third, surnamed the *Confessor*, Half-Brother by the Mother to the last King, King *Hardicnute*, began his Reign in 1042, reigned 23 years and 6 months; he was the first King that Cured the *Kings-Evil*, built the *Abby-Church* of *Westminster*, and *St. Margaret's Church* there: he was buried at *Westminster*, who died in the *Painted-Chamber* at *Westminster*.
33. King *Harold* the Second, began his Reign in 1065, reigned 9 months, and was buried in *Waltham Abby*.
34. King *William* the First, a *Norman*, began his Reign in 1066, reigned 20 years and 10 months; and was buried in *Caen* in *Normandy*; whose bones after, in 1562, were removed out of his Tomb, and some of them afterward brought into *England*.
35. King *William* the Second, his Son, began his Reign in 1087, reigned 12 years and 10 months; he died *Aug. 2. 1099*, and was buried in *St. Swithen* in *Winchester*, having never been married.
36. King *Henry* the First, his Brother, began his Reign in 1099, reigned 35 years; he died *Decemb. 1. 1134.* and was buried at *Reading* as to part of his Body; the other part at *Roan* in *Normandy*, where he died.
37. King *Stephen*, his Sisters Son, began his Reign in 1134, reigned 19 years and 10 months; he died at *Dover Octob. 25. 1154.* and was buried at *Feversham Abby*.
38. King *Henry* the Second, his Kinsman, surnamed *Plantagenet*, the first King of that name, began his Reign in 1154, reigned 35 years; he died in *Normandy*, and was there buried at *Founteverard*.
39. King *Richard* the first, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1189, reigned 9 years and 8 months; he died *April 6. 1199.* and buried, as to part of his Body, at *Founteverard* by his Father, and the other part at two other places.
40. King *John*, his Brother, began his Reign 1199, reigned 17 years and 6 months; he died *Octob. 19. 1216.* and was buried, as to part of his body, at *Worcester*, and the other at *Croxton Abby*.
41. King *Henry* the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1216, reigned 56 years; he died *Novemb. 16. 1272.* and was buried at *Westminster*.
42. King *Edward* the Fourth, otherwise called *Edward* the First, being the first King *Edward* of the *Norman* Line, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1272, reigned 34 years and 7 months: he died *July 7. 1307.* and was buried at *Westminster*.
43. King *Edward* the Fifth, otherwise called *Edward* the Second, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1307, reigned 18 years: he was forced to Resign, and then something more than half a year after, murdered in 1327. and was buried at *Gloucester* in the Monastery of *St. Peters*.
44. King *Edward* the Sixth, otherwise called *Edward* the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1327, reigned 50 years and 4 months; he died *June 21. 1377,* aged 63 years, and was buried in *Westminster Church*; who created *Edward* his Eldest Son, Duke of *Cornwal*, *Anno Christi 1337*, being the first Duke that ever was created in *England*.
45. King *Richard* the Second, his Grandson, his Sons Son, began his Reign in 1377, reigned 22 years and 3 months; he was forced to Resign, and then shortly after murdered in 1399, aged 33 years, and was buried in the Church of the *Fryers Preachers* at *Langley* in *Buckinghamshire*; but after, the Remains of his Body were removed to *Westminster*; who created *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, Marquis of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, being the first Marquis that ever was created by a King of *England*.
46. King *Henry* the Fourth his Cofin, began his Reign in 1399, reigned 13 years and 6 months; he died *March 20. 1413,* aged 46 years, and was buried at *Canterbury*.
47. King *Henry* the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1413, reigned 9 years and 5 months; he died *Aug. 31. 1422.* aged 38 years; he was buried at *Westminster*.
48. King *Henry* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1422, aged 8 months, reigned 38 years, 6 months, and 4 days, then removed *March 4. 1460.* from the Government; after which, more than 11 years, viz. *May 21. 1472.* he was murdered in the Tower of *London* by *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, afterwards King *Richard* the Third; he was buried at *Chersey Abby*, but afterwards removed to *Windsor*; aged at his death 52 years, or thereabouts; who created the first Vicount that ever was created in *England*.

of the Reigns of the Kings of England.

49. King *Edward* the Seventh, otherwise called *Edward* the Fourth his Cofin, began his Reign in 1460, aged 19 years; reigned 22 years and one month; he died *April* 9. 1483, aged 41 years, and was buried at *Windsor*.
50. King *Edward* the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1483, aged 10 years, reigned 10 weeks; then removed *Jan.* 18. 1483. shortly after which he was murdered.
51. King *Richard* the Third, his Uncle, the last of the Family of *Plantagenet*, began his Reign in 1483, reigned 2 years and 2 months; slain at the Battel at *Bosworth*, *August* 22. 1485, aged 37 years; and was buried at *Leicester* in the *Gray-Friers* Church, but afterwards all or the most part of the Remains of his Body carried none knowes whither: he died without Issue.
52. King *Henry* the Seventh, his Kinsman, of the surname of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began his Reign in 1485, reigned 23 years and 8 months; he died at *Richmond* *April* 22. 1509, aged 52 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
53. King *Henry* the Eighth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1509, reigned 37 years, 9 months and 6 days; he died *Jan.* 28. 1546. aged 55 years, and was buried at *Windsor*.
54. King *Edward* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1546, reigned 6 years, 5 months and 9 days; he died *July* 6. 1553. aged 15 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
55. Queen *Mary*, his eldest Sister of the Half-blood, began her Reign in 1553. reigned 5 years, 4 months and 11 days; She died *November* 17. 1558. aged 43 years, and was buried at *Westminster*.
56. Queen *Elizabeth*, her only Sister of the Half-Blood, the last of the Family of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began her Reign in 1558, aged 25 years, reigned 44 years, 4 months and 7 days; She died *March* 24. 1602. aged 69 years, 6 months and 7 days, and was buried at *Westminster*.
57. King *James* her Cofin, the first of the Family of *Stuart*, and King of *Scotland*; began his Reign in 1602, reigned 22 years and 3 days; he died *March* 27. 1625. at *Theobalds*, aged 58 years, and was buried at *Westminster*; who in the Year 1611, the Ninth Year of his Reign, erected the Degree of Baronet of *England*, in that Year creating Sir *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* in *Suffolk*, Knight, and others, unto the Dignity and Degree of Baronet of *England*.
58. King *Charles* the First, Christened by the Name of *Charles-James*, his only Son surviving, the second of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1625, reigned 23 years, 10 months, and 3 days; he died *Jan.* 30. 1648, aged 48 years, 2 months and 11 days, and was buried at *Windsor*.
59. King *Charles* the Second, Christned by the name of *Charles-Frederick*, his eldest Son surviving, Reigns now in this present Year 1678.

The

The KING'S Pedigree in a direct Line from King EGBERT.

E^{Gbert} King of England.

King Ethelwolph.

King Alfred.

Edward the First, called Edward the Elder.

King Edgar.

King Ethelred.

Edmund the Second, called Edmund Ironside.

Edward called Edward the Out-law, a private Person, though Son and Heir to the last King.

Edgar Atheling likewise never enjoyed the Crown.

Margaret the Wife of Malcolme King of Scotland.

Mathilda the Wife of Henry the First, King of England.

Maud Empress of Germany, the Wife of Geoffery Plantagenet Earl of Anjou.

Henry the Second.

King John.

Henry the Third.

Edward the First, *alias* the Fourth of that Name.

Edward the Second, *alias* the Fifth of that Name.

Edward the Third, *alias* the Sixth of that Name.

Lyonel Duke of Clarence, Third Son, died in the Life-time of his Father, but his Issue were afterwards True Heirs to the Crown.

Philippa his only Daughter and Heir, the Wife of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March.

Roger Mortimer Earl of March.

Anne his Daughter and Heir, the Wife of Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge.

Richard Plantagenet Duke of York.

Edward the Fourth, *alias* the Seventh of that Name.

Elizabeth his eldest Daughter and Co-heir, the Wife of Henry ap Thomas ap Theodore, called Henry the Seventh King of England.

Margaret their Eldest Daughter, the Wife of James Stuart, called James the Fourth King of Scotland; The Issue of which Margaret were and are now True Heirs to the Crown.

James the Fifth King of Scotland.

Mary Queen of Scots, the Wife of Henry Stuart, Duke of Albanie, and Earl of Rossan, but before his marrying the Queen he was called Lord Darnely, as being the Eldest Son of Matthew Earl of Lenox.

James King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

King Charles the First.

King Charles the Second, now Reigning.



A
CATALOGUE
OF THE
NOBILITY,
Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Privy Councillors, Judges,
and Baronets of *ENGLAND*.

DUKES of ENGLAND.

5. **H**IS Royal Highnesse, *James* Duke of York, and Duke of Albany; Earl of Ulster, Knight of the Illustrious Order of the Garter; Prince of the Royal Blood of *England*; Sole surviving Brother of our Sacred Sovereign *CHARLES* the Second, and Son of King *Charles* the First, of most Blessed Memory, being the late Monarch-Proto-Martyr of *England*, whose Illustrious Son *James*, was by him called Duke of York at the time of his Christning; But created by Patent, the 27th. of *January*, 1643. in the 19th. year of his Fathers Reign.

4. His Illustrious Highnesse, *Rupert*, Duke of Cumberland, and Earl of Holderness, Knight of the Garter, Prince of the Royal Blood of *England*, Privy Councillor, Nephew unto the late King *Charles* the First, and only Brother survivant unto *Charles Gustavus*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Constable of *Windsor* Castle, and Lord Lieutenant of *Berkshire*, Created Duke by his Uncle, *Charles* the First, *January* the 24th. 1643. in the 19th year of his Reign.

1. The most High, Potent, and Noble Prince, *Henry Howard*, Duke of Norfolk; Earl of *Arundell*, *Surrey*, *Norfolk* and *Norwich*; Baron

Howard, *Fitz-Allen*, *Matravers*, *Mowbray*, *Sea-grave*, *Bruse*, *Clunn*, and *Howard* of *Castle-Rising*: Sir *John Howard* Knight, his Illustrious Auncestor, (who was summoned a Baron to the Parliament, in 1461. by King *Edward* the 4th of the *Norman* Line, but the 7th of that name, King of *England*) was afterwards created Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Richard* the Third, *June* 28. 1483. and made Knight of the Garter; at which time his Son *Thomas* was also created Earl of *Surrey*. This Duke in the lifetime of the Duke his elder Brother, was *March* 27. 1669. created Baron *Howard* of *Castle-Rising*; and was afterwards *Octob.* 19. 1672. created Earl of *Norwich*, and Earl Marshal of *England*.

2. *Francis de Sancto Maure*, (pronounced *Seamour*) Duke of *Somerset*, Earl of *Hertford*, Viscount *Beauchamp*, Baron *Seamour*, and *Seamour* of *Trarbridge*. Whose Auncestor Earl *Edward* of *Hertford*, and maternal Unkle to *Edward* the Sixth, of the *Norman* Line, was by him created Duke of *Somerset*, *Febr.* 17. in the year 1546. in the first year of his Reign; which *Edward* was created Earl, 18. *Octob.* 1537. by King *Henry* the Eighth, 29th of his Reign. *William* Earl of *Hertford* his Great Grand-son, was created Marquess of *Hertford* by King *Charles* the First, *June* the Third, 1641.

(b)

A Catalogue of the Marquiss's of England.

1641. Which Title of Marquis determined with his Issue Male. Sir Francis de Sancto Maure, Knight; this Duke's Grandfather, was created Baron Seymour of Trarbridge, Febr. 19. 1640. 16 Car. 1. dyed in 1664. unto whom succeeded his Son Baron Charles, who dyed in 1665. who was the Father of this Duke.
3. George Villiers, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, Viscount Villiers, and Baron Whaddon of Whaddon; Chancellor (as his Father before him) of the Famous University of Cambridge, and Companion of the Royal Order of the Garter: He is the onely Son survivant, and Heir of that thrice Illustrious Peer, and Pole-star in the firmament of our Horizon, the late George Duke of Buckingham, so created by King James of blessed Memory in the 21. year of his Reign, 1623.
- Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lenos, Earl of March and Lichfield, Baron of Layton-Bromswold, Steward of Newberry, Darneley, Mertiven, and St. Andrews, and Knight of the Garter. Duke James of Lenos, his Unkle, created Duke of Richmond, Aug. 18. 1641. 17 Car. 1. whose Father, the Lord Esme Stuart, was created Earl of March, and Baron of Layton Bromswold, in 1619. 17 Jac.
6. Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monck of Potteridge, Beauchamp and Teyes; One of the Gentlemen of His Majesties Bed-Chamber, Collonel Commander of one of His Majesties late rais'd Regiments, and Companion of the Royal Order of the Garter. He is the sole Son and Heir of his most Renowned, and highly Magnanimous Father, the late Illustrious George Duke of Albemarle; To which Title of Duke his Son succeeded his said Father, being created Duke by King Charles the Second, July 7. 1660.
7. James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and of Buck-
- leingh; Earl of Doncaster, and of Dalkeith; Baron of Tyndal, Whitbister and Ashdale; One of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Great Captain Commander of his Majesties Royal Life-Guard; General of the English Forces now militant in France; and Knight of the Thrice Noble Order of the Garter.
8. Henry Cavendish, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of New-Castle; Earl of Ogle, Viscount Mansfield, Baron Ogle, Bertram, and Bolsover; One of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Bed-Chamber, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council; Lord Lieutenant of the County of Nottingham. William his Father was created Viscount Mansfield, 18. Jac. 1620. and Earl of Newcastle, and Baron Bolsover in 1627. Anno tertio Caroli primi; Marquis of Newcastle, Oct. 27. 1643. 19 Car. 1. and Duke of New-Castle, and Earl of Ogle, in 1664.
9. Barbara Villiers, Daughter and Heir unto the late William Vicount Grandison in Ireland, Dutchess of Cleveland, Countess of Southampton and Castlemayne, and Baroness of Nonfuch, and Palmer of Limrick; created in 1670.
10. Lovise de Querovalle, Dutchess of Portsmouth, Countess of Faram alias Farnham, and Baroness of Petersfield; so created for her life, August 19. 1673.
11. Charles Lenos, Duke of Richmond, Earl of March, and Baron of Settrington; created Aug. 9. 1675.
12. Charles Fitz-Roy, Duke of Southampton, Earl of Chichester, and Baron of Newberry; created Sept. 10. 1675.
13. Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Grafton, Earl of Euston, Vicount Ipswich, and Baron of Sudbury; created Earl, Vicount, and Baron, in or about 1672. and Duke, Sept. 11. 1675.

The Son, Brother, Unkle, and Nephew of the King, have Precedency of all other Dukes, by Act of Parliament, 31 Hen. 8. Chap. 10. Which Brother, Unkle, and Nephew, are onely Princes of the Royal Blood of England: Which Priviledge ends with them, and descends not unto their Posterity. The first Duke of England, according unto Antiquity, is the Duke of Norfolk.

MARQUIS's of ENGLAND.

1. **T**HE most Noble and Potent Prince Charles Pawlet Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, Baron St. John of Bazing, Le premier Marquis D'Angleterre, lineally descended from Sir William Pawlet, Knight, and Knight of the Garter, and of that Ancient Knightly Family of the Pawlets in Wilt; and the Heir general of the Lord St. John of Bazing in Hants. Which Sir William was created Baron St. John of Bazing by King Hen. 8. 30th of his Reign, to whom he was Treasurer of his Household. He was Lord High Steward of the Household to Edward
- the 6th, of the Norman Line, President of the Privy Council to Henry the 8th, Edward the 6th, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; and Lord Treasurer of England under the Three last Princes, and living to see an hundred and three persons issued out of his Loins; Died in the 87th year of his age, at his Mannor of Bazing, the 10th of March, 1571. From that Marquis William, is lineally descended the present Charles, successively the 6th Marquis of Winchester, by the name of Pawlet.
2. Henry Somerset, Marquis and Earl of Worcester, Earl

A Catalogue of the Earls of ENGLAND.

Earl of Glamorgan, Baron Herbert of Chepstow, Ragland, and Gower; One of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council; Lord President of the Marches of Wales, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Gloucester, Hereford, and Monmouth, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter: Descended from Henry Beaufort Duke of Somerset, Marquis of Dorset, Earl of Somerset and Meriton, and Lord of Chirk, Chirkland, and Knight of the Garter; Sir Charles Somerset Knight, Lord Herbert, Ancestor unto the present Marquis, was created Earl of Worcester, Febr. 1. 1514. by Henry the Eighth, in the 5th year of his Reign, as appears by part of the Patent of his Creation of Earls, which differing from most Patents, is here express'd; *Considerantes generis Nobilitatem, & præcipue nobis in sanguine propinquitatem, probatissimi viri, amantissimi consanguinei nostri, Caroli Somerset, militis Domini Herbert, & Camerarii nostri, qui nullis cedens laboribus aut expensis, se nobis obsequiosum semper adhibuit, volentesque proinde eundem Carolum Somerset militem, condignis honoribus & regalibus premiis ornare, ampliare & sublimare: de gratia nostra speciali, & ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, de assensu Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium, Procerumque & Communitatis Regni nostri Anglia in presenti Parlamento apud Westmonasterium convocato, existentium, ipsum Carolum in Comitum Wigorn. ereximus, præficimus, & creavimus, & per presentes erigimus, præficimus, & creamus, & ei nomen, statum, stylum, titulum, honorem, & dignitatem Comitum Wigorn. cum omnibus & singulis præeminentiis, honoribus, & ceteris quibuscunque hujusmodi statui Comitum Wigorn. pertinentibus, sive spectantibus, damus & concedimus per presentes, ipsumque Carolum hujusmodi statum, stylum, titulum, honorem, & dignitatem, per circumam gladii insignimus, investimus, & realiter nobilitamus. Habendum, &c. Dat per manum nostrum apud Westm. primo die Februarii, Anno Regni nostri quinto. He was*

Vice-Chamberlain unto Henry the 7th. afterwards Lord Chamberlain both unto him and unto Henry the 8th. He was also Lord Herbert of Gower, Chepstow, and Ragland. The same day he was made an Earl, he was made Lord Chamberlain for Term of his Life, for which he had a particular Patent. He was by Henry the Seventh made a Privy Counsellor, and Knight of the Garter, and Captain of his Guard. He died in 1526. 17 Hen. 8. aged ninety seven years. Which was the Father of the first Earl Henry, who died aged eighty four years, which two Earls lived ninescore and one year; the last of whom was the Father of Earl William, who died Febr. 22. 1588. 31 Eliz. at his house by St. John's at London, and was buried at Ragland April the 30th following, 1589. who was the Father of Earl Edward, who died in 1627. who was the Father of the the second Earl Henry, who, Novemb. 2. 1642. 18 Car. 1. was created Marquis of Worcester; and died in 1646. who was the Father of Marquis Edward, who in 1645. was created Earl of Glamorgan, in the life-time of his Father the first Marquis Henry. Which Marquis Edward died in 1667. the Father of the second Marquis Henry now living.

3. Henry Pierepont Marquis of Dorchester, Earl of Kingston upon Hull, Viscount Newark upon Trent, and Baron Pierepoint of Holme-Pierepoint, Manners, and Heris; one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council, and a Peer conspicuously eminent for his universal Learning; succeeded, as unto that Earldom, his Renowned Father, Robert Earl of Kingston, who was killed in 1643. in the cause of his King and Countrey, and was created Baron, Viscount, and Earl of Kingston, by Charles the First, and his Son Henry was most deservedly created Marquis of Dorchester by the same King, March 25. 1645. 20th of his Reign.

The Title of Noble and Potent Prince is given unto Marquisses in the Stalls of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor, and in several Books formerly printed; and the other Titles are likewise given unto the other Degrees herein mentioned.

The E A R L S of ENGLAND.

1. **T**HE most Noble, Potent, and Honourable; Ambrey (in Latine Alberius,) de Vere, the first Earl of England, Earl of Oxford, Baron Bilbeck, Sandford and Badelsmere, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy-Council; Collonel-Commander of his Majesties Regimental Horse-Guard; Lord Lieutenant of the County of Essex, and Knight of the Thrice Noble Order of the Garter; Is successively the twenty second Earl of this Name; all which have been Earls of Oxford; one of them Marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland; thirteen of them Lord High-Chamberlains of England, ten of them Knights of the Garter, some of them Governours of Great Counties and Castles; others of them

Founders of Priories, Chappels and Religious Houses; and most of them Peers of most High Renown and Honour.

Joceline Percy Earl of Northumberland, Baron Percy of Alnaick, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz-Pain, and Bryan: Deceased in or about 1670. without issue male, whose Ancestor, Henry Baron Percy of Alnaick, was at the Coronation of Richard the Second, 1377. created Earl of Northumberland.

2. Charles Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Strange of Blackmere, Gifford of Brimsfield, Furnival, Verdon and Love-toft; Whose Ancestor John Talbot, Baron Talbot, Strange of Black

A Catalogue of the Earls of England.

Blackmere, Lord *Furnival* and *Verdon*, Son and Heir of *Richard Lord Talbot*, a Baron of High Blood, and Personal Valour, was created Earl of *Shrewsbury* by King *Henry* the 6th, May 20. 1422. 20th of his Reign. He was also created Earl of *Washford*, and Steward of *Ireland*, by the same King, July 17. 1426. 24th of his Reign, and afterwards Marshall of *France*; under whose Brave Courage and Prudent Conduct, the *English* Affairs in *France* flourish'd exceedingly: But after his Death (who was there slain by a Gun out of a Tower) our then Armies in *France* declined daily more and more, and at last dwindled into nothing. This now living Earl *Charles* is the Twelfth Earl of *Shrewsbury*; of whom five of them were Knights of the Garter.

3. *Anthony Grey* Earl of *Kent*, Descended from *Edmond Grey*, Lord *Grey*, Baron *Ruthin*, after the Vacancy of the Earldom of *Kent* by the death of *William Nevil Lord Falconberg*, who last enjoyed it, was created Earl of *Kent* by King *Edward* the 4th, of the *Norman* Line, in the fifth year of his Reign, 1465. His Father was *John Lord Grey of Ruthin*, the Son of *Roger Grey* Baron of *Ruthin*, which Lordship he had by the Gift of his Father *John Lord Grey of Wilton*, and was created Baron *Ruthin* by *Edward* the First, of the *Norman* Line. The Wife of which *Roger*, *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *John Lord Hastings of Burgavenny*, was Cousin and Heir unto *John Lord Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*; who dyed in the 4th year of King *Henry* the 7th, without Issue, so that the Titles of this *Anthony* are, Earl of *Kent*, Baron *Grey*, *Hastings* and *Valence*; and is the Tenth Earl successively of this Family, by the Noble Name of *Grey*.

4. *William Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Stanley* and *Strange* of *Knocking* and *Mobun*, Lord of the Isle of *Man*, Lord Lieutenant of *Lancashire*, and Vice-Admiral of the Coasts of *Cheeshire*: He descended from *Thomas Lord Stanley* and Lord of *Man*, who was created Earl of *Derby* by King *Henry* the 7th, and also Lord Constable of *England*. His Father *Charles* lately dead, he became successively the Ninth Earl of his Name of *Derby*.

5. *John Mannors* Earl of *Rutland*, Baron *Roos* of *Hamelacke*, *Trusbut* and *Belvoire*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Leicester*; whose Ancestor *Thomas Mannors* Knight of the Garter, Lord *Roos*, by his Mother *Anne* descended from *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, and Earl of *Derby*. The which *Thomas* was created Earl of *Derby* by King *Henry* the 8th, June 18. in the 17th year of his Reign, 1525. The Grandfather of this *Thomas* called Sir *Robert Mannors*, married *Eleanor* Sister and Heir of *Edward* Baron *Roos*. This Earl *John* now living, is the Eighth Earl of *Rutland*, by the Name of *Mannors*.

6. *Theophilus Hastings* Earl of *Hungerford*, Baron *Hastings*, *Botereaux*, *Molins*, and *Moeles*; Descended from *George* Earl of *Huntington*, Lord Baron *Hastings*, *Botereaux*, *Molins* and *Moels*,

and Knight of the Garter, was Son of *Edward Lord Hastings*, Lord Chamberlain to King *Edward* the Fourth of the *Norman* Line, and of *Mary* his Wife, which was Niece and Heir to *Robert Hungerford*, Lord *Hungerford* *Boterlaune*, *Molins* and *Moels*: The which *George* was created Earl, Decemb. 8. 1529. in the Twenty first year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth: So that the now living *Theophilus* is the 24th Earl of *Huntington* by Title, and successively the seventh Earl by the Name of *Hastings*.

Thomas Wriothesly Earl of *Southampton*, and Baron *Wriothesly* of *Titchfield*; whose Great Grandfather, Baron *Thomas Wriothesly* of *Titchfield*, was created Earl, Febr. 17. 1546. 1 *Edw.* 6. of the *Norman* Line: The last Earl *Thomas* dyed without Issue Male, on Thursday, May 16. 1667.

7. *William Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, Baron *Russel* of *Tavestock*, and Baron *Russel* of *Thornhaugh*, Knight of the Bath, and of the Illustrious Order of the Garter; Descended from that Memorable Person of his time, *John Russel* Knight of the Garter, Comptroller of the Household to King *Henry* the Eighth, and one of his Privy Council: Who was by the same King, upon the seventh day of the *Ides of March*, 1538. in the 30th year of his Reign, created Lord *Russel*, and Lord Privy Seal: And the 14th day before the Calends of *February*, 1549. in the Third year of *Edward* the Sixth, of the *Norman* Line, was created Earl of *Bedford*. He was originally descended from a very Antient Family in the County of *Dorset*, some part of the Demesnes of whose Ancestors are still at this day in the possession of this present *William* Earl of *Bedford*, who is by Title the fifth Earl of *Bedford*, by the Name of *Russel*, and of this Right Noble Name and Family the third Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter,

8. *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, *Roos* of *Kendall*, *Parrbe*, *Marmion*, *St. Quintin*, *Fitz-hugh*, and *Skurland*, &c. Whose Ancestor *William* was Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and Knight of the Garter; Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Henry* the Eighth, &c. From whom this Earl *Philip* is the 10th Earl of *Pembroke* by the Noble Name of *Herbert*, created Earl of *Pembroke*, Octob. 11. 1551. 5th of *Edward* the Sixth, of the *Norman* Line.

9. *Edward Fiennes*, otherwise *Tankerville*, Grandchild of *Theophilus* Earl of *Lincoln*, Baron *Clinton*, and Knight of the Bath; lineally descended from that Famous *Edward Fiennes*, Lord *Clinton*, Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Admiral of *England*, and one of the Lords of Queen *Elizabeth's* Privy Council; by whom he was on the 4th of May, 1572. in the 14th year of her Reign, created Earl of *Lincoln*; he lineally derived himself from *John* Baron of *Clinton*, and Earl of *Huntington*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, of the *Norman* Line; whose next Heir male succeeding in the Barony of *Clinton*, married *Idonea* eldest Daughter

A Catalogue of the Earls of ENGLAND.

Daughter of *Geoffry Lord Say*, Baron of *Seal*, from whose Daughter and Coheir *Joan*, married to *Sir William Fiennes* of *Herst-Monclaulx* in *Kent*, descended the two Houses of the *Fiennes*; whereof the one was Viscount *Say* and *Seal*, and the other Lord *Dacres* of the *South*. There have been Thirteen Earls of *Lincoln* by several names; And five by the Name and Family of this Earl of *Lincoln*.

10. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*, descended from *William Howard*, Lord *Effingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, Lord Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, one of her Majesties Privy Council, and one of the Knights of the Garter, Was, for his signal Service (with *Robert Devereux* Earl of *Essex*) in sacking of *Calis*, created in 1599. Earl of *Nottingham*, in right of his Descent, from the Renowned *Morbayes* Dukes of *Norfolk*, and Earls of *Nottingham*.

11. *James Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*; and Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Suffolk* and *Cambridge*, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles* the Second. He is likewise a Descendent from that numerously Noble Family of the Dukes of *Norfolk*: The which *James* his Grand-father was *Thomas* Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household, second Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, by *Margaret* his Wife, Daughter and onely Heir of *Thomas Audley* Baron *Audley* of *Walden*, created Earl in July 1603. 1 Jac.

12. *Charles Sackville* Earl of *Dorset*, and of *Middlesex*, Baron *Buckhurst*, and *Cranfield* of *Cranfield*; Descended from a Noble Family of that Name, and linealy from that most Memorable Man of his time, both for the eminence of his Learning, and high abilities, Baron *Thomas Sackville*, Baron *Buckhurst*, twice Lord Ambassador from Queen *Elizabeth*, viz. once to *France*, and once to the *Netherlands*, Privy Councillor to the said Queen, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, High Butler of *England*, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter; and lastly, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, made by the said Queen *Elizabeth*, and made Earl of *Dorset* by King *James* of Blessed Memory, in 1605. in the Third year of his Reign. Who was the Great Grand-father of the present Earl. This Earl was created Earl of *Middlesex*, and Baron *Cranfield* of *Cranfield*, Febr. 4. 1674.

13. *James Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Viscount of *Crambourn*, and Baron *Cecil* of *Essenden*: Descended from a very Ancient and Honourable Family of that Name; who had for his immediate Anceltor, his Great Grandfather *Sir Robert Cecil* Knight, Son of *Sir William Cecil* Knight, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, Knight of the Garter, one of the Lords of the Privy Council to Queen *Elizabeth*, Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*; who, following the steps of so worthy

a Father, was himself by the same Queen made Principal Secretary of State, one of her Majesties Privy Council, Master of the Court of Wards, and Chancellour of the University of *Cambridge*; and in the end was created by King *James*, in the first year of his Reign, Baron *Cecil*, Baron of *Essenden* in *Rutlandshire*, created, in his Second year, Viscount of *Crambourn* in *Dorsetshire*, and created in his Third year, Earl of *Salisbury*, in his Fourth year made Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*: Which Earl *Robert* dyed in 1612. aged about 58 years, who was the Father of Earl *William*, who dyed Dec. 3. 1668. in the 78th year of his age, who was the Father of *Charles* Viscount of *Crambourn*, who dyed in or about 1659. before his Father, by which means *James*, his surviving onely Son, the now Earl, succeeded his Grand-father as unto the Earldome of *Salisbury*.

14. *John Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*, Baron of *Burleigh*, whose Fathers Great Grand-father, *Thomas* Baron of *Burleigh*, was created Earl the 4th of May 1605, in the Third year of the Reign of King *James*.

15. *John Egerton* Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viscount *Brackley*, Baron *Ellesmere*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Buckingham*; whose Father *John* was Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viscount *Brackley*, Baron *Ellesmere*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord President of *Wales*, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter; was created Earl of *Bridgewater*, 1617. 15 Jac. May 17th; whose Son, Earl *John*, the Inheritor of his Fathers Virtues and Noble Endowments, succeeded to his Title of *Bridgewater*.

16. *Philip Sidney* Earl of *Leicester*, Viscount *Lisle*, Baron *Sidney* of *Penshurst*, was the Son of *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, who dyed in 1677. who was the Son of *Robert* Viscount *Lisle*, who was created Earl, Aug. 2. 1618. in the Sixteenth year of King *James*.

17. *James Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, and Baron *Compton* of *Compton*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Warwick*, Custos Rotulorum of the County of *Northampton*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council; whose Memorable Right Valiant Father, *Spencer* Earl of *Northampton*, was kill'd in the late Wars, in the defence of his King and Countrey: and whose right Noble Grand-father *William* Baron *Compton* of *Compton*, was created Earl of *Northampton* 1618. in the Sixteenth year of King *James*.

18. *Edward Rich* Earl of *Warwick*, and Earl of *Holland*, Baron *Rich* of *Leez*, and Baron *Kensington* of *Kensington*, whose Father was *Robert* Earl of *Warwick* and of *Holland*; who was the Son of *Henry* Baron *Kensington*, who was created Earl of *Holland* 1624. in the 24th of King *James*, the Title of *Warwick* and Barony of *Leez* falling to his late Father by the death of his late Father's Cousin Germane the late

A Catalogue of the Earls of England.

- late *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*. His Great Grand-father *Robert* Baron *Rich* of *Leez* was created Earl of *Warwick* in 1618. 16 Jac.
19. *William Cavendish* Earl of *Devonshire*, Baron *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*, Knight of the *Bath*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Derby*, and one of the Learnedst Peers of his age, and Liberallest Promoters of learned Lucubrations; Is the elder House of the Duke of *Newcastle*, whose thrice Noble Grand-father, Lord *William Cavendish*, Baron *Cavendish* of *Hardwick* in the County of *Derby*, was created Earl of *Devon*. in Aug. 1618. in the 16th year of King *James*.
John Ramsay Earl of *Holderness*, and Baron of *Kingston upon Thames*, in *England*, and Viscount *Haddington* in *Scotland*, created Earl Decemb. 30. 1620. 18 Jac. dyed without Issue. Extinct.
- James Hay* Earl of *Carlisle*, Viscount *Doncaster*, Baron *Hay* of *Sauley*, and Knight of the *Bath*; whose Father *James* Viscount *Doncaster*, was created Earl Sept. 13. 1622. 20 Jac. which *James* the second Earl of *Carlisle* died in 1660. without Issue male, whereupon all his Titles were Extinct.
20. *Basil Fielding* (alias *de Hapsburgh*) Earl of *Denbigh*, and *Desmond*, Viscount *Fielding*, Baron of *Newnham-padox* and *St. Liz*; whose Grand-father *William* Viscount *Fielding* was created Earl in 1622. Reg. *Jacobi* 20. and slain in the late Civil Wars, in the behalf of his Master *Charles* the First, of Blessed Memory.
21. *John Digby* Earl of *Bristol*, Baron *Digby* of *Shirborne*; whose Grand-father *John* Baron *Digby* of *Shirborne*, many years Lord Liedger-Ambassadour to, and in the Court of *Spain*, was created Earl of *Bristol*, Sept. 15. 1622. Regis *Jacobi*, 20.
Lionel Cranfield Earl of *Middlesex*, whose Father *Lionel* Baron *Cranfield*, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*, was created Earl of *Middlesex* in 1622. Reg. *Jac.* 20. Dyed in or about 1675. without Issue.
Charles Villiers Earl of *Anglesea*, and Baron of *Daventry*, whose Father, *Christopher Villiers*, was so created Sept. 24. in 1624. 2 Jac. which Earl *Charles* deceased in 1660, whereupon all his Titles were extinct.
22. *Gilbert Holles* Earl of *Clare*, Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*; whose Grand-father *John* Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*, was created Earl of *Clare*, Nov. 2. 1624. Reg. *Jacobi* 22. and dyed on Wednesday Octob. 4. Anno 1637. in the Seventy fourth year of his age, 13 Car. 1. Earl *John* the second, his eldest Second, dyed on Tuesday, January the second, 1665. in the Seventy first year of his age; unto whom most worthily succeeded his eldest and onely Son, at his decease, *Gilbert* the now Earl.
23. *Oliver St. John* Earl of *Bullingbrook*, and Lord Baron *St. John* of *Bletsoe*; whose Grand-father, *Oliver* Lord *St. John*, Baron of *Bletsoe*, and Knight of the *Bath*, was created Earl of *Bullingbrook* 1624. Regis *Jacobi* 22.
24. *Charles Fane* Earl of *Wesimerland*, Lord *de le Spencer* and *Burwash*; whose Grand-father *Francis Fane* Knight of the *Bath*, was created Earl, 1624. *Jacobi* Regis, 22. Earl *Mildmay* his Son dyed in Anno 1665. or 1666, unto whom worthily succeeded the now Earl *Charles*, his eldest Son.
25. *Robert Montague* Earl of *Manchester*, Viscount *Mandevil*, Baron of *Kimbolton*, one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Bed-Chamber, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Huntington*; whose Grand-father, *Henry* Viscount *Mandevil*, Baron of *Kimbolton*, Lord Privy Seal, President, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, was created Earl of *Manchester*, 1625. primo *Caroli primi*, some dayes before his Coronation, being his first Coronation Earl: at which time there were eight Coronation Earls, but no Coronation Barons.
26. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Berkshire*, Viscount *Andover*, Baron *Howard* of *Charleton*, Knight of the *Bath*: A Branch of that Renowned and Ducal Stock of the *Howards* of *Norfolk*; whose Father *Thomas* Viscount *Andover*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, and Knight of the *Garter*, second Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Earl of *Berkshire* in 1625. Anno primo *Caroli primi*, at the same time with the former Earl, being the second Coronation Earl, who dyed Anno 1669.
Thomas Wentworth Earl of *Cleveland*, and Baron *Wentworth* of *Nettlestead*, created Earl at the same time with the two former Earls; died March 26. 1667. without Issue male, whereby that Earldom was extinguished; who was the third Coronation Earl.
27. *John Sheffeld* Earl of *Mulgrave*, and Lord *Sheffeld* of *Butterwick*, Vice-Admiral of the Coasts of *Yorkshire*; whose Great Grand-father Earl *Edmund* Baron *Sheffeld* of *Butterwick*, one of the Lords of the Privy Council, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*, was created Earl of *Mulgrave* in 1625. Anno primo *Caroli primi*, at the same time with the three former Earls; who was the fourth Coronation Earl.
Henry Cary Earl of *Monmouth*, and Baron *Cary* of *Leppington*, died without Issue male in 1661. whereby that Earldom was extinct. His Father *Robert* Baron *Cary* of *Leppington* was created Earl at the same time with the four former Earls, who was the fifth Coronation Earl.
28. *William Ley* Earl of *Marlborough*, Baron *Ley* of *Ley*, whose Father *James* Baron *Leigh* of *Leigh*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, was created Earl at the same time with the five former Earls. This Earl *William* succeeded his Renowned Nephew Earl *James* the second, slain at Sea, 1665. in June, in that so signal Sea-Fight betwixt the *English* and *Dutch*; who was the sixth Coronation Earl.
George Carew, Earl of *Totnes*, created Earl with the six former Earls, at the same time; who died without Issue, who was the seventh Coronation Earl.
Henry Danvers Earl of *Danbigh*, Baron *Danvers* of

A Catalogue of the Earls of ENGLAND.

of Dantsey, Knight of the Garter, and Privy Councillor unto the late King, created Earl with the Seven former Earls, at the same time, dyed a Batchelour in 1643. who was the Eighth and last Coronation Earl.

29. *Nicholas Knowles* Earl of *Banbury*, Viscount *Wallingford*, and Lord *Knowles* of *Greys*, whose Father *William* Viscount *Wallingford*, was created Earl of *Banbury* in 1625. *primo Caroli primi Regis*. Dyed in or about 1673.

30. *Thomas Savage* Earl of *Rivers*, Viscount *Colchester* and *Rock-Savage*, and Baron *Darcy* of *Chich*; whose Grand-mothers Father *Thomas Darcy* Viscount *Colchester*, was created Earl of *Rivers*, 1626. *Anno 2 Car. 1.*

31. *Robert Bertie* Earl of *Lindsey*, Baron *Willoughby*, *Beak* and *Erpesby*, and of this Line the third Great Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and also one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Lincoln*; whose Grand-father *Robert* Baron *Willoughby*, was created Nov. 29. 1626. 2 *Car. 1.* who died in 1642. unto whom succeeded his Son, Earl *Mountague*, who died in 1666. who was the Father of the now Earl.

John Cary Earl of *Dover*, Viscount *Rochford*, and Baron *Hunsdon*, and Knight of the Bath; whose Father *Henry* Viscount *Rochford*, was created Earl of *Dover*, March 8. 1627. *Anno 3 Car. 1.* who died *Anno* 1666. in the 83d. year of his age. This Earl *John* died in or about 1677. without Issue male.

32. *Henry Mordant* Earl of *Peterborough*, and Baron *Mordant* of *Turvey*, Groom of his Royal Highness Stool, and first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Northampton*; whose Father *John* Baron *Mordant* of *Turvey*, was created Earl March 9. 1627. in *An. 3 Car. 1.*

33. *Henry Grey* Earl of *Stamford*, Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, *Bonnevill*, and *Harrington*, was created Earl, March 26. *Anno* 1628. *Caroli primi tertio*. Died in or about 1673.

34. *Heneage Finch* Earl of *Winchelsea*, Viscount *Maidstone*, Baron *Fitz-herbert* of *Eastwell*, Lord of the Royal Mannor of *Wye*, and sometimes Ambassadour to the Grand Scignior; whose Grandmother *Elizabeth Heneage Finch*, Viscountess *Maidstone*, was created Countess, July 11. *An. 1628. 4 Car. 1.*

35. *Charles Dormer* Earl of *Carnarvon*, Viscount *Ascot*, Baron *Dormer* of *Wing*; whose Magnanimous Father, *Robert Dormer* Baron of *Wing*, was created Viscount and Earl, Aug. 2. 1628. in the 4th year of *Charles* the First, who, in his Cause, bravely died in the Bed of Honour, being slain in the first Fight near *Newberry*, in 1643.

36. *Montjoy Blount* Earl of *Newport*, Baron *Montjoy* of *Thurvetton* in *England*, and Baron *Montjoy* of *Montjoy-Fort* in *Ireland*; whose Father *Montjoy Blount*, Baron *Montjoy*, Master of the Ordnance; and one of the Council of Warr, was created Earl of *Newport*, Aug. 3. 1628. the 4th year of *Charles* the First, and dyed in the year 1665.

37. *Philip Stanhop* Earl of *Chesterfield*, and Baron

Stanhop of *Shelford*, succeeded his Grand-father, *Philip* Earl of *Chesterfield*, who was created Earl, Aug. 4. 1628. in the 4th year of *Charles* the First, and dyed in 1656.

38. *Nicholas Tufion* Earl of *Thanet*, and Baron *Tufion* of *Tufion*, whose Grand-father Baron *Nicholas Tufion* of *Tufion*, was created Earl of *Thanet*, Aug. 4. 1628. in the 4th year of *Charles* the First; unto whom succeeded his Son, who was *John* Earl of *Thanet*, who dyed *Anno* 1664. the Father of the present Earl *Nicholas*, the second of that Name, and the third Earl of *Thanet*.

Ulick de Burgh Earl of *St. Alban*, Viscount *Tunlridge*, and Baron of *Somerhill* in *England*; Marquis and Earl of *Clanrickard*, Viscount *Galway*, and Baron of *Dunkilly* and *Imaney* in *Ireland*: Dyed in Oct. 1657. without Issue male, by whose decease, all his *English* Titles and the Title of Marquis of *Clanrickard* were extinguished: who was created Marquis Febr. 21. 1645. whose Father *Richard* Earl of *Clanrickard*, was created Earl of *St. Alban*, Aug. 23. 1628. 4 *Car. 1.* and dyed in 1636.

39. *Thomas Weston* Earl of *Portland*, and Baron *Weston* of *Neyland*, whose Father *Richard* Baron *Weston* of *Neyland* Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and one of his Majesties Privy Council, was created Earl of *Portland*, Febr. 15. 1632. in the eighth year of *Charles* the First, who dyed in 1635. Earl *Jerom* his eldest Son succeeded; and dyed March 18. 1662. who was the Father of Earl *Charles*, his onely Son, who dyed in the Bed of Honour, slain with his dear Kinsman *James* Earl of *Marlborough*, in June 1665. in that great Sea-Fight against the *Dutch*, unto whom succeeded his Uncle *Thomas* (Brother of Earl *Jerome*) who is the 4th Earl of *Portland*.

40. *William Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford*, Viscount *Wentworth*, Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouse*; *Newmerch* of *Oversely*, and Baron of *Raby*, Knight and Baronet, and Knight of the Garter: He was the Son of that most Renowned Peer, and Martyr of the Peoples Envy; *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy, and afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; who was created Earl, Jan. 12. 1639. 15 *Car. 1.* who deceased May 12. 1641.

41. *Robert Spencer* Earl of *Sunderland*, and Baron *Spencer* of *Wormleyton*; succeeded his Memorable Father, *Henry* Earl of *Sunderland*, who was slain in the first Battel of *Newberry*, nobly dying in the Bed of Honour; who was created Earl of *Sunderland*, June 8. 1643. in the 19th year of *Charles* the First.

James Savil Earl of *Suffex*, Baron *Savil* of *Pontfract*, and Viscount *Savil* in *Ireland*, (a Family very diffusive, and anciently honourable) was the Son of *Thomas* Baron *Pontfract*, who was created Earl, May 25. 1644. 20 *Car. 1.* the Line of the *Radcliffs* being broken off in Edward the last Earl of *Suffex* of that name.

Patrick Ruthen Earl of *Brentford* in *England*, and Earl of *Forth*, and Baron *Ruthen* of *Etrick* in *Scotland*; created an *English* Earl at *Oxford*, May 27. 1644. 20 *Car. 1.* extinct.

Francis Leigh Earl of *Chichester*, Baron *Dunsmore*, and

A Catalogue of the Marquises of England.

- and Baronet; created Earl, *June 3. 1644. 19 Car. 1.*
- Charles Goring* Earl of *Norwich*, and Baron *Goring* of *Hurst-Pierre-pont*, who dyed without Issue, on *Thursday March 2. 1670.* who was the surviving Son of *George* Earl of *Norwich*, created Earl, *Nov. 28. 1644. 20 Car. 1.* who died in *January, 1662.*
42. *Nicholas Leake* Earl of *Scarsdale*, Baron *Daincourt*, and Baronet; succeeded his Father *Francis* Earl of *Scarsdale*, so created *Nov. 15. 1645. 21 Car. 1.*
43. *John Wilmot* Earl of *Rochester*, and Baron *Wilmot* of *Aderbury* in *England*, and Viscount *Wilmot* of *Athlone* in *Ireland*, whose Father *Henry* Viscount *Wilmot* of *Athlone* in *Ireland*, was a most Eminent and Active Commander in the late Wars: who was created Earl of *Rochester* in 1652, by the now King: and deceased in 1659.
44. *Henry Jermin* Earl of *St. Albans*, and Baron *Jermin* of *St. Edmunds Bury*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Council, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter: who was created Earl of *St. Albans* in 1660, by the now King.
45. *Edward Montague* Earl of *Sandwich*, Viscount *Montagu* of *Hinchbrook*, and Baron *Montagu*, and *Montagu* of *St. Neotes*; A Person of good accomplishments, acquired from his foreign Travels, and domestick Education, succeeded the Magnanimous, and nobly Renowned Earl *Edward* his Father, who fell in that fatal Sea-Fight in 1672. and lies buried amongst the Kings in *Westminster Abby*: created Earl, *July 12. 1660.*
- Elizabeth* Vicountess of *Kynelmeky* in *Ireland*, created Countess of *Gilford*, *July 14. 1660.* with whose life that Title extinguished.
46. *James Butler* (or *Boteler*,) Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony* in *England*, and Duke, Marquis, and Earl of *Ormond*, Earl of *Offory*, Viscount *Thurles*, and Baron of *Arco* in *Ireland*, Lord of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of *Tipperary*, Chancellour of the University of *Dublin*, and Chancellour of the Famous University of *Oxford*, High Steward of his Majesties Household, Lord Steward of *Westminster* and *Kingston upon Thames*, Lord Steward of the City of *Bristol*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Somerset*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, and one of the Knights of the Thrice Noble Order of the Garter: who was created Marquis of *Ormond*, *Aug. 30. 1642. 18 Car. 1.* Afterwards Earl of *Brecknock*, *July 20. 1660.* by the present King: afterwards Duke of *Ormond*, *March 30. 1661.*
47. *Henry Hyde* Earl of *Clarindon*, Viscount *Cornbury*, and Baron *Hyde* of *Hindon*, and Knight of the Bath. Baron *Edward* his Father was created Earl and Viscount with solemnity in the Banqueting-Room at *White-Hall*, on *Saturday, April 20. 1661.* three dayes before the Coronation of the now King; for he was the first Coronation Earl unto this King: He was before that time created Baron *Nov. 3. 1660.* and Knighted when he was Chancellour of the Exchequer, *Febr. 22. 1642. 18 Car. 1.* At which time there were Six Coronation Earls made, and as many Coronation Barons. He dyed at *Rouen* in *Normandy*, in 1674.
48. *Arthur Capel* Earl of *Essex*, Viscount *Malden*, and Baron *Capel* of *Hadham*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Hertford*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council: who was created Earl and Viscount at the same time, being the second Coronation Earl: He was the eldest Son of *Arthur* Baron *Capel* of *Hadham*; who was created Baron, *Aug. 6. 1641. 17 Car. 1.* and afterwards Knighted, *January 17. 1644.* who died *March 9. 1648.*
49. *Robert Brudenell* Earl of *Cardigan*, Baron *Brudenell* of *Stoughton*, and Baronet; He succeeded his Father *Thomas* Earl of *Cardigan*, so created at the same time, being the third Coronation Earl; who dyed in 1663. who had been formerly created Baron, *Febr. 26. 1627. 3 Car. 1.*
50. *Arthur Annesley* Earl of *Anglesey*, Baron of *Newport-Pagnel* in *England*, Viscount *Valentia*, and Baron *Mount-Norris* of *Mount-Norris* in *Ireland*, and Baronet of *Ireland*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council in *England* and *Ireland*, and Lord Privy Seal; a Person of Universal Learning, and of Noble Parts, was created Earl and Baron of *England*, at the same time, being the fourth Coronation Earl. His Father *Francis* Vicount *Valentia* was created Vicount, Baron, and Baronet of *Ireland*, and dyed in 1660.
51. *John Greenvil* Earl of *Bath*, Viscount *Greenvil* of *Lansdown*, Baron *Greenvil* of *Biddiford* and *Kilhampton*, and Knight, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Groom of the Stool, and first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*; was the Son and Heir of that Renowned Souldier Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Knight, who was slain in his late Majesties Service, and bravely dyed in the Bed of Honour. This Earl *John* his Son, was created Earl, Viscount, and Baron at the same time, being the fifth Coronation Earl, who had been formerly Knighted, *Aug. 3. 1643. 19 Car. 1.*
52. *Charles Howard* Earl of *Carlisle*, Viscount *Howard* of *Morpeth*, Baron *Dacres* of *Gisland*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, Vice-Admiral of the Coasts of *Carlisle*, *Durham*, *New-Castle*, and *Northumberland*; and lately Lord Ambassadour Extraordinary to Three of the Great Northern Kings; also Lord Ambassadour Extraordinary to the High and Mighty Monarch *Charles* the Eleventh King of *Sweden*. He was the Son of Sir *William Howard*, Knight, the Son of Sir *Philip Howard*, Knight, who was the Son of the Lord *William Howard*, Third Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*. The which Earl was most worthily so created Earl

A Catalogue of the EARLS of ENGLAND.

- Earl of *Carlisle* at the same time, being the sixth and last Coronation Earl.
53. *William Craven* Earl of *Craven*, Viscount *Craven* of *Uffington*, and Baron *Craven* of *Hamstead-Marshal*, and Knight, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Middlesex*, and Borough of *Southwark*, and one of the Colonels of his Majesties Regiments of Guards, was for his signal Fidelity and Fortitude both abroad and at home, created Earl and Viscount, *March 20. 1664.* in the 17th year of our gracious Sovereign *Charles the Second*; was created Baron *March 18. 1626. 2 Car. 1.* and Knighted at *London*, the 4th day of the same moneth of *March, 1626.*
54. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Alesbury*, Viscount *Bruce* of *Amptbil*, and Baron *Bruce* of *Wharleton* and *Skelton* in *England*; and Earl of *Elgin*, and Baron of *Kinliffe* in *Scotland*: hereditary High Steward of the Honour of *Amptbil*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Bedford*; who was the Son of *Thomas* Earl of *Elgin*, and Baron of *Kinliffe* in *Scotland*; which Earl *Thomas* was created Baron *Bruce* of *Wharleton* in *England*, *July 30. 1641. 17 Car. 1.* Whose Ancestors were descendents from those famous *Bruces* sometimes Kings of *Scotland*. This *Robert* was created Earl of *Alesbury*, *March 20. 1664.*
55. *Richard Boyle* Earl *Burlington* of *Burlington*, alias *Bridlington*, and Baron *Clifford* of *Landsborough* in *England*, and Earl of *Cork*, Viscount *Dungarvan*, and Baron of *Youghall* in *Ireland*: who was created Earl *Burlington* the same day. For his *Irish* Titles, he succeeded his Father, *Richard* Earl of *Cork*, Viscount *Dungarvan*, and Baron of *Youghall*.
56. *Henry Bennet* Earl of *Arlington*, Viscount *Thetford*, Baron *Arlington* of *Arlington*, alias *Harlington*, Knight, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Principal Secretary of Estate, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council; who, in compensation of his several signal Services, was very worthily created Earl and Viscount by his present Majesty, in *Apr. 1672.* and Baron in *1664.*
57. *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Baron *Ashley* of *Wimborne St. Giles*, and *Cooper* of *Parvlet*, and Baronet, created Earl, and Baron *Cooper* of *Parvlet*, *Apr. 23. 1672.* Baron *Ashley* of *Wimborne St. Giles*, *Apr. 20. 1661.* being then the 5th Coronation Baron made by this King: then for Baronet he succeeded his Father Sir *John Cooper*, who was created Baronet *July the 4th. 1622. 20 Jac.*
58. *William Herbert* Earl of *Powys*, Baron *Powys* of *Powys*, and Baronet; created Earl, *April 4. 1674.* His Grand-father *William Herbert* was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King *James*, and was afterwards created Baron, *April 2. 1629. 5 Caroli primi*: unto which Barony succeeded his Son Sir *Percy Herbert* Baronet, who was created Baronet, *November 16. 1622.* who was the Father of the now Earl of *Powys*.
59. *Edward Henry Lea*, Earl of *Litchfield*, Viscount *Quarendon*, and Baron of *Spelsbury*; created Earl, *June 5th. 1674.*
60. *John Maitland*, Earl of *Guilford*, and Baron of *Petersham* in *England*, and Duke of *Lautherdale* in *Scotland*; created Earl of *Guilford*, *June 25. 1674.*
61. *Thomas Osborne* Earl of *Danby*, Viscount *Latimer*, and Baron *Osborne* of *Kiveton* in *England*, and Baronet of *England*, and Viscount *Osborne* of *Dunblany* in *Scotland*; created Viscount *Osborne* of *Dunblany* in *Scotland* in or about *1672.* Created Viscount *Latimer* and Baron *Osborne* of *Kiveton*, *15. August, 1673.* and Earl, *June 27. 1674.*
62. *George Fitz-Roy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, Viscount *Falmouth*, and Baron of *Pomfret*; created Oct. 1. *1674.*
63. *Thomas Leonard*, Earl of *Suffex*, and Baron *Dacres* of *Herismenceaux*, created Earl, Oct. 5. *1674.* whose Ancestor was created Baron in or about *1321.*
64. *Charles Fitz-Charles* Earl of *Plymouth*, Viscount *Totnes*, and Baron of *Dartmouth*, created *July 29. 1679.*
65. *George Sonds* Earl of *Feversham*, Viscount *Sonds* of *Lees-Court*, Baron of *Thromley*, and Knight of the Bath; created Earl, Viscount, and Baron for life: Afterwards intailed unto his Son-in-Law *Lewes Duras*, Baron *Duras* of *Holmeby* in *England*, and Marquis of *Blancfort* in *France*, and unto the Heirs males of his Body, by Patent dated *April 8. 1676.* Which Earl *George* dyed about a year after, and then the said Baron *Duras* succeeded him unto that Earldome.
66. *Charles Beau-Clarke* Earl of *Burford*, and Baron of *Haddington*; created *Decemb. 27. 1676.*

VISCOUNTS of ENGLAND.

1. **T**He most Noble, Potent, and Honourable, *Leicester Devereux* Viscount *Hereford*, the first Viscount of *England*; whose Ancestors had that Title in or about the year 1461.
2. *Francis Brown* (anciently *Brune*) Viscount *Montague*; his Ancestor *Anthony Brown*, was so created in the second year of *Queen Mary*, Sept. 2. 1554. who was descended from the Lady *Lucy Nevil*, Daughter of *John Marquis Montagu*.
3. *Robert Villiers* Viscount *Purbeck*, and Baron of *Stoak-Poges*; whose Father *Sir John Villiers* was created Viscount 17 Jac.
4. *William Fiennes* Viscount and Baron *Say and Seal*, whose Grand-father Baron *William Say and Seal*, was created Viscount in or about 1624. in the Twenty second year of King *James*, who dyed in 1662. *James* his eldest Son succeeding him, who dyed in or about 1674. who was Uncle unto the now Viscount.
5. *Edward Conway*, Viscount *Conway* in *England*, and Viscount *Kilultaph* in *Ireland*, and Baron *Conway* of *Ragley* in *England*; whose Father *Edward Baron Conway* was created an *English* Viscount in or about 1627. in the Third year of King *Charles* the First, who was a Memorable Statesman, and worthy Souldier.
6. *Baptist Noel* Viscount *Cambden*, Baron *Noel* of *Ridlington* and *Elmington*, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Rutland*, a great Lover of Learning, and generous Encourager of Learned Men. *Sir Baptist Hicks* Baronet and Knight, was created Viscount of *Cambden*, and Baron of *Elmington*, in the 4th year of *Charles* the First, in or about 1628. with an entail unto his Son in Law *Edward Baron Noel* of *Ridlington*, who was the Father of the now Viscount.
7. *William Howard* Viscount of *Stafford*, and Baron *Stafford*, and Knight of the *Bath*; whose lineal and immediate Ancestors were the Great Dukes of *Norfolk*, who is Uncle unto the present Duke; whose Vicountess is a *Stafford*, lineally descended from the Illustrious *Staffords* Dukes of *Buckingham*; who, together with his Vicountess, were, Sept. 12. 1640. 16 Car. 1. declared Baron and Baroness *Stafford*; afterwards he was created Viscount, Novemb. 11th following. He was the second Son of *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, *Surrey*, and *Norfolk*.
8. *Thomas Bellasis* Viscount *Falconberg* of *Hentknowle*, Baron *Falconberg* of *Taren*, and Baronet, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, and late Lord Ambassadour Extraordinary to the Illustrious Republick of *Venice*, whose Noble Grand-father, *Thomas Baron Falconberg* of *Taren*, was created Viscount, Jan. 31. 1642. in the 18th year of our late Gracious Sovereign, King *Charles* the First, who formerly was created Baron, May 25. 1627. in the Third year of his Reign.
9. *John Mordant* Viscount *Mordant* of *Aviland*, and Baron *Mordant* of *Rygate*, second Son and Brother unto *John* and *Henry* Earls of *Peterborough*, was created Viscount and Baron in or about 1660.
10. *George Savil* Viscount *Hallifax*, Baron *Savil*, and Baronet, One of the Lords of his Majesties Council, and Twice Plenipotentiary to the States of *Holland*; was created Viscount and Baron in or about 1667. in the 19th year of our Sacred Sovereign *Charles* the Second.
11. *Robert Paston* Viscount of *Tarmouth*, and Baron *Paston* of *Paston*, and Baronet: He is the Son and Heir of the late *Sir William Paston* Baronet; a Family both ancient and honourable. The which *Sir Robert* was created Viscount and Baron, Aug. the 19th, 1673. in the 25th year of his Majesties Reign: which *Sir William* was created Baronet, June the 8th, 1641. 17 Car. 1.
12. Mrs. *Anne Murray*, a Widow, created Vicountess *Bayning* of *Foxley* in *Berkshire*, for life, 27th of March, 1674.
13. *Francis Newport*, Vicount *Newport* of *Bradford*, and Baron *Newport* of *High-Ewcall*. His Father *Sir Richard Newport*, Knight, was Oct. 18. 1642. 18 Car. 1. created Baron; and this Lord *Francis* was created Viscount, March the 11th, 1674.

*The Lords Spiritual of the Realm of ENGLAND, now in Being,
Ranked according to their respective Places or Consecrations.*

Arch-Bishops.

1. **T**He most Reverend, and Eminently Right Honourable, his Grace Gilbert Sheldon Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Primate, and Metropolitan of all England, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, was Consecrated Bishop of London, Oct. 28. 1660. and thence Translated to Canterbury, Aug. 31. 1663. Dyed in 1677. Was succeeded by William Sancroft Dean of London, who was Consecrated Arch-Bishop in or about January, 1677.
2. The most Reverend Richard Stern, Arch-Bishop of York; Consecrated Bishop of Carlisle, Decemb. 2. 1660. and thence Translated to York in 1664.

Bishops.

1. The Right Reverend, and Right Honourable Humphrey Hinchman, Bishop of London, Lord Almoner, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council; was Consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, Octob. 28. 1660. and thence Translated to London, in 1663. Dyed in 1675. Who was succeeded by Henry Compton Bishop of Oxford, who was Translated unto London in or about January 1675. Consecrated Bishop of Oxford in or about 1674.
2. Nathanael Crew, Bishop of Oxford, was Translated unto Durham in or about 1674. Third Son of John Baron Crew of Stene.
3. George Morley Bishop of Winchester, Consecrated Bishop of Worcester, Octob. 28. 1660. and thence Translated to Winton in 1662. or 1663. Prelate of the most Noble Order of the Garter.
4. Herbert Croft, Consecrated Bishop of Hereford, in 1661.
5. Seth Ward Bishop of Salisbury, Consecrated Bishop of Exeter in 1662. Translated to Salisbury in 1667. and Chancellor of the most Noble Order of the Garter.
6. Joseph Henshaw, Consecrated Bishop of Peterborough in 1663.
7. Edward Rainbow, many years Master of St. Mary Magdalen Colledge in Cambridge, Consecrated Bishop of Carlisle in 1664.

8. John Dolbin, long time Dean of Westminster, Consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1666.
9. Anthony Sparrow, sometimes Master of Queens Colledge in Cambridge, Consecrated Bishop of Exeter in 1667. Translated unto Norwich in 1676.
10. Peter Gunning, long time Professor Regius in Divinity in Cambridge, sometimes Vice-Chancellor of that University, long Master of St. Johns there, was Consecrated Bishop of Chichester, in 1669. Translated unto Ely in or about 1673.
11. Thomas Wood Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Consecrated in 1671. who hath been formerly Dean of Coventry and Lichfield.
12. Guy Carleton Bishop of Bristol, Consecrated in 1671. who had been Dean of Carlisle.
13. William Pritchard Bishop of Gloucester, Consecrated in 1672.
14. John Pearson, long time the Lady Margarets Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, sometimes Vice-Chancellor of the University; many years Master of Trinity Colledge there, was Consecrated Bishop of Chester in 1672.
15. Peter Mewe, many years Master of St. John Baptist Colledge in Oxford; four years intermissively the most beloved Vice-Chancellor of that Famous University, lately Dean of Rochester, and Consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1672.
16. Humphrey Lloyd, Bishop of Bangor, Consecrated in 1673.
17. William Lloyd, Bishop of Landaff, Consecrated in or about 1675.
18. Ralph Brediock Bishop of Chichester, Consecrated in or about 1675.
19. John Fell Bishop of Oxford, Consecrated in or about 1675.
20. James Fleetwood Bishop of Worcester, Consecrated in or about 1675.
21. Thomas Barlow Bishop of Lincoln, Consecrated in or about 1675.
22. Thomas Lamplugh Bishop of Exeter, Consecrated in Nov. 1676.
23. William Thomas Bishop of St. David, Consecrated in or about 1675.
24. Isaac Barrow Bishop of St. Asaph, Consecrated in or about January, 1677. the same day with the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

The BARONS of ENGLAND.

1. **H**enry Howard, Baron Mowbray, eldest of Henry Duke of Norfolk, called by Writ, and sate by virtue thereof on Munday, January 28. 1677.
2. The most Noble, and Right Honourable John Nevil Baron of Abergavenny, first Baron of England; of the Degree onely of a Baron. -
3. James Touchett, Baron Audley of Highley, and Earl of Castle-Haven in Ireland, whose Ancestor was created Baron in or about 1297. in the 25th year of Edward the first of the Norman Line, but he was the fourth of that Name who had been King of England.
4. Charles West, Baron de la Ware.
5. George Berkley, alias Fitz-harding, Baron Berkley of Berkley Castle, whose Ancestors have been often Knights of the Garter, and undoubtedly a Family of as Antient Honour as any in England.
6. Thomas Parker Baron Morley and Monteagle, of very great Antiquity.
7. Benjamin Mildmay, Baron Fitz-Walter.
8. Longueville, Baronefs Grey of Ruthin.
9. Coigniers (usually pronounced Coniers) Darcy, Baron Darcy and Menil, exceeding antient in the North.
10. Robert Sherley, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, and Baronet.
11. Sutton, Baronefs Dudley, by Descent, and Baronefs Dowager Ward of Birmingham. Her Ancestor John Sutton of Dudley was summoned by Writ unto Parliament in or about 1442. the 20th of Henry the Sixth.
12. William Stourton, Baron Stourton of Stourton, whose Ancestor, Sir John Stourton, Knight, was created Baron in the 26th year of Henry the 6th, May 30. 1448.
13. Edward Vaux, Baron Vaux of Harowden, his Ancestor was created Baron by Henry the Eighth.
14. Henry Sandys, Baron Sandys de la Vine; whose Ancestor was created Baron in or about 1524. in the 15th of Henry the 8th.
15. Thomas Windsor Hickman, Baron Windsor of Bradenham, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Worcester; his Ancestor Sir Andrew Windsor was created Baron by Writ in or about 1524. in the 15th of Henry the 8th.
16. Wingfield Cromwell, Baron Cromwell of Oakham in England, and Earl of Arglis in Ireland, whose Ancestor, the Lord Gregory Cromwell, was created Baron Cromwell of Oakham, in or about 1539. in the Thirty first year of Henry the Eighth; Which Lord Gregory Cromwell, was the only Issue of Thomas Cromwell Earl of Essex, who was made Baron Cromwell of Oakham, July the 9th, 1536. 28 Hen. 8. which Earl Thomas was also Knight of the Garter, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and created Earl of Essex the 14th of the Calends of May, 1539. 31 Hen. 8th. He was also Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and the King's Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which gave him Precedency before all Archbishops; an Eminent Privy Councillor unto Henry the Eighth. He was also Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Justice in Eyre of the Forests and Chaces from the River of Trent Northward. He dyed July 28th, 1540. 32 Hen. 8th. When the Father was created an Earl, the Son was created a Baron.
17. Ralph Eure, Baron Eure, whose Ancestor was created Baron by Patent in the 35th year of Henry the Eighth, in or about 1544. The which Ralph succeeded his Brother Baron George lately deceased.
18. Philip Wharton, Baron Wharton of Wharton, and Lord of Helie, whose Ancestor Thomas Wharton was by Writ made Baron in the 35th year of Henry the 8th, in or about 1544.
19. William Willoughby, Baron Willoughby of Parham, Governour of the Isle of Barbadoes, whose Ancestor Sir William Willoughby Knight, was created in or about 1546.
20. William Paget, Baron Paget of Beaufort, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Bath; whose Ancestor Sir William Paget Knight, was by Writ made Baron Paget of Beaufort in or about 1551. who was Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter.
21. Charles North, Baron North of Kirtledge; Grey of Rolleston and Knight. This Baron in the life-time of his Father was summoned by Writ, and sate by the Title of Baron Grey of Rolleston, Oct. 27. 1673. whose Father the second Baron Dudley North dyed June 24. 1677. Whose Ancestor Sir Edward North, Knight, was summoned unto Parliament in or about 1553. 1 Maria.
22. James Bruges, Baron Sbandois of Sudeley, whose Ancestor was created Baron by Patent unto him and the Heirs males of his Body, in the same year.
23. Robert Cary, Baron Hunsdon, whose Ancestor was created Baron in or about 1558. 1 Eliz.
24. James Bertie (Son of the late Mountague Bertie Earl of Lindsey, and Lord Great Chamberlain of England) Baron Norris of Ricott; whose Ancestor Henry Norris was by Writ made

A Catalogue of the BARONS of ENGLAND.

made Baron in or about 1573. 15 Eliz.

25. *William Petre*, Baron *Petre* of *Writtle*, whose Ancestor *Sir John Petre*, Knight, a Person very memorable both in his Foreign Negotiations abroad, and Transactions at home, in behalf of his King and Countrey, was created Baron in the first year of King *James*, May 13. 1603.

26. *Digby Gerrard*, Baron *Gerrard* of *Gerrards-Bromley*; *Sir Thomas Gerrard*, Knight, sometimes Knight-Marshall, was created Baron July 21. in the same year.

Charles Stanhop, Baron *Stanhop* of *Harrington*, whose Father *Sir John*, a Knight, Vice-Chamberlain unto Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, was created Baron in the third year of King *James*, May 4. 1605. Dyed without Issue, and so extinguished in or about 1676.

27. *Henry Arundel*, Baron *Arundel* of *Warder-Castle*, and of the Earls of the Sacred Empire; whose Ancestor *Thomas Arundel* Count of the Empire, was created Baron, May 5. 1605.

28. *Steward*, Barones *Clifton* of *Lawton-Bromswold*; Her Great Grand-father *Sir Gervase Clifton*, Knight, was created Baron by Writ, 6 Jac. 1608.

29. *Christopher Roper*, Baron *Tenham* of *Tenham*, whose Great Grand-father, *Sir John Roper*, Knight, was created with Solemnity Baron, in the 14th of King *James*, July. 9. 1616.

30. *Foulk Grevil*, Baron *Brook* of *Beauchamps-court*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Stafford*; whose Predecessor *Sir Foulk Grevil*, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Cousin German unto the now Baron's Grand-father, was created Baron, Jan. 29. 1620. 18 Jac.

31. *Edward Mountague*, Baron *Mountague* of *Boughton*, the Head of all the *Mountagues* in *England*, and several times Marquisses, and Earls, and Men of high Renown in *France*, whence they first descended; whose Father, *Sir Edward Mountague*, was created Baron in the 19th year of King *James*, June 29. 1621.

32. *Ford Grey*, Baron *Grey* of *Wark*, and Baronet, (a Name and Family of great Antiquity and Honour in the North) his Grand-father was made Baron in the Twenty first year of King *James*, Febr. 11. 1623. formerly created Baronet, June 15. 1619. 17 Jac.

33. *John Roberts*, Baron *Roberts* of *Truro*, and Baronet; whose Father, *Sir Richard Roberts* Knight and Baronet, was created Baron *Roberts* of *Truro* in the Twenty second year of King *James*, January 26. 1624. and formerly created Baronet, July 3. 1621. 19 Jac.

34. *John Lovelace*, Baron *Lovelace* of *Hurley* in the County of *Berks*, Son and Heir of that great Example of Loyalty and obliging Candour, *Sir Richard Lovelace* Knight; who was created Baron *Lovelace* of *Hurley*, in the

Third year of King *Charles* the First, May 31. 1627.

35. *John Pawlet*, Baron *Pawlet* of *Hinton St. George*, whose Grand-father *John Pawlet* was created Baron in the Third year of King *Charles* the First, June 23. 1627. and was afterwards Knighted: who dyed in or about 1648. unto whom succeeded *Sir John Pawlet* his eldest Son, who dyed in or about 1665. who was the Father of the now Baron.

36. *William Maynard*, Baron *Maynard* of *Estaines* in *England*, and Baron *Maynard* of *Wickloe* in *Ireland*, and Baronet of *England*, Comptroller of his Majesties Household, and one of the Lords of his Majesties Council; *William* Baron *Maynard* of *Wicklow* in *Ireland*, Baronet and Knight, was created an *English* Baron, March 14. 1627. in the Third year of *Charles* the First.

37. *George Coventry*, Baron *Coventry* of *Alsborough* in *Worcestershire*, whose Grand-father, *Sir Thomas Coventry* Knight, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, was created Baron in the 4th year of *Charles* the First, April, 10. 1628. unto whom succeeded Baron *Thomas*, his eldest Son, who deceased in 1661. who was Father of the now Baron.

38. *Charles Mobun*, Baron *Mobun* of *Oak-hampton*, and Baronet, Great Grand-son of *John Mobun* Esquire; who was created Baron *Mobun* of *Oakhampton* in the Life-time of *Sir Reginald Mobun* Baronet, his Father, April 15. 1628. 4 Car. 1. who dyed in or about 1641. unto whom succeeded his Son Baron *Warwick Mobun*, who dyed in 1665. whose Son Baron *Charles Mobun* dyed in 1677. leaving the now Baron his onely Son in the first year of his age.

39. *Edward Howard*, Baron *Howard* of *Esrick*, and Knight of the Bath; created Baron in the 4th year of *Charles* the First, April 19. 1628. a fair Branch of those High and Flourishing Cedars of the *Howards*, in that spreading *Libanus* of *Norfolk*. Which Baron dyed in 1675. viving his Eldest Son the now Baron *Thomas* to succeed him.

40. *William Boteler*, Baron *Boteler* of *Bramsfield* and Baronet; *Sir John Butler* Baronet and Knight, his Father, was created Baron in the 4th year of *Charles* the First, July 10. 1628. formerly created Baronet April 12th. 1620. 18 Jac.

41. *Edward Herbert*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, and Baron *Herbert* of *Castle-Island* in *Ireland*, His Father a Person of great Parts and Learning, *Sir Edward Herbert* Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King *James*, was created an *English* Baron in the 5th year of *Charles* the First, May 7. 1629. 5 Car. 1.

John Finch, Baron *Finch* of *Fordwich*, and Knight, created Baron Apr. 7. 1640. 16 Car. 1. died without Issue in 1660.

John Craven, Baron *Craven* of *Ryton*, created Baron, March 21. 1642. 18 Car. 1. dyed without Issue.

42. *Richard*

A Catalogue of the BARONS of ENGLAND.

42. *Richard Vaughan*, Baron *Vaughan* of *Emlin* in *England*, and *Earl of Carbury* in *Ireland*, and one of the *Lords of his Majesties Privy Council*, was created *Baron* in the 19th of *Charles the First* Oct. 25. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
43. *Charles Smith*, Baron *Carrington* of *Worton-crawen* in the County of *Warwick*, and *Vicount Carrington* of *Barefore* in *Ireland*; *Sir Charles Smith* Knight, his Father, was created *Baron* Oct. 13. 1643. 19 Car. 1. died in 1664. who was also created *Vicount*, Nov. 4. following, 1643.
44. *Thomas Leigh*, Baron *Leigh* of *Stonley* in the County of *Warwick*, and hereditary *Baronet*. *Sir Thomas Leigh* his Grand-father, was created *Baron* in the 19th year of *Charles the First*, July 1. 1643. and died in 1671. whose Son *Sir Thomas Leigh* Knight, died before him, who was the Father of the now *Baron*.
45. *William Widdrington*, Baron *Widdrington* of *Blackney* in the County of *Lincoln*, created *Baron* in the 19th years of *Charles the First*, Nov. 10. 1643.
46. *Christopher Hatton*, Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby*, and *Governour* of the *Isle of Guernsey*, Son and *Heir* of *Christopher* Baron *Hatton* of *Kirby*, and *Knight* of the *Bath*, who was created *Baron Hatton* of *Kirby* in the 19th year of *Charles the First*, July 29. 1643.
- Ralph Hopton*, Baron *Hopton* of *Staton*, and *Knight* of the *Bath*, created *Baron* Sept. 4. 1643. 19 Car. 1. dyed without Issue.
47. *Richard Byron*, Baron *Byron* of *Rochdale Com. Lanc.* and *Knight*; *Sir John Byron* (his Brother) *Knight* of the *Bath*, created *Baron* Oct. 24. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
48. *Edward Ward*, Baron *Ward* of *Birmingham*; *Sir Humble Ward* his Father, was *Knighted* at *Oxford* June 24. 1643. 19 Car. 1. afterwards created *Baron*, March 23. in the same year, who dyed in 1670.
49. *Thomas Culpeper*, Baron *Culpeper* of *Thirswy* in *Kent*; *Sir John* his Father *Knight*, was created *Baron* the 20th year of *King Charles the First*, Oct. 21. 1644.
- Isaac Astley*, Baron *Astley* of *Reading*; *Sir Jacob Astley* Knight, (that memorable *Souldier* of his time, both in the *Netherlands* and *England*) his Grand-father, was created *Baron Astley* of *Reading* in the 20th year of *Charles the First*, Nov. 4. 1644. unto whom succeeded his Son *Baron Isaac Astley*, the Father of the now *Baron*.
- John Brook*, Baron *Cobham*, and *Knight*, was created *Baron* Jan. 3. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
51. *Lucas*, Baron *Lucas* of *Shenfield*; His *Uncle* *Sir John Lucas* Knight, was created *Baron* Jan. 3. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
52. *John Bellasis*, Baron *Bellasis* of *Worlaby* in the County of *Lincoln*; In the time of the late War, *Governour* of *York* and *Newark* upon
- Trent*; created *Baron* in the 20th year of *Charles the first*, Jan. 27. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
53. *Edward Watson*, Baron *Rockingham* of *Rockingham-Castle* in the County of *Northampton*; and *Baronet*; whose Father *Sir Lewis Watson* Knight and *Baronet*, was created *Baron* in the 20th of *Charles the first*, Jan. 29. 1644. 20 Car. 1. who was formerly created *Baronet* June 22. 1621. 19 Jac.
54. *Charles Gerrard*, Baron *Gerrard* of *Brandon* in *Suffolk*, sometimes one of his late *Majesties Generals*; who for his eminent services in the Wars, was created *Baron Gerrard* of *Brandon* in the twenty first year of *Charles the first*, Nov. 8. 1645.
55. *Robert Sutton*, Baron *Lexington* of *Aram* in the County of *Nottingham*; whose Father *Robert Sutton* was created *Baron* in the twenty first year of *Charles the first*, Nov. 21. 1645.
56. *Charles Henry Birkhoven*, Baron *Wotton* of *Bonyton* in the County of *Kent*, created *Baron* by this King.
57. *Marmaduke Langdale*, Baron *Langdale* of *Holme*; His Father *Sir Marmaduke Langdale* Knight, sometimes one of his late *Majesties Generals* of his *Northern Armies*: For his very many signal, and often successful services for his King and Countrey, was most deservedly created *Baron Langdale* of *Holme*, in the *Reign* of *Charles the Second*.
- William Crofts*, Baron *Crofts* of *Saxham* in the County of *Suffolk*, one of the *Gentlemen* of his *Majesties Bed-chamber*, and a most active and faithful servant to him ever, both at home and abroad; was worthily created by him in or about 1660. dyed without Issue in 1677.
58. *John Berkley*, Baron *Berkley* of *Stratton* in the County of *Somerset*, and *Knight*, and one of the *Lords of his Majesties Privy Council*. He is one of the younger *Sons* of the late *Maurice Berkley* of *Bruiton* in the County of *Somerset*, *Knight*, to which Family he the said *John* is so fair an Ornament, being a Person of polite Learning, having been acquainted both with The *Colledge* and *Camp*. Who (to say nothing of his publick or private *Employments* abroad, and his constant adhesion to our *Sacred Sovereign* beyond Seas) served his Father of blessed memory, from the first to the last: and having formerly laid the *Foundation* of his military Experience in the *Netherlands*, was here meritoriously advanced from a *Captain* to a *Collonel*, from a *Collonel* to a *Brigade*, from a *Brigadeer* to a *General*; being one of those four prime *Commanders* (after his happy *Reduction* of the *City of Exeter*, of which *City* and *Castle* he consequently was made *Governour*) who were constituted and appointed for management of the *Western Counties*, and so commissioned by our late *Sacred Sovereign*, by whom he was long before dubbed with the honour of *Kighthood*: and by his *Right* and *Royal Successor Charles the Second* (in compensation of his several signal

A Catalogue of the BARONS of ENGLAND.

signal Services, Fidelity, and Fortitude) dignified with the Baronry of *Berkley of Stratton*, in which quality of a Baron he appeared not publickly, till the Kings Coronation, although he had received his Patent two years before : the which Title was afterwards improved by other honourable and official accessions.

59. *Denzel Holles*, Baron *Holles* of *Ifeild* in the County of *Suffex*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, Lord High Steward of the Honours, Mannors, and Revenues belonging to the Queen, and *Custos Rotulorum* of the County of *Dorset*. A Peer universally learned, of eminent Prudence, Piety, Courage, Conduct, and Experience ; and consequently most condignly constituted, and sent Great Lord Ambassador Extraordinary by our Sovereign to the Crown and Court of *France* ; where, to the great Honour of the King, Interest of his three Kingdoms, and most ample satisfaction to that Great Court, he Resided in that most Noble Quality, from the year 1663. to May in the year 1666. maintaining there all the while, for the Honour of his Master, a Princely Port, and suitable Equipage both in the Entertainments at his Table, and splendid Retinue. And afterwards being sent by his, our said Sovereign Lord, Ambassador Extraordinary, and Great Plenipotentiary to the High and Mighty States of the *United Provinces*, then conven'd at *Breda* ; He appear'd in the same splendour and Princely Equipage. He had some years before been actively instrumental in the Restauration of our present Sovereign : for whose, and blessed Fathers sake, He was forced heretofore to fly, and seek shelter in the *Western* parts of *France* ; wisely then foreseeing that black storm which hover'd over the head of the then imprison'd King, and enslaved Kingdom : A storm that had been long in Brewing, and then ready to be Broach'd, by the Ring-leaders of that approaching Army, whose Disbandment, Downfall, and total Dissolution, He, the said *Denzell*, (with that small remnant of the Kings cordial Friends then sitting) most vigorously, with all might and main endeavour'd and labour'd for in the Long Parliament. The which Parliaments former Vote and free Donation of 5000 l. in lieu of his Losses, He, like a publick-spirited Patriot, utterly refus'd, with a magnanimous yet modest Disdain, in effect telling them, It would more consist with the Honour and Equity of the Houses, first to discharge the debts of the Nation, and make up the Breaches of the divided Kingdom, whose ruinous frame very much required those Supplies and Reparations which they had so prodigally heap'd on such Persons who in them had little want, less worth, and least of gratitude. He is the Son, and sole survivant Brother of two *Johns*, the two penultimate Earls of *Clare*, and also Uncle to the present *Gilbert*, the third Earl, by the now more than thrice Noble Name of *HOLLES* ; the which Earl *Gilbert's* Great Grand-father, was that memorable Sir *William Holles* Knight, the second of that name, a younger Son of Sir *William Holles* Knight,

Lord Mayor of *London*, in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth : To which City, with that of *Coventry*, He was a worthy Benefactor ; where, at his own Cost and Charges He erected that Magnificent Cross ; and his Lady also built and fairly endowed Alms-houses, which will stand as the Monuments and Witneses of so worthy minded, and publick-spirited Persons. The said *Denzell* was created Baron three dayes before the Coronation ; in whose Veins runs the Blood of the greatest and best Families of the Three Kingdoms : being the first Coronation Baron of this King's making.

60. *Charles Cornwallis*, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye*, and Baronet, Grand-son of that memorable Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Knight and Baronet ; who was created Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye* in *Suffolk* the same time, being the second Coronation Baron of this King's making ; unto whom succeeded his eldest Son, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Knight of the Bath, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye*, who dyed in or about 1672. those Hereditary Dignities of Baron and Baronet, are justly devolved, and consequently possessed by his Son the now Baron, at this day living.

61. *George Booth*, Baron *Delamere* of *Dunham-Massey* in *Cheshire*, and Baronet : being the third Coronation Baron. His Grand-father Sir *George Booth*, Knight and Baronet, and a lineal Descendant from one of those Eight most memorable Barons of *Chester* ; was created Baronet, May 22. 1611. 9 *Jac.* being the first day of the Creation of Baronets.

62. *Horatio Townsend*, Baron *Townsend* of *Lyn Regis*, and Baronet, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Norfolk*, and Vice-Admiral of the Coasts of that Country, was for his exemplary Loyalty, and known Fortitude, created Baron at the same time, being the fourth Coronation Baron of this King's making. His Father, Sir *Roger Townsend* of *Rainham* in *Norfolk* was created Baronet, April 16. 1617. 15 *Jac.* unto whom succeeded Sir *Roger* the eldest Son ; after him, the now Baron.

63. *John Crew*, Baron *Crew* of *Stene* in the County of *Northampton*, a Peer of surpassing Piety, Prudence, Candour, and Moderation, was most worthily created Baron *Crew* of *Stene* at the same time, being the sixth and last Coronation Baron of this King's making. The Baron *Ashley* was the fifth Coronation Baron at that time ; but since that time he was created Earl of *Shaftsbury*, wherefore he is ranked amongst the Earls.

64. Barons *Lucas* of *Writtle*, created Barons in 1663. and Countess of *Kent*.

65. *John Freshville*, Baron *Freshwill* of *Staveley* in the County of *Derby*, and Governour of *York* ; a Person of good Prudence, Fortitude, and Military Conduct ; was most worthily created by our Sacred Sovereign, Baron, in or about 1664.

66. *Richard Arundel*, Baron *Arundel* of *Trevice* in the County of *Cornwall* ; a Family of very great

Privy Councillors.

great Veneration and Antiquity in the *West*, whose Ancestours were men of great Remark and Honour, to which this Lord *Richard* is a superadded ornament; was very meritoriously, for his great Loyalty, and consequently Losses, made Baron, *Anno prædicto*.

67. *Thomas Butler* (or *Boteler*) Baron *Butler* of *Moreparke*, one of the Lords of his Majesties Council, and one of the Gentlemen of his Majesties Bed-Chamber, and Knight of the thrice Noble Order of the Garter, and Son and Heir apparent to his Illustrious Father *James Duke of Ormond* in Ireland, and Earl of *Brecknock* in *Wales*. The Family of which *Botelers* were highly Eminent and Honourable in the time of *Henry the Second*, and memorable long before. And how often they have been reputed both in War and Peace, I refer the Reader to the Antient Annals of *England*, and Records of the *Tower*, for fuller Information. The which Baron *Thomas*, for his signal and successful Services both by Sea and Land, in his respective Commands at home, and also Negotiations abroad, in the behalf of his Sovereign, was by him most deservedly created by Writ Baron *Butler* of *Moreparke*, and ac-

cordingly summon'd to sit amongst the Peers of the High Court of Parliament, *Sept. 18. 1666.* who was not called unto Parliament by his Father's Baronry.

68. *Thomas Clifford*, Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*, and Knight, created Baron, *April 22. 1672.*

69. *Richard Butler*, (or otherwise *Boteler*) Lord *Butler*, Baron of *Weston* in *Huntingtonshire*, so created by his Patent dated *August 27. 1673.* by the Titles of Lord *Butler*, and Baron of *Ash-ton*; which is rare, if to be presided in the like kind; who was also formerly in or about 1661, created Earl of *Arran* in Ireland. He is second Son unto *James Duke of Ormond*.

70. *Heneage Finch*, Baron *Finch* of *Darenty*, Baronet and Knight, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; created Baron, *January 10. 1673.* who had formerly been created Baronet *June 7. 1660.*

71. *Susan Ermine*, Baroness *Bellasis* of *Osgodby* in *Lincolnshire*, and Lady Dowager *Bellasis*, created Baroness for her life, *April 1. 1674.*

Privy Councillors.

1. *James Duke of York*, the King's onely Brother survivant.
2. Prince *Rupert*.
3. *Albert*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, dyed in *Nov. 1677.*
4. *Heneage Baron Finch*, Lord Chancellor of *England*.
5. *Thomas Earl of Danby*, Lord Treasurer.
6. *Arthur Earl of Anglesey*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.
7. *George Duke of Buckingham*.
8. *James Duke of Monmouth*.
9. *William Duke of New-Castle*, dyed in 1676.
10. *John Duke of Lauderdale* in *Scotland*.
11. *James Duke of Ormond* in Ireland.
12. *Henry Marquis of Dorchester*.
13. *Henry Marquis of Worcester*.
14. *Thomas Earl of Ossory* in Ireland, A Duke's Eldest Son.
15. *Robert Earl of Lindsey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*.
16. *Armbrey Eal of Oxford*.
17. *John Earl of Bridgewater*.
18. *Robert Earl of Leceister* dyed in 1677.
19. *Henry Earl of St. Alban*.
20. *John Earl of Bath*.
21. *Charles Earl of Carlisle*.
22. *William Earl of Craven*.
23. *Henry Earl of Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
24. *Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury*.
25. *John Earl of Rothesse* in *Scotland*.
26. *John Earl of Middleton* in *Scotland*.

27. *John Earl of Tivedale* in *Scotland*.
28. *Richard Earl of Carbury* in Ireland.
29. *Roger Earl of Orey* in Ireland.
30. *Thomas Vicount Falconbridge*.
31. *George Vicount Hallifax*.
32. *Humphrey Bishop of London*, dyed in 1675.
33. *John Baron Roberts*.
34. *William Baron Maynard*.
35. *Francis Vicount Newport*.
36. *John Baron Berkley*.
37. *Denzell Baron Holles*.
38. *Ralph Mountague Esq;* A Baron's Eldest Son.
39. *Sir George Carteret Knight*, Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Household.
40. *Henry Coventry Esq.* one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
41. *Sir John Duncombe Knight*.
42. *Sir Robert Car Baronet*, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*.
43. *Sir Thomas Chicheley Knight*; Master of the Ordnance.
44. *Sir Orlando Bridgeman Baronet*, dyed in 1674.
45. *Sir William Morrice*, Knight, dyed in or about 1676.
46. *Edward Seymour Esq.*
47. *Henry Compton Bishop of London*.
48. *William Sandcroft Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*.
49. *Sir Joseph Williamson Knight*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State.
50. *Sir John Ernesley Knight*, Chancellour of the Exchequer.

Principal

Principal Secretaries of State.

Henry Coventry, Esquire.

Sir Joseph Williamson Knight.

JUDGES.

<p>Heneage Baron Finch, Lord Chancellor of England. Sir Matthew Hale, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Kings-Bench. Dyed in or about 1676. Unto whom succeeded Sir Richard Rainsford Knight, who had his Writ of Ease in 1678. And then succeeded Sir William Scroggs, Knight. Sir Harbottle Grimston Baronet, Master of the Rolls in Chancery. Sir John Vaughan Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Dyed in or about 1674. Unto whom succeeded the Honourable Sir Francis North, Knight. Sir Edward Turner Knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Dyed in or about 1676. Unto whom succeeded the Honourable William Mountague Esquire.</p>	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p>Sir Tho. Twissden Baronet, Sir William Wild Baronet, Sir Tho. Jones, Knight.</p> </td> <td style="vertical-align: middle; font-size: 2em;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Judges of the Court of King's Bench.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p>Sir John Archer Knight. Sir William Ellis Baronet. Discharged in 1676. Sir Hugh Wyndham Knight. Sir Robert Atkins Knight of the Bath. Veere Bertie Esquire.</p> </td> <td style="vertical-align: middle; font-size: 2em;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Judges of the Court of the Common-Pleas.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p>Sir Christopher Turner Knight; Dyed in or about 1674. Sir Timothy Littleton Knight. Sir Edward Thurland Knight. Francis Bramston Esq. Clement Spelman Esq.</p> </td> <td style="vertical-align: middle; font-size: 2em;">}</td> <td style="vertical-align: middle;">Barons of the Court of Exchequer.</td> </tr> </table>	<p>Sir Tho. Twissden Baronet, Sir William Wild Baronet, Sir Tho. Jones, Knight.</p>	}	Judges of the Court of King's Bench.	<p>Sir John Archer Knight. Sir William Ellis Baronet. Discharged in 1676. Sir Hugh Wyndham Knight. Sir Robert Atkins Knight of the Bath. Veere Bertie Esquire.</p>	}	Judges of the Court of the Common-Pleas.	<p>Sir Christopher Turner Knight; Dyed in or about 1674. Sir Timothy Littleton Knight. Sir Edward Thurland Knight. Francis Bramston Esq. Clement Spelman Esq.</p>	}	Barons of the Court of Exchequer.
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<p>Sir Christopher Turner Knight; Dyed in or about 1674. Sir Timothy Littleton Knight. Sir Edward Thurland Knight. Francis Bramston Esq. Clement Spelman Esq.</p>	}	Barons of the Court of Exchequer.								

The King's Counsell at Law.

<p>Sir John Maynard Knight, the King's eldest Serjeant at Law. Sir William Jones Knight, the King's Attorney General. Sir Job Charleton Knight, Chief Justice of Chester, and the King's Serjeant at Law. Sir Francis Winnington Knight, the King's Solicitor General. Robert Milward Esq; the King's Justice at Chester, and of his Council Learned at Law. Sir Timotheus Baldwin Knight, the King's Serjeant. Sir Francis Pemberton Knight, the King's Serjeant. Richard Stoot, the King's Serjeant. Sir James Butler Knight, one of his Majesty's Learned Council; and the Queens Attorney General.</p>	<p>Sir John Churchill Knight, another of his Majesty's Learned Council, and Attorney General unto the Duke of York. Sir John Otway Knight; one of his Majesty's Learned Council. Sir Thomas Hammer Knight, another of his Majesty's Learned Council, and the Queens Solicitor. The Honourable Heneage Finch Esq; another of his Majesty's Learned Council, and the Duke of York's Solicitor General. Sir Robert Sawyer Knight, another of his Majesty's Learned Council. Sir George Jeffryes Knight, another of his Majesty's Learned Council. Sir Peter Ball Knight, who was Attorney General unto the late Queen-Mother.</p>
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BARONETS of ENGLAND.

1. **S**ir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave in the County of Suffolk, first Baronet of England, created May 22. 1611. 9 Jacob. unto the Dignity and Degree of a Baronet of England.
2. Sir Tho. Mansell of Morgan in the County of Glamorgan, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the same day.
Sir George Shirley of Staunton in the County of Leicester, created Baronet the same day. Sir Charles. Sir Robert. Sir Seymour. Sir Seymour. Sir Robert, now Baron Ferrers of Charley.
3. Sir John Stradling of St. Donates in Glamorgan, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the same day.
4. Sir Tho. Pelham of Loughton in Sussex, created Baronet the same day. Sir John.
5. Sir Rich. Houghton of Houghton-Tower in the County of Lancaster, created Baronet the same day. Sir Gilbert.
6. Sir Henry Hobart of Intwood in Norfolk, Baronet and Knight, then Attorney-General, afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas, created Baronet the same day. Sir Miles. Sir John.
7. Sir John Peyton of Isleham in Cambridge, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the same day. Extinct.
8. Sir Gervase Clifton of Clifton in Nottingham, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the same day: who dyed in 1666. Sir Gervase his eldest Son.
9. Sir Tho. Gerrard of Bryn in Lancast. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the same day.
10. Sir John St. John of Liddiard-Tregoz in Wilts, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the same day. Sir John. Sir Walter.
11. Sir John Shelley of Michel-grove in Suffolk, created Baronet the same day.
12. Sir Francis Barrington, of Barrington-Hall in Essex, created Baronet June the 29th. 1611. Sir Thomas. Sir John.
13. Hen. Berkley of Wymondham in Com. Leicest. Extinct, created Baronet *ut supra*.
14. Sir Richard Musgrave of Hartley-Castle in Westmorland, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
15. Sir Edward Seymour of Bury Castle in Com. Devon, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
16. Sir Anthony Cope of Hamwell in Com. Oxf. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
17. Sir Tho. Mounson of Carleton in the County of Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir John.
18. Sir George Griseley of Drakelow in Com. Derby, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
19. Sir Paul Tracy of Stanway in Com. Gloucest. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
20. Sir Robert Cotton of Connington in Com. Hunt. Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Thomas. Sir John.
21. Sir John Wentworth of Coffield in Essex, Extinct, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
22. Sir William Constable of Flamborough in Yorksbire, Extinct, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
23. Sir John Mollineux of Taversall in Com. Nottingham. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
24. Sir Francis Wortley of Wortley in Com. York, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
25. Sir William Kniveton of Mircaston, in Com. Derby. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
26. Sir William Woodhouse of Wilbey-Hall, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*.
27. Sir James Harrington of Ridlington in Com. Derby. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*.
28. Sir Henry Savil of Metbley in the County of York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
29. Sir Henry Willoughby of Risby in Com. Derby, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
30. Sir Lewis Tresham of Rushton in Com. Northampt. created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
31. Sir George St. Paul of Snaresford in Com. Linc. Baronet and Knight, created Bar. *ut supra*. Extinct.
32. Sir Phil. Tirwhit of Stainfield in Com. Linc. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
33. Sir Roger Dallison of Loughton in Com. Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
34. Sir Edward Carr of Sleaford in Com. Linc. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Dyed in 1619. Sir Robert dyed on Wednesday August 14. 1667. Sir Robert.
35. Sir Edward Hussey of Hennington in Com. Linc. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
36. Sir Le EStrange Mordant of Massingham parva in Com. Norfolk, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
37. Sir Tho. Bendish of Steeple-Bumsted in Com. Essex, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
38. Sir John Gwinne of Gwiddard in the County of Carnarvan, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
39. Sir Will. Throckmorton of Tortworth in Com. Glocest. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir Bainham.
40. Sir Rich. Worsely of Appledorf-combe, in Com. Hants, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
41. Sir Richard Fleetwood of Calwich in Com. Stafford, created Baronet *ut supra*.
42. Sir William Spencer of Yardington in the County of Oxf. created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir William. Sir Thomas.
43. Sir Samuel Peyton of Knowlton, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Thomas.
44. Sir Charles Morrison of Cashbury in Com. Hertf. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
45. Sir Henry Baker of Sissinghurst in Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
46. Sir Roger Appleton of South Hemstead in Essex, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
47. Sir William Sidley of Ailesford in Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir William. Sir Charles.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

36. Sir William Twisden of East-Peckam in Com. Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Roger.
37. Sir Edward Hales of Wood-Church in Com. Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Edward.
38. Sir William Monyns of Walwercher in Kent, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
39. Sir Thomas Mildmay of Mulsham in Com. Essex, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
- Sir Henry Lee of Quarendon in Com. Buckingham, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct. In which year of 1611. there were created on two several dayes, May 22. and June 29. Threescore and ten Baronets, many of whom are advanced unto higher Dignities, whose names are not therefore, for the most part, herein mentioned.
40. Sir Robert Nappier-Sandy of Lewton-How in the County of Bedford Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Sept. 24. 1612. 10 Jac. Sir Robert his Son surrendred that Patent unto King Charles the Second, with intent to take new Letters Patents of that Dignity to himself, with a Remainder unto his younger Sons John and Alexander, in Tail-male; but he dyed soon after. Whereupon King Charles the Second granted that Dignity unto the said John Nappier, with Remainder unto Alexander his Brother, with Remainder unto the Heirs males of the said Sir Robert, his Grand-father; with precedency before all Baronets made since that September the 24th, 1612. which was in the 10th year of King James; which new Letters Patents are dated March 4. 1660.
41. Sir Thomas Temple of Stow in Com. Bucks, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Peter. Sir Richard.
42. Sir Tho. Peniston of Leigh in Com. Sussex, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
43. Sir John Portman of Orchard in Com. Somerset, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet in the Tenth year of King James, Nov. 25. 1612. Sir Henry. Sir John. Sir Hugh. Sir William, and Sir William.
44. Sir Miles Sands of Ulberton in the Isle of Ely, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet the same day.
45. Sir William Gostwick of Willington in Com. Bedford, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Edward. Sir William.
- Sir Thomas Puckering of Weston in Com. Hertford, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
46. Sir William Wray of Glentworth in Com. Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
47. Sir William Ayliffe of Braxted Magna in Com. Essex, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
48. Sir Marmaduke Wivel of Constable-Burton in Com. York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
49. Sir John Peshall of Horsley in Com. Staff. created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir John.
50. Sir Francis Inglesfield of Wotton-Basset in Com. Wilts, created Baronet *ut supra*.
51. Sir William Essex of Beaucot in Com. Berks, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Thomas.
52. Sir Harbottle Grimston of Bradfield in Com. Essex, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Dyed in 1648. Sir Harbottle, Master of the Rolls in Chancery.
53. Sir Thomas Holt of Aston juxta Birmingham, in Com. Warwick, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*.
- Sir Thomas Blackston of Blackston in Com. Durham, created Baronet in the 13th year of King James; May 27. 1615. Extinct.
54. Sir Rowland Egerton of Egerton in Com. Cest. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet in the 15th year of King James, April 6. 1617.
55. Sir Simon Clark of Salford in Com. Warwick, created Baronet May 1. 1617.
- Sir Edward Fitton of Howsworth in Com. Cest. created Baronet Oct. 2. 1617. Extinct.
56. Sir Richard Lucy of Broxborne in the County of Herif. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet March 11. 1617. Dyed in April 1667. Sir Kingsmill.
57. Sir Matthew Boynton of Bramston in the County of York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet in the 16th year of King James, May 25. 1618.
58. Sir Tho. Littleton of Frankley in the County of Worcester, created Baronet July 25. 1618. 16 Jac.
59. Sir Thomas Burdet of Braincot in the County of Warwick, created Baronet February 25. *ut supra*.
60. Sir George Morton of St. Andrews Milbourn in the County of Dorset, created Baronet March 1. 1618. 16 Jacob. Dyed in or about 1661. Sir John.
61. Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton in Com. Rutland, created Baronet June 4. 1619. 17 Jac.
62. Sir William Villiers of Brookesby in Com. Leicester, created Baronet, June 19. *ut supra*. Sir George.
63. Sir William Hicks of Beverston in the County of Gloucester, created Baronet July 21. 1619. 17 Jac.
64. Sir Henry Salisbury of Llewenny in Com. Denby, created Baronet Nov. 10. *ut supra*.
65. Sir Erasmus Dryden of Canon-Ashby in Com. Northampton, created Baronet Nov. 16. *ut supra*. Sir John.
66. Sir William Armin of Osgodby in the County of Lincoln, Son and Heir of Sir William Armin Knight, was created Baronet Novem. 28. *ut supra*. Sir William. Sir Michael. Dyed in 1668.
- Sir William Bamburgh of Hanson in Com. York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Decem. 1. *ut supra*.
67. Sir Edward Hartopp of Freathby in the County of Leicester, created Baronet Decemb. 3. *ut supra*.
68. Sir John Mill of Canons-Court in Sussex, created Baronet Decemb. 3. *ut supra*.
69. Sir Francis Radcliffe of Darwent-water in the County of Cumberland, created Baronet Jan. 31. *ut supra*.
70. Sir David Fowlys of Ingleby in Com. York, Baronet and Knight, was created Baronet Febr. 6. *ut supra*. Sir David.
71. Sir Tho. Philips of Barrington in the County of Somersf. created Baronet February 16. *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

- Sir *Claudius Forster* of *Bambrugh Castle* in *Com. Northampt.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. March 7. 1619. 17 Jac. Extinct.
72. Sir *Anthony Chester* of *Chickley* in *Com. Bucks.* created Baronet March the twenty third, 1619. 17 Jac.
73. Sir *Samuel Tryon* of *Lair-Marney* in *Com. Essex.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet March 28. 1620. 18 Jac.
74. Sir *Adam Newton* of *Charleton* in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet April 2. 1620. 18 Jac.
75. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* of *Harrow of the Hill* in *Middlesex*; created Baronet April 13. 1620. 18 Jac. Dyed January 6. 1659. Sir *Francis*.
76. Sir *Humphrey Lee* of *Langley* in the County of *Salop*; created Baronet May 3. 1620. 18 Jac.
77. Sir *Richard Berney* of *Park hall* in *Redham* in *Com. Norfolk*, created Baronet May 5. 1620. 18 Jac.
78. Sir *Humphry Foster* of *Aldermaston* in *Com. Berks*; created Baronet May 20. 1620. 18 Jac.
- Sir *Thomas Biggs* of *Lentthwick* in *Com. Wigorn.* created Baronet May 26. 1620. 18 Jac. Extinct.
79. Sir *Henry Belsingham* of *Helsington* in *Com. Westmorland*, created Baronet May 30. 1620. 18 Jac.
- Sir *William Yelverton* of *Rengham* in *Com. Norfolk*, created Baronet May 31. 1620. 18 Jac. Extinct.
80. Sir *Thomas Gower* of *Steringham* in *Com. York.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet June 2. 1620. 18 Jac.
81. Sir *John Packington* of *Alesbury* in the County of *Bucks*, created Baronet June 22. 1620. 18 Jac.
82. Sir *Ralph Ashton* of *Lever*, in the County of *Lancaster*, created Baronet June 28. 1620. 18 Jac.
83. Sir *Tho. Roberts* of *Glaffenbury* in *Com. Kent.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 3. *ut supra*.
84. Sir *John Hammer* of *Hammer* in *Com. Flint.* created Baronet July 8. 1620. 18 Jac. Sir *John*.
85. Sir *Henry Felton* of *Plaiford* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Bar. July 20. 1620. 18 Jac.
- Sir *William Challoner* of *Gisborough* in *Com. York.* created Baronet July 21. 1620. Extinct.
- Sir *Edward Frier* of *Water-Eaton* in *Com. Oxford.* created Baronet July 22. 1620. 18 Jac.
86. Sir *Tho. Bishop* of *Parham* in *Com. Suffex.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 24. 1620. 18 Jac.
87. Sir *Francis Vincent* of *Stoak-daberon* in *Com. Surrey.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. July 26. 1620. 18 Jac.
- Sir *Henry Clere* of *Ormesby* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet, February 27. 1620; 18 Jacob. Extinct.
88. Sir *Benjamin Tichborne* of *Tichborne* in *Com. Hants.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet March 8. 1620. 18 Jac.
89. Sir *Richard Wilbraham* of *Woodbey* in *Com. Cestr.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. May 5. 1621. 19 Jac.
90. Sir *Thomas Delves* of *Doddington* in *Com. Cestr.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. May 5. 1621. 19 Jac.
91. Sir *Thomas Palmer* of *Wingham* in *Com. Kent.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet June 29. 1621. 19 Jac. Sir *Thomas*. Sir *Henry*.
92. Sir *John Rivers* of *Chafford* in *Com. Kent.* created Baronet July 19. 1621. 19 Jac. Sir *Thomas*. Sir *John*.
93. Sir *Henry Fernegan* of *Cosley* in the County of *Norfolk*, created Baronet Aug. 16. 1621. 19 Jac.
94. Sir *Thomas Darnell* of *Heyling* in the County of *Lincoln*, created Baronet Sept. 6. 1621. 19 Jac.
95. Sir *Isaack Sidley* of *great Chartre* in *Com. Kent.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Sept. 14. 1621. Sir *Isaack*.
96. Sir *Robert Brown* of *Walcott* in *Northamptonshire*, created Baronet Sept. 21. 1621. 19 Jac. Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*.
97. Sir *John Hewet* of *Headly-Hall* in *Com. York.* created Baronet Oct. 11. *ut supra*.
- Sir *Nicholas Hide* of *Alebury* in *Com. Harif.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Nov. 8. 1621. Sir *Thomas*. Extinct.
98. Sir *John Phillips* of *Picton* in *Com. Pembr.* created Baronet Nov. 9. 1621. 19 Jac.
99. Sir *John Stepney* of *Pendergast* in *Com. Pemb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Nov. 24. *ut supra*.
100. Sir *Baldwin Wake* of *Clevedon* in *Com. Somers.* created Baronet Decemb. 5. *ut supra*.
101. Sir *William Masham* of *High-Laver* in the County of *Essex*, created Baronet Decemb. 20. 1621.
102. Sir *John Colebrand* of *Botham* in the County of *Suffex*, created Baronet Decemb. 21. 1621. 19 Jac.
103. Sir *John Hotham* of *Scarborough* in *Com. York.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Januar. 4. 1621. deceased January 2. 1644. Sir *John*.
104. Sir *Francis Mansell* of *Mudlescombe* in *Com. Carnarvan*, created Baronet January 14. 1621. 19 Jac.
- Sir *Edward Powel* of *Penkelly* in the County of *Hertf.* who was one of the Masters of the Requests, created Baronet Jan. 18. *ut supra*. Extinct.
105. Sir *John Gerrard* of *Lammer* in *Com. Hertf.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Febr. 6. 1621. 19 Jac. Sir *John*.
106. Sir *Richard Grosvenor* (contractedly *Gravenor*) of *Laton* in the County of *Chester*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Febr. 23. *ut supra*.
- Sir *Henry Mody* of *Garesdon* in *Com. Wilts.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet March 11. *ut supra*. Extinct.
- Sir *John Barker* of *Grimston-Hall* in *Trinley* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Baronet March 17. *ut supra*. Extinct.
107. Sir *William Button* of *Alton* in *Com. Wilts.* Baronet and Knight; created Bar. March 18. *ut supra*. Sir *William*.
108. Sir *John Gage* of *Fearle* in *Com. Suffex*; created Baronet March 26. Anno 1622. *Vicesimo Regis Jacobi*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

109. Sir William Goring (Son and Heir of Sir Henry Goring of Burton in *Suffex*, Knight;) created Baronet, May 14. *ut supra*.
 Sir Peter Courteen of Aldington in the County of Worcester, created Baronet May 18. *ut supra*. Extinct.
110. Sir Richard Norton of Kotherfield in *Com. Southampton*, Baronet and Knight, was created Baronet May. 23. *ut supra*; to whom succeeded his Son Sir Richard, and then succeeded Sir John.
111. Sir John Leventhorp of Shingle-Hall in *Com. Hertf.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet May 30. *ut supra*. Sir Tho.
- Sir Capel Bedell of Hamerton in the County of Huntingdon, created Baronet June 3. *ut supra*. Extinct.
112. Sir John Darell of West-woodhey in the County of Carnarvan, created Baronet June 13. *ut supra*.
113. Sir William Williams of Veynold in the County of Carnarvan, created Baronet June 15. *ut supra*.
 Sir Francis Ashby of Harfield in *Com. Midd.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet June 18 *ut supra*. Extinct.
- Sir Anthony Ashley of St. Giles Wimborne in *Com. Dorset*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet July 3. 1622. 20 Jac. deceased without Issue male in Jan. 1627. 3 Car. 1. Left onely one Daughter, The Baronetess Anne Couper, Wife of Sir John Couper of Rockburne in the County of Southampton, Baronet, who were the Father and Mother of Anthony now Earl of Shaftsbury.
114. Sir Edmund Prideaux of Netherton in *Com. Devon*, created Baronet July 17. *ut supra*. Sir Peter.
115. Sir Tho. Haslerigge of Nofely in *Com. Leicest.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 21. *ut supra*. Sir Arthur. And now Sir Thomas.
116. Sir Tho. Burton of Stokerston in *Com. Leicest.* Baronet and Knight; created Bar. July 22. *ut supra*.
 Sir Francis Foliambe of Walton in *Com. Derby*, created Bar. July 24. *ut supra*. Extinct.
117. Sir Edward Yates of Buckland in *Com. Berks*, created Bar. July 30. *ut supra*.
118. Sir George Chudleigh of Ashton in the County of Devon, created Baronet Aug. 1. *ut supra*.
119. Sir William Meredith of Stansly in *Com. Denb.* created Baronet Aug. 13. *ut supra*.
120. Sir Francis Drake of Buckland in the County of Devon, created Baronet Aug. 20. *ut supra*.
121. Sir Hugh Middleton of Ruthen in the County of Denby, created Baronet, Octob. 22. *ut supra*.
122. Sir Gifford Thornhurst of Ague-Court, in the County of Kent, created Baronet Novemb. 12. *ut supra*.
123. Sir Robert Fisher of Packington in *Com. Warwick*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Decemb. 7. *ut supra*.
124. Sir Hardolph Westneys of Headdon in *Com. Notting.* created Baronet Decemb. 18. *ut supra*. Sir Hardolph.
 Sir Henry Skipwith of Prestwoud in *Com. Leicest.* Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Dec. 20. *ut supra*. Extinct.
125. Sir Tho. Harris of Boraton in *Com. Salop.* created Baronet Dec. 22. *ut supra*.
126. Sir Nichol. Tempest of Stilla, in the County of Durham, created Baronet Decemb. 23. *ut supra*.
- Sir Thomas Harris of Tong-Castle in the County of Salop. Serjeant at Law, was created Baronet April 12. 1623. 21 Jac. *ut supra*. Extinct.
127. Sir Edward Barkham of South-acre in the County of Norfolk, created Baronet June 28. *ut supra*.
- Sir John Corbet of Sprowston in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet July 4, *ut supra*. Extinct.
128. Sir Tho. Plaiters of Sotterly in *Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Aug. 13. *ut supra*. Sir William. Sir Lyonell. A Minister.
129. Sir John Ashfield of Netherhall in *Com. Suffex*, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet July 27. 1626. 2 Car. 1.
130. Sir Henry Harper of Calk in *Com. Derby*, created Bar. Sept. 8. *ut supra*.
131. Sir Edward Seabright of Besford in *Com. Worcester*, created Baronet, Decemb. 20. *ut supra*.
132. Sir John Beaumont of Gracedieu in the County of Leicester, created Baronet Jan. 29. *ut supra*.
133. Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden-Dering in *Com. Kent*, Baronet and Knight; created Bar. Febr. 1. *ut supra*. Dyed in or about 1644. Sir Edward.
- Sir George Kemp of Pentlone in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet Feb. 5. *ut supra*. Extinct.
134. Sir William Brereton of Hanford in *Com. Cest.* created Baronet March 10. *ut supra*.
- Sir Patricius Curwen of Workinton in *Com. Cumb.* created Baronet March 12. *ut supra*. Extinct.
135. Sir William Russel of Witley in the County of Worcester, created Baronet *ut supra*.
136. Sir John Spencer of Offley in *Com. Hertf.* created Bar. March 14. *ut supra*.
137. Sir Giles Escourt of Newton in *Com. Wilts.* Baronet and Knight, created Bar. March 17. *ut supra*.
- Sir Thomas Ailsbury (one of the Masters of Requests) created Baronet Apr. 19. 1627. in the third year of Charles the First. Extinct.
138. Sir Tho. Style of Wateringbury in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet Apr. 21. *ut supra*.
139. Sir Drue Drury of Norfolk, created Baronet May 7. *ut supra*.
- Sir Robert Crane of Chilton in the County of Suffolk, Knight, created Baronet May 11. *ut supra*. Extinct.
140. Sir Anthony Wingfield of Goodwin in *Com. Suffolk*, created Baronet *ut supra*.
141. Sir William Culpepper of Preston-Hall in the County of Kent, created Baronet *ut supra*.
142. Sir Giles Bridges of Wilton in *Com. Hereford*, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
143. Sir John Kirle of Much Marle, in the County of Hereford, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir John.
 Sir Humphry Styles of Beckenham in *Com. Kent*, created Baronet, May 20. *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

144. Sir Henry Moor of Faley, in Com. Berks, created Baronet May 21. *ut supra*.
145. Sir Tho. Heal of Fleet, in Com. Devon. created Baronet May 28. *ut supra*.
- Sir John Carleton of Holcum in the County of Oxford, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Extinct.
- Sir Tho. Maples of Stow, in Com. Hunt. created Baronet May 30. *ut supra* Extinct.
146. Sir John Iham of Lamport in the County of Northampton, Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Justinian.
147. Sir Henry Bagot of Blithfield in Com. Staff. created Baronet *ut supra*.
- Sir Lewis Pollard of Kings Nymph in the County of Devon. created Baronet May 31. *ut supra*. Sir Hugh, who was Comptroller of the King's Household. Extinct. Deceased in 1666.
148. Sir Francis Mannock of Giffords-Hall in Stoke near Neyland in Com. Suffolk. created Baronet June 1. *ut supra*.
- Sir Henry Griffith of Agnes-Burton in the County of York, created Baronet June 7. *ut supra*. Extinct.
149. Sir Lodowick Dier of Stoughton in the County of Huntington, created Baronet June 8. *ut supra*.
150. Sir Hugh Stukely of Hinton in Com. Hants. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, June 9. *ut supra*. To which Dignity his Son Sir Hugh detervedly succeeded.
151. Sir Edward Stanley of Bickerstaff in Com. Lanc. created Bar. June 26. *ut supra*.
152. Sir Edward Littleton of Pileton-Hall in the County of Stafford, created Bar. June 28. *ut supra*.
153. Sir Am'rose Brown of Betsworth-Castle in Com. Surrey, created Baronet July 7. *ut supra*. Sir Adam.
154. Sir Sackvil Crow of Llanhern in Com. Carnarvan, created Baronet July 8. *ut supra*: and afterwards many years Ambassadour to the Grand Seignior.
155. Sir Michael Livesey of East-Church in the Isle of Shippy, in the County of Kent, created Bar. July 11. *ut supra*.
- Sir Simon Bennet of Beauchampton in the County of Bucks. created Baronet July 17. *ut supra*. Extinct.
156. Sir Thomas Fisher of the Parish of St. Giles in Middlesex, Baronet and Knight; created Bar. July 19. *ut supra*. To whom succeeded Sir Thomas, and Sir Thomas, and lastly Sir Richard Fisher the fourth Baronet of this Family.
157. Sir Tho. Bowyer of Legthorne in the County of Suffex, created Baronet July 23. *ut supra*. Sir Henry.
158. Sir Buts Bacon of Miden-hall in the County of Suffolk, created Baronet July 29. *ut supra*.
159. Sir John Corbet of Stoak in Com. Salop. created Baronet Sept. 19. *ut supra*.
160. Sir Edward Tirrel of Thornton in the County of Bucks, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. Octob. 31. *ut supra*: Which Patent was afterwards surrendred by the said Sir Edward Tirrel, who thereupon, by a new Patent dated Febr. 19. 1638. 14 Car. 1. had the Title of a Baronet of England, granted unto himself with the Remainder unto the Heirs of Toby Tirrel, one of his Sons; and for default of such Issue, on Francis Tirrel, another of his Sons, and the Heirs males of the Body of the said Francis: and to have precedency from the date of his former Patent, dated as before-mentioned, Oct. 31. 1627. 3 Car. 1.
- Sir Basil Digwel of Tirlingham, alias Girlington, in Com. Kent, created Baronet, Febr. 28. *ut supra*. Extinct.
- Sir Richard Young Baronet and Knight, one of his late Majesties Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, created Baronet March 10. *ut supra*. Extinct.
- Sir William Pennyman of Marsk in the County of York; sometimes Governour of Oxford, where he lies buried under a fair Monument in Christ-Church, whose Name and Fame will live in the Annals of after-Ages. He was created Bar. May 6. 1628. 4 Car. 1.
161. Sir William Stonhouse of Radley in Com. Berks, created Baronet May 7. *ut supra*.
- Sir Tho. Fowler of Ilington Baronet and Knight, created Baronet May 21. *ut supra*. Extinct.
162. Sir John Fenwick of Fenwick in Com. Northumb. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet June 9. *ut supra*.
163. Sir William Wray of Trebitch in Com. Cornwall, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. June 30. *ut supra*.
164. Sir John Trelawny of Trelawny in Cornwall, created Baronet July 1. *ut supra*.
165. Sir John Conniers of Horden in Com. Durham, was created Baronet July 14. *ut supra*. To whom succeeded Sir Christopher.
166. Sir John Bolles of Scampton, (Son of Sir Geo. a Knight) was created Baronet July 24. *ut supra*.
167. Sir Thomas Aston of Aston in Com. Cest. created Baronet July 25. *ut supra*.
168. Sir Kenelm Jennour of Much-Dunmore in the County of Essex, created Baronet July 30. *ut supra*.
169. Sir John Price of Newton in Com. Montgom. Baronet and Knight, created Bar. Aug. 15. *ut supra*.
- Sir Rich. Beaumont of Witley in Com. York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Aug. 22. *ut supra*. Extinct.
170. Sir William Wiseman of Canfield-Hall in the County of Essex, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
171. Sir Tho. Nightringale of Newport-Pond, in Com. Essex, created Baronet, Septemb. 1. *ut supra*.
- Sir John Jaques of Middlesex, created Bar. Sept. 2. *ut supra*. Extinct. who was one of his then Majesties Gentlemen Pensioners.
172. Sir Robert Dillington of Knighton in the Isle of Wight, created Baronet Sept. 6. *ut supra*. Sir Robert his Grand-son.
173. Sir Francis Pile of Compton in the County of Berks, (the Eldest Son and Heir of Sir Gabriel Pile of Compton aforesaid, Knight;) created Baronet Sept. 12. *ut supra*, who decess'd in 1635. in the Eight and fortieth year of his age, Sir Francis his eldest Son, decess'd Febr. 12. 1648. in the Two and thirtieth year of his age, without Issue Male, unto whom succeeded in the Baronetal Dignity, Sir Seymour, his next Brother.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

174. Sir John Pole (pronounced Pool) of Shute in Com. Devon created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir Courtney, his Son.
- Sir William Lewis of Langors in the County of Brecknock, created Baronet September 14. *ut supra*. Dyed without Issue or Male in 1677.
175. Sir William Culpepper of Wakehurst, in Com. Suffex, created Bar. Sept. 20. *ut supra*.
176. Sir John Lawrence of Ivor in Com. Bucks, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Octob. 9. *ut supra*.
177. Sir Anthony Slingsby. of Scriven in the County of York, created Baronet Octob. 23. *ut supra*.
178. Sir Tho. Vavasor of Haslewood in Com. York, created Baronet Octob. 24. *ut supra*.
- Sir Peter Vanlor of Tylehurst in Com. Berks created Bar. Novem. 3. *ut supra*. Extinct.
179. Sir Robert Wolsely of Wolsely in Com. Staff. created Baronet Novemb. 24. *ut supra*. Sir Charles.
180. Sir Rice Rudd of Abergavenny in Com. Carnarvan created Bar. Dec. 18. *ut supra*.
181. Sir Richard Wiseman of Thunderfly in Com. Effex, created Bar. Dec. 8. *ut supra*.
182. Sir Henry Ferrers of Skelingtonthorpe in Com. Linc. created Bar. Dec. 19. *ut supra*.
183. Sir John Anderson of St. Ives in Com. Hunt. created Baronet January 3. *ut supra*.
184. Sir William Russel of Chippenham in Com. Camb. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet January 19. *ut supra*. From whom Sir Francis, a Gentleman of great worth and Honour.
185. Sir Richard Everard of Much-Waltham in Com. Effex, created Baronet January 29. *ut supra*.
186. Sir Thomas Powel of Berkenhead in Com. Cest. created Baronet *ut supra*.
187. Sir William Luckin of Waltham in Com. Effex, created Baronet March 2. *ut supra*.
188. Sir Richard Graham of Eske in Com. Cumberland, created Baronet March 29. in the fifth year of Charles the First, and of our Lord, 1629.
- Sir Geo. Twisleton of Barley in Com. York, created Baronet April 2. *ut supra*. Extinct.
- Sir William Acton of the City of London, created Baronet May 30. *ut supra*. Extinct.
189. Sir Nicholas Le-Strange of Hunstanton in Com. Norf. created Baronet June 1. *ut supra*.
- Sir John Holland of Quiddenham in Com. Norf. created Baronet June 15. *ut supra*.
- Sir Edw. Alyen of Hatfield in Com. Effex, created Baronet June 24. *ut supra*. Extinct.
190. Sir Richard Earl of Cragglethorpe in Com. Lincoln, created Baronet July 2. *ut supra*.
- Sir Robert Duce Alderman of London, created Baronet Nov. 28. *ut supra*. Sir Richard. Sir William, a Knight of the Bath. Created Sept. 21. 1675. Viscount Down, and Baron of Cloney in Ireland.
- Sir Richard Greenvil of Kilkhampton in Com. Cornwall, Baronet and Knight, who dyed without Issue male; he was created Baronet April. 9. 1630. 6 Car. 1. Who was formerly Knighted at Portsmouth, June 20th. 1627. 3 Car. 1.
191. Sir Charles Vavasor of Killingthorpe in Com. Linc. created Baronet June 22 1631, in the seventh year of Charles the First.
- Sir Edward Moseley of Rowleston in Com. Stafford, created Baronet July 10. Anno 1640. Regis Caroli decimo sexto. Dyed in 1659. Sir Edward, his onely Son, dyed Oct. 14. 1665. Extinct.
192. Sir Martin Lumley of Great Bradford in Com. Effex. created Baronet Jan. 8. *ut supra*. who was Knighted the day after. Sir Martin.
193. Sir William Dalston of Dalston in Com. Cumb. created Baronet February 15 *ut supra*. who was Knighted July 31. following, in 1641.
194. Sir Henry Fletcher of Hutton in Com. Cumber. created Baronet Febr. 19. *ut supra*. who was kill'd in the Cause of his King and Countrey; from whom descended his Son and Heir Sir George, a worthy Gentleman, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of Cumberland, and one of the Knights of that Shire to this Parliament.
195. Sir Nicholas Cole of Branspeth in Com. Durham, created Baronet March 4. *ut supra*.
- Sir Edmond Pye of Leckhamstead in Com. Bucks, created Baronet Apr. 23. 1641. 17 Car. 1. and afterwards Knighted, the 27th. of the same month. Extinct. Dyed without Issue male in or about 1673.
196. Sir Simon Every of Eggington in Com. Derby, created Baronet May 26. *ut supra*. Knighted June 4. following.
197. Sir William Langely of Higham-Gabion in Com. Bedf. created Baronet May 29. *ut supra*.
198. Sir James Stonehouse of Amerden-Hall, in Com. Effex, created Baronet June 11. *ut supra*.
199. Sir John Palgrave of Norwood-Braningham in the County of Norfolk, created Baronet June 24. *ut supra*. Knighted afterwards, the 28th of that month.
200. Sir Gerrard Napper of Middle-Marsh-hall in Com. Dorset, created Baronet June 25. *ut supra*. Knighted afterwards, the 29th of that month.
201. Sir Tho. Whitmore of Apley in Com. Salop. created Baronet June 28th *ut supra*, and Knighted the same day. From whom Sir William, and likewise Sir Thomas, a Knight of the antient Order of the Bath.
202. Sir John Manly of Linton in the County of Kent, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
203. Sir Tho. Cave, junior, of Stamford in the County of Northampton, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet June 30. *ut supra*.
204. Sir Christopher Yelverton of Easton-Manduit in Com. Northamp. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Henry.
205. Sir William Boteler of Teston in the County of Kent, created Baronet July 3. *ut supra*. Knighted the next day. Sir Oliver.
206. Sir Tho. Hatton of Long Stanton in Com. Camb. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 5. *ut supra*.
207. Sir Thomas Abdy of Fex-hall in the County of Effex, created Baronet July 7. *ut supra*; and Knighted the day after.
208. Sir John Bampffield of Polymore in the County of Devon, created Baronet July 14. *ut supra*. Dyed in 1650. Sir Copleston.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

209. Sir John Cotton of Landwade in the County of Camb. Baronet and Knight; created Baronet, *ut supra*.
210. Sir Simon D'Ewes of Stow-Hall in Com. Suff. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 15. *ut supra*. Sir Willoughby.
211. Sir Hen. Frederick Thynne, alias Boteville of Cause-Castle in the County of Salop, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
212. Sir John Burgoyne of Sutton in Com. Bedford, created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir Roger Dyed in 1677. Sir John.
213. Sir John Northcot of Haine in Com. Devon, created Baronet, July 16. *ut supra*.
- Sir William Drake of Sherdeleyes in the County of Bucks, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 17. *ut supra*. Extinct. Dyed a Bachelor in 1669.
214. Sir Thomas Reus of Roufelench in Com. Wigor. created Baronet July 23. *ut supra*.
215. Sir Ralph Hare of Stow-Bardolph in Com. Norf. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
216. Sir John Norwich of Brumoton in the County of Northampt. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 24. *ut supra*.
217. Sir John Brownlowe of Belton in the County of Lincoln, created Baronet July 26. *ut supra*.
218. Sir William Brownlow (Brother to the said Sir John) of Humby in Com. Lincoln, created Baronet July 27. *ut supra*: who dyed in 1666. his Eldest Son Sir Richard dyed July 3. 1668. leaving his Eldest Son Sir John.
219. Sir John Sydenham of Brimpton in the County of Somerset, created Baronet July 28. *ut supra*: from whom is the present Sir John Sydenham, Baronet, and one of the Knights of the Shire of the County of Somerset to this present Parliament.
- Sir Henry Pratt of Colshal in Com. Berks, created Baronet, *ut supra*: to whom Sir George Pratt, his eldest Son, succeeded: upon whose late death succeeded Sir Henry, the third Baronet of his Name: but lately dead. Extinct.
220. Sir Francis Nicholas of Hardwick in Com. Northampt. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
221. Sir William Strickland of Boynton in Com. York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 30. *ut supra*. Dyed Sept. 12. 1673. Sir Thomas, his onely Son.
222. Sir Tho. Wolryche (an old Saxon Family, antiently Ulrick) of Dudmeston, in Com. Salop. Baronet and Knight, a Member of many Parliaments, and one of the Deputy Lieutenants of that County; a very memorable Patriot, and signally conspicuous for his Loyalty, Fidelity, and Fortitude; who was Knighted long before, and created Baronet Aug. 4. *ut supra*. To which Dignity Sir Francis, his Eldest Son, succeeded; His youngest Son being John Wolryche Esq; a good Proficient in the University of Cambridge, Barrister of the Society of Grayes-Inne. London; Doctor of the Civil Laws in the University of Oxford; a Gentleman every way most worthily accomplish'd, generously obliging all, and generally belov'd of all that have the honour of his conversation and acquaintance.
223. Sir Thomas Maleverer of Allerton-Maleverer in Yorkshire, created the same day.
224. Sir William Boughton of Lawford, in Com. Warwick, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
225. Sir John Chichester of Rawleigh, in Com. Devon, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
226. Sir Norton Kyatchbull of Mersham in Com. Kent, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
- Sir Hugh Wyndham of Pilsden-Court in Com. Dorset, created Baronet, *ut supra*, and Knighted afterwards, the 10th day of the same month. Extinct. Who dyed without Issue male.
227. Sir Richard Carew (a Family of which there have been Barons of the Realm) of Antony in the County of Cornwall, created Baronet Aug. 9. *ut supra*. Sir Alexander dyed Decemb. 23. 1644. Sir John.
228. Sir William Castleton of St. Edmonds-bury in Suffolk, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
229. Sir Richard Price of Gogarthan in the County of Cardigan, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
230. Sir Hugh Cholmely of Whitby in Com. York, created Baronet Aug. 10. *ut supra*. Sir William, who dyed in 1663. Sir Hugh.
231. Sir William Spring of Pakenham in Com. Suff. created Baronet Aug. 11. *ut supra*.
232. Sir Tho. Trevor of Enfield in the County of Middlesex, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
233. Sir John Curson of Kedleston in Com. Derby, Baronet of England and Scotland, created Baronet of England, *ut supra*.
234. Sir Hugh Owen of Orleton in Com. Pembr. created Baronet, *ut supra*; and Knighted the day before.
235. Sir Morton Briggs of Haughton in Com. Salop. created Baronet Aug. 12. *ut supra*.
236. Sir Hen. Hayman of Somersfield in Com. Kent, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Petr.
237. Sir Tho. Sandford of Hough-hall-Castle in Westmorland, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
238. Sir Francis Rhodes of Ball-borough in Com. Derby, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Aug. 14. *ut supra*.
239. Sir Rich. Sprignell of Coppenthorp, in Com. York, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Robert.
240. Sir John Potts of Mannington in Com. Norf. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
241. Sir John Gooderick of Ribston in the County of York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
242. Sir Robert Binloes of Barwick in Com. Lancaster, created Baronet Aug. 16. *ut supra*.
243. Sir William Walter of Saresden in Com. Oxf. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
244. Sir Thomas Lawley of Spoonhill in Com. Salop. created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir Francis.
245. Sir William Farmer of Easton-Neston in Com. Northampt. created Baronet September 6. *ut supra*.
246. Sir John Davie of Creedy in the County of Devon, created Baronet Sept. 9. *ut supra*.
247. Sir Tho. Pettus of Rockbeath, in Com. Northamp. created Baronet Sept. 23. *ut supra*. Sir John.
248. Sir William Andrew of Denton in the County of Northampt. created Baronet Decemb. 11. *ut supra*.
249. Sir John Mawx of the Isle of Wight, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Sir William. Sir John.
- Sir Richard Gurney of London, Baronet and Knight, and Lord Mayor of London; (and a most Loyal one, exemplified in his Services and Sufferings

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

- Sufferings for the late King) created Baronet Decemb. 14. *ut supra*. Extinct.
249. Sir Thomas Willis of Fen-Ditton in Com. Camb. created Baronet Decemb. 15. *ut supra*.
250. Sir Francis Armitage of Kirkly in the County of York, created Baronet *ut supra*.
251. Sir Rich. Harford of Weston in Com. Leicest. created Baronet Decemb. 18. *ut supra*.
252. Sir Humphry Tufston of the Mote in the County of Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Decemb. 24. *ut supra*. Sir John.
253. Sir Edward Coke of Langford in Com. Derby, created Baronet Decemb. 30. *ut supra*.
- Sir Isaac Asteley of Melton-Constable in the County of Norfolk, created Baronet January 21. *ut supra*, and Knighted the same day at Windsor. Extinct.
- Sir David Cunningham of London, Baronet of England and Scotland, created Baronet of Scotland Jan. 22. *ut supra*. Extinct.
254. Sir John Rayney of Wrotham in Com. Kent, Baronet of England and Scotland, created Baronet of England, *ut supra*.
- Sir Rivet Eldred of Saxham Magna in Suffolk, created Baronet Jan. 28. *ut supra*. Extinct.
255. Sir John Gell of Hopton in the County of Derby, created Baronet, *ut supra*. Deceased in 1671. Sir John.
256. Sir Vincent Corbet of Morton-Corbet in the County of Salop, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
257. Sir John Wray of Woodsom in the County of York, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, Febr. 4. *ut supra*.
258. Sir Thomas Trollop of Casewick in Com. Linc. created Baronet February 5. *ut supra*. Sir William. Dyed in or about 1678.
259. Sir Edward Thomas of Michelston in the County of Glamorg. created Baronet March 3. *ut supra*.
260. Sir Will. Comper of Rathing Court in Com. Kent, Baronet of England and Scotland, created Baronet of England March 4. *ut supra*. Dyed in 1664. Sir William his Grandson.
- Sir Denner Strut of Little Wotly-Hall in Com. Essex, created Baronet March 5. *ut supra*.
261. Sir William St. Quintin of Harpam in Com. York, created Baronet March 8. *ut supra*.
262. Sir Robert Kemp of Gissing in the County of Norfolk, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet March 14. *ut supra*.
263. Sir John Read of Bocket-Hall in Com. Hertf. created Baronet March 16. *ut supra*. who was Knighted at New-Market four dayes before: the 12th of that month.
- Sir James Enion of Flowre in Com. Northampt. created Baronet April 9. Anno Dom. 1642. in the 18th year of Charles the First.
264. Sir Edm. Williams of Marlbul in Com. Dorset, created Baronet Apr. 19. *ut supra*. Sir John.
- Sir John Williams of Minster-Court in the Isle of Thanet, created Baronet April 22. *ut supra*. Dyed in Febr. 1668. Extinct.
265. Sir Geo. Wintour of Huddington in the County of Wigorn, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet April 29. *ut supra*.
266. Sir John Borlace of Bockner in Com. Bucks, created Baronet May 4. *ut supra*.
- Sir Hen. Knowlys of Grove-place in Com. Hants, created Baronet May 6. *ut supra*. Extinct.
267. Sir John Hamilton of London, created Baronet May 11. *ut supra*.
268. Sir Edward Morgan of Llanternam in Com. Monm. created Baronet May 12. *ut supra*.
269. Sir Nicholas Kemeys of Keren-mable in Com. Glamorg. a Person of great Fidelity and Fortitude, created Baronet May 13. *ut supra*.
270. Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby in the County of Monmouth, created Baronet May 14. *ut supra*.
271. Sir John Reresby of Triberge in the County of York, created Baronet May 16. *ut supra*.
272. Sir Poynings Moore of Losely, in the County of Surrey, created Baronet May 18. *ut supra*. Sir William.
273. Sir Christopher Dawney of Cowick, in Com. York, created Baronet May 19. *ut supra*.
274. Sir William Inglesby of Ripley in Com. York, created Baronet May 27. *ut supra*.
275. Sir Tho. Hampson of Taplow in the County of Bucks, created Baronet June 3. *ut supra*. Sir Thomas. Sir Dennis.
276. Sir Tho. Williamson of East-Murkham in Com. Notting. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
277. Sir William Denny of Gillingham in Com. Norf. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
278. Sir Richard Hardres of Hardres, in Com. Kent, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
279. Sir Christopher Lowther of Whitbaven in the County of Cumberland, created Baronet June 11. *ut supra*.
280. Sir Tho. Alston of Odebill in the County of Bedford, created Baronet June 13. *ut supra*.
281. Sir Edw. Corbet of Leighton in Com. Montgom. created Baronet June 20. *ut supra*.
- Sir George Middleton of Leighton in the County of Lancaster, created Baronet June 24. *ut supra*. Extinct.
282. Sir Edward Payler of Thoraby, in Com. York, created Baronet June 28. *ut supra*.
283. Sir Math. Valckenburgh of Middleing in the County of York, created Baronet July 20. *ut supra*.
284. Sir Philip Constable of Everingham in Com. Eborac. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
285. Sir Ralph Blackstone of Gibside in Com. Durham, created Baronet July 30. *ut supra*.
286. Sir Edw. Widdrington of Carlington in the County of Northampton, Baronet of England and Scotland, created Baronet of England August 8. *ut supra*.
287. Sir Robert Markeham of Sedgebrook in Com. Linc. created Baronet Aug. 15. *ut supra*.
288. Sir Philip Hungat of Saxton in the County of York, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
289. Sir Stephen Leonard of West-wickham in Com. Kent, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
290. Sir William Thorold of Marston in the County of Linc. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Aug. 24. *ut supra*.
291. Sir Walter Rudston of Hayton in Com. Eborac. created Baronet Aug. 29. *ut supra*.
292. Sir Walter Wrotesley of Wrotesley in Com. Staff. created Baronet Aug. 30. *ut supra*.
293. Sir Thomas Bland of Kippax-Park in the County of York, created Baronet Aug 31. *ut supra*.
294. Sir Rokert Throckmorton of Loughton in the County of Warwick, created Baronet Sept. 1. *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

295. Sir William Halton of Sanford in Com. Essex. created Baronet Sept. 10. *ut supra*.
296. Sir Bocket Spencer of Offley in Com. Hertf. created Baronet Sept. 26. *ut supra*.
297. Sir Edward Golding of Colston-Basset in Com. Notting. created Baronet Septemb. 27. *ut supra*.
298. Sir William Smith of Crantock in Com. Cornwall, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
299. Sir Henry Henne of Wingfield in Com. Berks, created Baronet Octob. 1. *ut supra*.
300. Sir Walter Blount of Soddington in Com. Worcester, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
301. Sir Adam Littleton of Stoak-Milburg in the County of Salop, created Baronet Octob. 24. *ut supra*.
302. Sir Thomas Haggerston of Haggerston in Com. Northumb. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
303. Sir Tho. Liddle of Ravensholm-Castle in Com. Ducham, created Baronet Nov. 2. *ut supra*.
- Sir Richard Landy of Exeter, created Baronet Nov. 9. *ut supra*. Extinct.
304. Sir Thomas Chamberlain of Wickham in Com. Oxon. created Baronet Febr. 14. *ut supra*.
305. Sir Henry Hunlock of Wingarworth in the County of Derby, created Baronet Febr. 28. *ut supra*.
306. Sir Thomas Bidd of Camet-Oysells in Com. Hants, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
- Sir Richard Crane of Woodring in the County of Norfolk, created Baronet March 20th. *ut supra*. Extinct.
307. Sir Samuel Dandvers of Culworth in the County of Northampton, created Baronet March 21. *ut supra*.
308. Sir Hen. Anderson of Penley in Com. Hertf. created Baronet July 3. in the year of our Lord 1643. and in the Nineteenth year of Charles the First.
- Sir William Vavasor of the County of York created Baronet July 17. *ut supra*.
309. Sir Henry Jones of Albermarles in the County of Caermarib. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 26. *ut supra*.
310. Sir Edward Walgrave of Hever-Castle in Com. Kent, Knight, created Baronet August 1. *ut supra*.
311. Sir John Pate of Sisonby in Com. Leicest. created Baronet Octob. 28. *ut supra*.
312. Sir John Bale of Carleton-Curley in Com. Leicest. created Baronet Nov. 9. *ut supra*.
313. Sir Brian O Neal of the County of Dublin, created Baronet Nov. 13. *ut supra*.
314. Sir Willoughby Hickman of Gainsborough in Com. Lincoln. created Baronet Novemb. 16. *ut supra*.
315. Sir John Botteler of Bramfield in Com. Hertf. created Baronet Decemb. 7. *ut supra*.
316. Sir Edward Bathurst of Leach-land in Com. Gloucest. created Baronet Decemb. 9. *ut supra*.
317. Sir Edw. Acton of Aldenham in Com. Salop. created Baronet Jan. 17. *ut supra*.
318. Sir John Preston of Furness, in Com. Lancast. created Baronet April 1. 1644. in the 20th year of the Reign of Charles the First.
319. Sir John Web of Odstoak in Com. Wilts, created Baronet April 2. *ut supra*.
320. Sir Thomas Prestwich of Holme in Com. Lanc. created Baronet April 25. *ut supra*.
321. Sir Hen. Williams of Guernevet in the County of Brecknock, created Baronet May 4. *ut supra*.
- Sir Gervas Lucas of Fenton in Com. Linc. created Baronet May 14. *ut supra*. Extinct.
322. Sir Robert Thorold of Hawley in Com. Linc. created Baronet June 14. *ut supra*.
323. Sir John Scudamore of Balington in Com. Heref. created Baronet July 23. *ut supra*.
324. Sir Richard Vivian of Trelowren in the County of Cornwall, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Febr. 12. *ut supra*.
325. Sir William Vancolster of Amsterdam, created Baronet Febr. 28. *ut supra*.
326. Sir William de Boreel of Amsterdam, created Baronet March 21. *ut supra*.
327. Sir George Carteret, most deservedly created Baronet May 9. 1645. 21 Car. 1. long time one of the Members of his Majesties Council, and Vice-Chamberlain of his Household.
328. Sir Tho. Windebanck of Haynes in Com. Wilts, created Baronet Novemb. 25. *ut supra*.
329. Sir Benjamin Wright of Dennington in Com. Suff. created Baronet Febr. 7. *ut supra*. This Patent was afterwards superseded by the Kings Warrant.
330. Sir Edw. Charleton of Hefleside in Com. Northumb. created Baronet March 6. *ut supra*.
331. Sir Richard Willis Baronet and Knight, (Brother of Sir Tho. Willis of Fendinton in Com. Cambr. Baronet) Colonel of a Regiment of Horse for his Majesty; also Coll.-General of the Counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Rutland, and Governour of the Town and Castle of Newark, was created Baronet June 11. Anno Domini 1646, in the Twenty second year of the Reign of Charles the First.
332. Sir Evan Lloyd of Tale in Denbigh, created Baronet.
333. Sir Richard Browne of Depthford in Com. Kent, long time Resident in France for their Majesties King Charles the First, and King Charles the Second, with King Lewis the 13th, and King Lewis the 14th, the most Christian Kings of France; First Clerk of his Majesties Privy Council, Master of Trinity-House in London; was most deservedly created Baronet by Letters Patents dated at St. Germans in France, Sept. 1. Anno Domini 1649. in the first year of the Reign of Charles the Second, his and our most Gracious Sovereign.
334. Sir Hen. de Vic of the Isle of Guernsey, Resident at Brussels for his Majesty King Charles the First, and his Great Successor Charles the Second, near Twenty years; late Chancellour of the Garter; was most deservedly created Baronet, by Letters Patents dated at St. Germans, Sept. 2. *ut supra*.
335. Sir Richard Forster of Stokesley in the County of York, created Baronet by Patent bearing date at the same place, Sept. 18. *ut supra*.
336. Sir Richard Fanshawe, Master of the Requests, and his Majesties Ambassadour Extraordinary to the King of Spain; was most deservedly created Baronet Sept. 2. Anno 1650. in the second year of Charles the Second; Which universally Learned, and most accomplish'd Baronet, though he be dead, yet the Lucubrations, and noble Productions of his Brain, will live to after-Ages, to keep fresh his remembrance; Dyed Ambassadour in Spain in 1666. Sir Richard.
337. Sir

A Catalogue of the BARONETS of ENGLAND.

337. Sir William Curtius, Resident for his Majesty with Gustavus King of Sweden, and the Princes of Germany; was most deservedly created Baronet April 2. Anno Dom. 1651. and in the third year of our Sovereign Charles the Second.
- Sir William Scot of Kew in Com. Surrey Knight, created Baronet Aug. 9. *ut supra*.
338. Sir Arthur Slingsby of Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet by Letters Patents dated at Bruges in Flanders, the 19th of October, 1657.
339. Sir Thomas Orby of the County of Lincoln, (a worthy Servant to the Queen-Mother) by Letters Patents at Brussels in Brabant, bearing date in Anno 1658. was created Baronet.
340. Sir Tho. Bond, a memorable Servant to the said Queen Mother, was likewise deservedly created Baronet by Letters Patents, *ut supra*.
341. Sir Aribur Mavigny Carpentier a Frenchman, was likewise created Baronet by Letters Patents dated *ut supra*, in Aug. 1658.
- Sir Anthony de Mercus, a Frenchman, created Baronet in 1660. in the 12th year of our Sovereign. Extinct.
342. Sir John Evelyn of Godstone in Surry, (of a Memorable Antient Family) was by Letters Patents dated at the Hague in Holland, created Baronet May $\frac{19}{29}$. *ut supra*.
343. Sir Gualter de Raed of Holland, created Baronet May $\frac{20}{30}$. *ut supra*.
344. Sir Orlando Bridgeman of Great-Lever in Com. Lancast. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet June 7. *ut supra*. Then Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; And afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England. Dyed in 1674 Sir John, his eldest Son.
345. Sir Geoffrey Palmer of Cardeton in Com. Northampt. Baronet and Knight, and Attorney General to his Majesty; to whom, with his Martyr'd Father, he was Exemplary Loyal; who for his Sufferings, and signal Services to both their Majesties, was created Baronet *ut supra*. Dyed in 1670. Sir Lewis.
346. Sir John Langham of Cottesbrook in Com. Northampt. Baronet and Knight; Alderman, and formerly Sheriff of London, created Baronet the same day. Deceased in 1671. in the 88th year of his age. Sir James.
347. Sir Humphry Winch of Hannes in Com. Bedf. one of the Knights of the Shire to this present Parliament for the County of Bedf. created Baronet June 9. *ut supra*.
348. Sir Robert Abdy of Albins in Com. Essex. Baronet and Knight; created Baronet, *ut supra*.
349. Sir Tho. Draper of Sunning-Hill-Park in Com. Berks, created Baronet *ut supra*.
350. Sir Henry Wright of Dagen-ham in Com. Essex, created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir Henry.
351. Sir Jonathan Kete of the Hoo in Com. Hertf. created Baronet *ut supra*.
352. Sir Hugh Speke of Haslebury in Com. Wilts, created Baronet June 12. *ut supra*.
- Sir Nicholas Gould of London, created Baronet June 13. *ut supra*. Dyed without Issue male, Decemb. 27. 1663.
353. Sir Thomas Adams of London, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir William.
354. Sir Richard Atkins of Clapham in Surrey, created Baronet *ut supra*.
355. Sir Thomas Allen, then Lord Mayor of London, created Baronet June 14. *ut supra*.
356. Sir Henry North of Mildnall in Suffolk, created Baronet June 15. *ut supra*.
357. Sir William Wiseman of Riven-hall in Essex, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*.
358. Sir Thomas Cullum of Hasleam in Suffolk; created Baronet June 18. *ut supra*.
359. Sir Thomas Darcy of St. Cleeres-Hall in St. Oseth in Essex, created Baronet June 20. *ut supra*.
360. Sir George Grubham How of Cole Barwick in Wilts, *ut supra*.
- Sir John Cutts of Chidderley in Com. Cambr. created Baronet *ut supra*. Extinct.
361. Sir Solomon Swale of Swale-Hall in Com. York, created Bar. June 21. 1660.
362. Sir William Humble of London, created Baronet *ut supra*.
363. Sir Gervase Elwayes of Stoake juxta Clare in the County of Suffolk, created Baronet June 22. *ut supra*.
364. Sir Robert Cordel of Melford-Hall in Com. Suff. created Baronet *ut supra*.
365. Sir John Robinson Baronet and Knight; Alderman, and sometimes Lord Mayor of London, created Baronet *ut supra*.
- Sir John Abdy of Moores in Com. Essex, created Baronet *ut supra*. Extinct.
366. Sir Henry Stapleton of Miton in Com. Ebor. (and of an Antient Knightly Family there) created Baronet June 23. *ut supra*.
367. Sir Robert Hilliard of Patrington in Com. Ebor. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet June 25. *ut supra*.
368. Sir Jacob Astley of Hill-Morton in Com. Warwick, created Baronet *ut supra*.
369. Sir William Bowyer of Denham in Com. Bucks, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet *ut supra*.
370. Sir Tho. Stanley of Alderley in Com. Warw. was created Baronet *ut supra*.
371. Sir John Shuckborough of Shuckborough in Com. Warwick, created Baronet June 26. *ut supra*.
372. Sir William Wray of Ashby in Com. Lincoln, created Baronet June 27. *ut supra*. Dyed in 1669. Sir Christopher.
373. Sir Nicholas Stewart of Hartley-Manduit, in Com. Hants, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
374. Sir George Warburton of Arcley in Com. Cest. created Baronet *ut supra*.
375. Sir Francis Holles (the onely Son and Heir apparent of the Honourable Denzell Holles of Damerham-South in the County of Wilts, Esq. Privy Councillor unto the King, created Baronet June 27. *ut supra*. And afterwards Knighted: which Denzell Holles was afterwards created Baron Holles of Ifield, on Saturday, April 20. 1661.
376. Sir Oliver St. John of Woodford in Com. Northampt. and a fair Branch of those flourishing Families of Liddiard-Tregoze, and Bletsfoe, was created Baronet June 28. *ut supra*.
- (e 2)
377. Sir

Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

377. Sir Ralph Dr Seaton in the
Baronet *Jur* la Val (contracted Delaval) of
378. Sir Ar County of Northumb. created
set, cre ie 29. *ut supra*.
379. Sir drew Henley of Henley in Com. Somers-
ted ated Baronet July 2. *ut supra*.
380 Tho. Ellis of Wyham in Com. Linc. crea-
Baronet *ut supra*. Sir William.
Sir John Covert of Slaugham in Com. Suffex,
created Baronet, *ut supra*.
381. Sir Peter Lear of London. created Baronet,
ut supra.
382. Sir Hen. Hudson of Melton-Mowbray in Com.
Leicest. created Baronet July 3. *ut supra*.
383. Sir Tho. Herbert of Tinterne in Com. Mon-
mouth, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
384. Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk in Com. Denb.
created Baronet July 4. *ut supra*.
385. Sir Verney Noel of Kirby in Com. Leicest.
created Baronet July 6. *ut supra*.
386. Sir George Buswel of Clepton in the County
of Northampt. created Baronet July 7. *ut supra*.
387. Sir Robert Austin of Bezley in the County
of Kent, was created Baronet July 10. *ut su-
pra*. Sir John.
388. Sir Robert Hales of Beakeskurne in Com. Kent,
created Baronet July 12. *ut supra*.
389. Sir William Boothby of Bradley Ash in Com.
Derb. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet
July 13. *ut supra*.
390. Sir John Clark of North-Weston in Com. Ox-
ford, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
391. Sir William Thomas of Fowington in Essex,
created Baronet, *ut supra*.
392. Sir Wolstan Dixey of Market-Bosworth in
Com. Leicest. created Bar. July 14. *ut supra*.
393. Sir John Bradshaw in the County of York,
created Baronet July 16. *ut supra*.
394. Sir John Warner of Parham in the County
of York, created Baronet *ut supra*.
395. Sir Job Harby of Aldenham in Com. Hertf.
Baronet and Knight, one of his late Majesties
Farmers of the Custome-house; From whom
succeeded his onely Son Sir Erasmus Harby
Baronet: The which Sir Job was created Ba-
ronet July 17. *ut supra*. Which Sir Erasmus
died in 1674.
396. Sir Samuel Moreland of Southamstead-Ban-
nister in the County of Bucks, was created Ba-
ronet July 18. *ut supra*.
397. Sir Tho. Hewyt of Pishobury in the County
of Hertf. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet
July 29. *ut supra*.
398. Sir Edward Honiwood of Evington in Com.
Kent, created Baronet *ut supra*. Sir William.
399. Sir Bazil Dixwell of Bromehouse in the Coun-
ty of Kent, created Baronet *ut supra*.
400. Sir Richard Brown of London, created Bar.
July 21. *ut supra*. Dyed in 1668. Sir Richard.
401. Sir Henry Vernon of Hodnet in Com. Salop.
created Baronet July 23. *ut supra*.
402. Sir John Ambrem of Nontreshed in the Coun-
ty of Glamorgan, created Baronet July 23. 1660.
ut supra.
403. Sir Henry Conway of Bothrithan in the
County of Flint, created Baronet July 25.
1660.
404. Sir Thomas Slater of Cambridge, created Ba-
ronet *ut supra*.
405. Sir Edward Green of Stamford in Com. Essex,
created Baronet July 26. *ut supra*.
406. Sir John Stapeley of Pateham in Com. Sus-
sex, created Baronet July 28. *ut supra*.
407. Sir Metcalf Robinson of Newby in Com. York,
created Baronet July 30. *ut supra*.
408. Sir Marmaduke Gresham of Limpfield in Com.
Surry, created Baronet July 31. *ut supra*.
409. Sir William Dudley of Clopton in the Coun-
ty of Northampton, created Baronet, Aug. 1. *ut
supra*.
410. Sir Hugh Smithson of Stanwick in Com. York,
created Baronet Aug. 2. *ut supra*.
411. Sir Roger Mostyn of Mostyn in Com. Flint,
created Baronet Aug. 3. *ut supra*.
Sir William Willoughby of Willoughby in the Coun-
ty of Nottingham, created Baronet Aug. 4. *ut
supra*. Extinct.
412. Sir Anthony Oldefield of Spalding in Com.
Linc. created Baronet Aug. 6. *ut supra*. Dyed
in Sept. 1668. Sir John, his eldest Son.
413. Sir Peter Leicester of Tabley in Com. Cestr.
created Baronet Aug. 10. *ut supra*.
414. Sir William Wheeler of the City of Westmin-
ster, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Aug.
11. *ut supra*. with Remainder to Sir Charles
Wheeler, and the Heirs males of his Body;
which Dignity by the death of the said Sir
William, is worthily devolved on, and now
enjoyed by the said Sir Charles.
415. Sir John Newton of Barescourt in the Coun-
ty of Gloucester, of a Knightly Family, and
sometimes Standard-Bearer to the late Earl of
Northumberland, then General in the Northern
Expedition, created Baronet Aug. 16. *ut supra*,
for his Life, with Remainder unto John New-
ton of Hader in the County of Lincoln, Esq;
and the Heirs males of his Body; Which Sir
John Newton of Barescourt being deceased, that
Dignity is now enjoyed by Sir John Newton of
Hader.
416. Sir Thomas Lee of Hartwell in Com. Bucks,
created Baronet *ut supra*.
417. Sir Tho. Smith of Halberton in Com. Cestr.
with Remainder for default of Issue male, to
Lawrence Smith, his Brother; and for his want
of male Issue, to Francis Smith, his Brother:
The which Sir Thomas was created Baronet,
ut supra.
418. Sir Ralph Ashton of Middleton in Com. Lan-
caster, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet
Aug. 17. *ut supra*.
419. Sir John Rous of Henham in Com. Suffolk,
created Baronet *ut supra*.
420. Sir Henry Massingbeard of Brotast-hall in the
County of Lincoln, created Baronet Aug. 22.
ut supra.
421. Sir John Hales of Coventry, in Com. Warw.
created Baronet Aug. 28. *ut supra*.
422. Sir Ralph Bovey of Hilferd in Com. Warw.
created Baronet Aug. 30. *ut supra*.
423. Sir John Knightly of Off-Church in the Coun-
ty of Warw. created Baronet *ut supra*.
424. Sir John Drake of Ashe in Com. Devon. Ba-
ronet and Knight, created Baronet Aug 31. *ut
supra*. Dyed in July 1669. Sir John.
425. Sir Oliver St. George of Carrick Dromrick in
the County of Trim in Ireland, (a fair Branch
of that highly flourishing, and long since
Knightly Family of the St. Georges in Cam-
bridge-shire) The which Sir Oliver was created
Baronet Sept. 5. *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

426. Sir John Bowyer of Knippersly in Com. *Stafford*, Baronet and Knight, and the first Founder of that fairly diffusive Family of that name in England; the which Sir John was created Baronet Sept. 11. *ut supra*.
427. Sir William Wilde of London, Baronet and Knight, and one of his Majesties Justices of the Court of Kings-Bench; was created Baronet Sept. 13. *ut supra*.
428. Sir Joseph Alb of Tittenham in the County of *Middlesex*, was created Baronet Sept. 19. *ut supra*.
429. Sir John How of Compton in Com. *Gloucester*, created Baronet Sept. 22. *ut supra*.
430. Sir John Swinbourne of Chap-Heton in Com. *Northumb.* created Bar. Sept. 26. *ut supra*.
- Sir John Trot of Laverstock in Com. *Hants.*, a Person of great Prudence, Piety, Candour and Moderation, created Baronet Octob. 11. *ut supra*. Extinct. His sole Daughter surviving, married to Sir Hugh Stukley of Hinton Baronet, who is lately dead.
431. Sir Humphrey Miller of Oxenbeath in Com. *Kent*, created Baronet Oct. 13. *ut supra*.
- Sir John Lewis of Ledston in Com. *Tork.*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Oct. 15. *ut supra*. Extinct. Deceased in Aug. 1671. without Issue male.
432. Sir John Beal of Maidstone in the County of *Kent*, created Baronet Oct. 1. *ut supra*.
433. Sir Richard Franklin of Moorpark in Com. *Herts.* Baronet and Knight, Son and Heir of that Memorable Patriot of his time Sir John Franklin Knight, and long time Knight of the Shire for the County of *Middlesex*; which Sir Richard Franklin is also one of the Knights of the Shire in this Parliament, for the County of *Herts.* He was created Baronet Octob. 26. *ut supra*.
434. Sir William Russell of Langborne in Com. *Caermarthen*, created Bar. Nov. 8. *ut supra*.
- Sir William Backhouse; Grand-child to the late Rowland Backhouse Alderman of London, was created Baronet *ut supra*. Extinct.
435. Sir Thomas Boothby of Friday-Hill in the Parish of Chinkford in *Essex*, created Bar. Nov. 9. *ut supra*.
436. Sir John Cutler (antiently Cotteler) of London, Baronet and Knight, a memorable Citizen, and worthy Benefactor to his Society; was created Baronet Nov. 11. *ut supra*.
437. Sir Giles Mottel of Liege, created Baronet Nov. 16. *ut supra*.
438. Sir Henr. Gifford of Burstall in Com. *Leicest.* created Baronet Nov. 21. *ut supra*.
439. Sir Thomas Foot of London, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*. Formerly Lord Mayor of London. Which Patent was afterwards surrendred, and a new Patent granted, dated May 8. 1674. intayling the Title of Baronet on his Son in Law Arthur Oslow of *West-Clandon* in the County of *Surrey*, Esq; to have precedence from the date of the former Patent.
440. Sir Thomas Manwaring of Over-Rever, in Com. *Cest.* created Baronet *ut supra*.
441. Sir Thomas Bennet of Baberham in the County of *Camb.* created Baronet Nov. 22. *ut supra*. From whom Sir Levinas.
442. Sir John Wroth of Blenden-hall in Com. *Kent*, created Baronet Nov. 29. *ut supra*.
443. Sir George Wynne of Nostell-Hall in the County of *Tork.*, created Baronet Dec. 3. *ut supra*.
444. Sir Heneage Featherstone of Black-ware in the County of *Herts.* (a fair Branch of that once highly flourishing Family of the Featherstones in the North;) brought up in his Child-hood, and sometimes a Play-fellow with our Gracious Sovereign, when a Child; by whom he was created Baronet Dec. 5. *ut supra*.
- Sir Humphrey Monnox of Wotton in the County of *Bedford*, created Baronet Dec. 4. *ut supra*.
445. Sir William Gardiner of London, created Baronet *ut supra*.
- Sir John Peyton of Doddington in the Isle of Ely, created Baronet Dec. 10. *ut supra*. Extinct. Dyed in the same year without Issue male.
- Sir Edmund Anderson of Broughton in the County of *Linc.* created Baronet Dec. 12. *ut supra*.
446. Sir John Fagge of Winton in the County of *Suffex*, created Baronet Dec. 11. *ut supra*.
447. Sir Matthew Herbert of Bromfield in Com. *Salop.* created Baronet Dec. 18. *ut supra*.
448. Sir Edward Ward of Boxeley in Com. *Norff.* created Baronet *ut supra*.
449. Sir Ralph Ashton of Middleton in the County of *Northampton*, created Baronet Decemb. 19. *ut supra*.
450. Sir John Keyt of Ebrington in Com. *Gloucester*, created Baronet *ut supra*.
451. Sir William Killigrew of Arnwinck in Com. *Cornw.* created Baronet Dec. 22. *ut supra*. with Remainder to Peter Killigrew of Arnwinck Esq; Son of the late Sir Peter, lineally descended from the diffusive and antient Knightly Family of the Killigrews in the said County of *Cornw.*
452. Sir John Buck of Hamly-Grange in the County of *Linc.* created Baronet *ut supra*.
453. Sir William Frankland of Thirkleby in Com. *Tork.*, created Baronet Dec. 4. *ut supra*.
- Sir Rich. Stiddolph of Norberry in Com. *Surry*, created Baronet *ut supra*. Dyed in Febr. 1670. without Issue male; so Extinct.
454. Sir William Juxon of Albourne in Com. *Suffex*, created Baronet Dec. 28. *ut supra*.
455. Sir John Legard of Garton in the County of *Tork.*, created Baronet Dec. 29. *ut supra*.
456. Sir George Marwood of Little Busby in Com. *Tork.*, created Baronet Dec 31. *ut supra*.
457. Sir John Jackson of Hickleton in the County of *Tork.*, created Baronet *ut supra*.
458. Sir Henry Pickering of Whaddon in the County of *Camb.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Jan. 2. *ut supra*.
459. Sir Henry Beddingfield of Oxborough in Com. *Norff.* created Baronet *ut supra*.
460. Sir Walter Plummer of the Inner Temple, London, created Baronet January the 4th, *ut supra*.
- Sir Herbert Springett of Broyle in Com. *Suffex*, created Baronet Jan. 8. *ut supra*. Extinct.
461. Sir William Powell (alias Hinson) of Pengethley in the County of *Hertsford*, created Baronet Jan. 23. *ut supra*.
462. Sir Robert Newton of London, created Baronet. *ut supra*.
463. Sir William Rokeby of Skyers in Com. *Tork.*, created Baronet Jan. 29. *ut supra*.
464. Sir Nicholas Stoughton of Stoughton in Com. *Surry*, created Baronet *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

465. Sir *Walter Earnly* of *New-Sarum* in *Com. Wilts*, was created Baronet February 2. *ut supra*
466. Sir *John Husbands* of *Ipsley* in *Com. Warrw.* created Baronet *ut supra*.
467. Sir *Thomas Morgan* of *Llangattock* in the County of *Monm.* created Baronet, Febr. 7. *ut supra*.
468. Sir *Rich. Lane* of *Tulske* in the County of *Roscommon* in *Ireland*, and many years Chief Secretary to *James Duke of Ormond*, was created Baronet, Febr. 9. *ut supra*.
469. Sir *George Wakefren* of *Beckford* in the County of *Gloucest.* created Baronet Febr. 13. *ut supra*.
470. Sir *Benjamin Wright* of *Cranham-Hall* in the County of *Essex*, created Baronet Febr. 15. *ut supra*.
471. Sir *John Colleton* of *London*, created Baronet Febr. 18. *ut supra*.
472. Sir *James Modyford* of *London*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*.
473. Sir *Edward Smith* of *Durham*, created Baronet Febr. 23. *ut supra*.
474. Sir *Tho. Beaumont* of *Staughton-Grange* in the County of *Leicester*, created Baronet Febr. 21. *ut supra*.
- Sir *Tho. Gifford* of *Castle-Jordan* in the County of *Meath* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, created Baronet March 4. *ut supra*.
475. Sir *Thomas Clifton* of *Clifton* in *Com. Lanc.* created Baronet, *ut supra*.
476. Sir *William Wilson* of *Eastbourne* in *Com. Suff.* created Baronet, *ut supra*.
477. Sir *Compton Read* of *Burton* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
478. Sir *Brian Broughton* of *Broughton* in *Com. Staff.* Baronet and Knight, created Baronet March 10. *ut supra*.
479. Sir *Robert Slingsby* of *Newsels* in the County of *Hertford*, created Baronet March 16. *ut supra*.
480. Sir *John Crofts* of *Stow*, in *Com. Suff.* created Baronet, *ut supra*.
481. Sir *Ralph Varney* of *Middle-Claydon*, in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
482. Sir *Robert Dicer* of *Up-hall*, in *Com. Hants*, created Baronet March 18. *ut supra*.
483. Sir *John Bromfield* of *Southwark*, Son and Heir of the late Sir *John Bromfield* Knight, was created Baronet, March 20. *ut supra*.
484. Sir *Thomas Rich* of *Sunning* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
485. Sir *Edward Smith* of *Edmond-Thorp* in *Com. Leicest.* created Baronet March 25. 1661. *ut supra*.
486. Sir *Walter Long* of *Whaddon*, in *Com. Wilts*, created Baronet March 26. *ut supra*. Dyed in 1672. Sir *Walter*.
487. Sir *John Fettiplace* of *Cbilsy* in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet March 30. *ut supra*.
488. Sir *Walter Hendley* of *Conckfield* in the County of *Suffex*, created Baronet April 8. *ut supra*.
489. Sir *William Parsons* of *Langley* in the County of *Bucks*, from whom those Knightly Families of *Ireland* are descended: The which Sir *William* was created Baronet April 9. *ut supra*.
490. Sir *John Cambell* of *Woodford* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
491. Sir *William Morrice* of *Werrington* in *Com. Devon*, was created Baronet April 20. *ut supra*.
492. Sir *Charles Gamdey* of *Crowshall* in *Com. Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*.
493. Sir *William Caley* of *Brompton* in the County of *York*, created Baronet April 26. *ut supra*.
494. Sir *Charles Doyley* of *London*, created Baronet April 26. *ut supra*.
495. Sir *William Godolphin* of *Godolphin* in the County of *Cornw.* created Baronet April 29. *ut supra*.
496. Sir *Thomas Curson* of *Water-Perry* in the County of *Oxford*, created Baronet April 30. 1661.
497. Sir *Edmund Fowel* of *Fowel-Combe* in the County of *Devon*, created Baronet May 1. *ut supra*.
498. Sir *John Cropley* of *Clarkenwell*, *London*, created Bar. May 7. *ut supra*.
499. Sir *William Smith* of *Redcliffe* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet, May 10. *ut supra*.
500. Sir *George Cook* of *Wheatly* in *Com. York*, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
501. Sir *Charles Lloyd* of *Carth* in *Com. Montgom.* created Baronet, *ut supra*.
502. Sir *Nathaniel Powel* of *Ewe-hurst* in the County of *Essex*, created Baronet May 14. *ut supra*.
503. Sir *Denny Ashburnham* of *Brimball* in the County of *Suffex*, (an old Saxon Family, and famous in England many Centuries before the Norman Invasion) was created Baronet May 15. *ut supra*.
504. Sir *Hugh Smith* of *Long-Ashton* in *Com. Somers.* created Baronet May 16. *ut supra*.
505. Sir *Robert Jenkinson* of *Walcot* in *Com. Oxf.* created Baronet May 18. *ut supra*.
506. Sir *William Glynne* of *Bisceter*, alias *Burncester*, in *Com. Oxf.* created Baronet May 20. *ut supra*.
507. Sir *John Charnock* of *Halcott* in *Com. Bedf.* created Baronet May 21. *ut supra*.
508. Sir *Robert Brook* of *Nation* in *Com. Suffolk*, created Baronet *ut supra*.
509. Sir *Tho. Nevil* of *Holt* in *Com. Leicest.* created Baronet May 25. *ut supra*.
510. Sir *Henry Andrews* of *Lotbury* in *Com. Bucks*, created Baronet May 27. *ut supra*.
511. Sir *Anthony Craven* of *Spershold*, in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet June 4. *ut supra*.
512. Sir *James Clavering* of *Axwell* in *Com. Durham*, created Baronet June 5. *ut supra*.
513. Sir *Tho. Derham* of *West-Derham* in *Com. Norf.* created Baronet June 8. *ut supra*. Sir *Henry*.
514. Sir *William Stanley* of *Houghton* in *Com. Cest.* created Baronet June 17. *ut supra*.
515. Sir *Abraham Cullen* of *East-Sheen* in *Surry*, created Baronet *ut supra*.
516. Sir *John Rushout* of *Milest Green* in *Com. Essex*, created Baronet *ut supra*.
517. Sir *Godfrey Copley* of *Sproxborough* in *Com. York*, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
518. Sir *Griffith Williams* of *Penrithin* in *Com. Carnarvan*, created Baronet *ut supra*.
519. Sir *Henry Winchcomb* of *Bucklebury*, in *Com. Berks*, created Baronet June 18. *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

520. Sir Clement Clarke of Landy Abby in Com. Lancast. created Baronet, *ut supra*.
521. Sir Thomas Viner of London Baronet and Knight, Alderman of London, created Baronet *ut supra*: To whom succeeded his Son and Heir, Sir George Viner Baronet, and lately High Sheriff of Norfolk: which Sir Tho. dyed in 1665.
522. Sir John Siliyard of De la Warr in Com. Kent, created Baronet *ut supra*.
523. Sir Christopher Guise of Elsmore in the County of Gloucest. Baronet and Knight; created Baronet July 10. *ut supra*. His onely Son Sir John succeeded him.
524. Sir Reginald Forster of East Greenwich in Com. Kent, created Baronet July 11. *ut supra*.
525. Sir Philip Parker of Ervarton in Com. Suff. created Bar. July 16. *ut supra*.
526. Sir Edw. Duke of Denhall in Com. Suffolk, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 17. *ut supra*.
527. Sir Charles Hussey of Kaythorpe in Com. Linc. created Baronet July 21. *ut supra*. Dyed in 1664.
528. Sir Edward Barkeham of Wamfield in Com. Linc. created Baronet *ut supra*.
529. Sir Thomas Norton of the City of Coventry, created Baronet July 23. *ut supra*.
530. Sir John Dormer of Le-Grange in Com. Bucks, created Baronet *ut supra*.
531. Sir Tho. Carew of Hacomb in Com. Devon, created Baronet Aug. 2. *ut supra*.
532. Sir Mark Milbank of Halmaby in the County of York, created Baronet Aug. 7. *ut supra*.
533. Sir Rich. Rothwell of Emribby and Stapleton in Com. York, created Baronet Aug. 16. *ut supra*.
534. Sir John Banks of Aleford in Kent, created Baronet Aug. 22. *ut supra*.
535. Sir John Ingolsby of Lethenborough in the County of Bucks, created Baronet Sept. 20. *ut supra*.
536. Sir Francis Bickly of Aleborough in the County of Norfolk, created Baronet Sept. 20. *ut supra*.
537. Sir Rob. Jason of Broad Somersford in Com. Wilts, created Baronet Sept. 5. *ut supra*.
538. Sir John Tong of Cubliton in Com. Devon, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Sept. 26. *ut supra*. Sir Walter. Sir Walter.
539. Sir John Frederick van Friesendorf, of Herdick, Lord of Kympe, and of the Privy Council to the King of Sweden, and Ambassadour Extraordinary to the Majesty of Charles the Second: created Baronet Oct. 4. *ut supra*.
540. Sir William Roberts of Willefden in Com. Middl. Son and Heir of the late Sir William Roberts, Knight, was created Baronet Nov. 28. *ut supra*.
541. Sir William Luckin of Waltham in Com. Essex, created Bar. Nov. 15. *ut supra*.
542. Sir Tho. Smith of Hill Hall in Com. Essex, created Baronet Nov. 28. *ut supra*.
543. Sir Edward Sadler of Temple-Donnesly in Com. Hertf. created Baronet, Decemb. 3. *ut supra*.
544. Sir William Wyndham of Orchard Wyndham in Com. Somerset, Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Dec. 19. *ut supra*.
545. Sir Geo. Southcote of Blibborough in Com. Linc. created Baronet Jan. 17. *ut supra*.
546. Sir George Trevilian of Nettlecombe in Com. Somersf. created Baronet Jan. 24. *ut supra*.
547. Sir Francis Duncomb of Tangley in Com. Surrey, created Baronet Febr. 4. *ut supra*.
548. Sir Nicholas Bacon of Gillingham in Com. Norf. created Baronet Febr. 7. *ut supra*.
549. Sir Richard Cock of Dumbleton in Com. Gloucest. created Baronet *ut supra*.
550. Sir John Coryton of Newton in Com. Cornwall; created Baronet Febr. 27. *ut supra*.
551. Sir John Lloyd of Woking in Com. Surrey, created Baronet Febr. 28. *ut supra*.
552. Sir Edward Moore of Moore-Hall in Com. Lancaster, created Baronet March 1. 1661.
553. Sir Thomas Proby of Elton-Hall in Com. Hunt. created Baronet March 7. *ut supra*.
554. Sir Miles Stapleton of Carleton in Com. York, created Baronet March 20. *ut supra*.
555. Sir Richard Braham of New Windsor in Com. Berks, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet, April 16. 1662.
556. Sir John Wittenwong of Stantonbury in Com. Bucks, Baronet and Knight, descended from an Honourable and Antient Family of his name in Flanders, was Knighted long ago, and created Baronet May 2. *ut supra*. The said Sir John (though styled from his Seat of Stantonbury in Bucks) altogether resides at his Manor of Hardwick in the County of Hertf.
557. Sir Philip Matthews of Great Gobions in Collyer-Roward in the County of Essex, was created Baronet June 13. *ut supra*.
558. Sir Robert Bernard of Huntington, Serjeant at Law, created Bar. July 1. *ut supra*.
559. Sir Roger Loort of Stach-pool in Com. Pembr. created Baronet July 15. *ut supra*. Sir John. Sir Gilbert.
560. Sir Edward Gage of Hargrave in Com. Suff. created Baronet *ut supra*.
561. Sir Thomas Hook of Flanchford in Com. Surrey, created Baronet July 22. *ut supra*.
562. Sir John Savile of Copley in Com. York, created Baronet July 24. *ut supra*.
563. Sir Christopher Wandsford of Kirklington in Com. York, created Baronet Aug. 5. *ut supra*.
564. Sir Richard Asteley of Patshul in the County of Staff. created Baronet Aug. 13. *ut supra*.
565. Sir Jacob Gerrard of Langford in Com. Norfolk, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. Aug. 16. *ut supra*.
566. Sir Edward Fust of Hill in the County of Gloucester, created Baronet Aug. 21. *ut supra*.
567. Sir Robert Long of the City of Westminster, created Baronet Sept. 1. *ut supra*: with the Remainder (for default of male Issue) to go to John Long of Draycott-Corne in Com. Wilts, Esq; and the Heirs male of his body. Dyed unmarried July 13. 1673.
568. Sir Robert Canne of Compton Greenfield in Com. Gloucest. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Sept. 13. *ut supra*.
569. Sir William Middleton of Bilsey Castle in Com. Northumb. created Baronet Oct. 24. *ut supra*.
570. Sir Richard Graham of Norton-Coniers in Com. York, created Bar. Nov. 17. *ut supra*.
571. Sir Tho. Tankard of Burrowbrigs in Com. York, created Bar. *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

572. Sir Cuthbert Heron of Chipchase in Com. Northumb. created Baronet Nov. 20. *ut supra*.
573. Sir Francis Wenman of Casewell in the County of Oxf. Baronet and Knight; created Baronet Nov. 29. *ut supra*.
574. Sir Henry Purefoy of Wodley in the County of Bucks, created Baronet Dec. 4. *ut supra*.
575. Sir Tho. Cobb of Adderbury in the County of Oxford, created Baronet Dec. 9. *ut supra*.
576. Sir Henry Brook of Norton in Com. Cest. created Baronet Dec. 12. *ut supra*.
577. Sir Peter Pindar of Edinshaw in Com. Cest. created Baronet Dec. 22. *ut supra*.
578. Sir Nicholas Slanning of Mariston in Com. Devon, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Jan. 19. *ut supra*.
579. Sir George Ryve of Thwait in the County of Suffolk, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Jan. 22. *ut supra*.
580. Sir Tho. Brograve of Hanrrels, in the County of Hertf. created Baronet March 18. *ut supra*.
581. Sir Tho. Barnardiston of Ketton (alias Kedlington) in Com. Suff. Baronet and Knight, created Bar. April 7. 1663.
582. Sir Samuel Barnardiston of Brightwell Hall in Com. Suffolk Baronet and Knight, created Bar. May 11. *ut supra*.
583. Sir John Dawes of Putney in the County of Surrey. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet June 1. *ut supra*.
584. Sir John Holman of Banbury in the County of Oxford, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet *ut supra*.
585. Sir William Cook of Bromehall in Com. Norf. created Bar. June 29. *ut supra*.
586. Sir John Bellot of Moreton in Com. Cest. created Baronet. June 30. *ut supra*.
587. Sir Geo. Downing of East-Hatly in Com. Cambr. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 1. *ut supra*.
588. Sir William Gawdey of Westerling in Com. Norf. created Baronet July 13. *ut supra*.
589. Sir Charles Pymme of Brunore in Com. Somersf. Baronet and Knight created Baronet July 14. *ut supra*.
590. Sir William Doyly of Shottisham in Com. Norf. Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 29. *ut supra*.
591. Sir John Marsham of Cuxton in Com. Kent. Bar. and Knight, created B. Aug. 12. *ut supra*.
592. Sir Rob. Barneham of Boughton-Monchensey in the County of Kent, created Baronet Aug. 15. *ut supra*.
593. Sir Francis Leeke of Newarke upon Trent in the County of Nottingham, created Baronet Decem. 15. *ut supra*.
594. Sir John St. Barbe of Broadlands in Com. Hants, created Bar. Dec. 30. *ut supra*.
595. Sir James Pennyman of Ormesby in Cleveland in the County of York, created Baronet, Febr. 22. *ut supra*.
596. Sir Tho. Muddiford of Lincolnes-Inne, created Baronet, March 1. *ut supra*.
597. Sir George Selby of Whitthoufe in the County of Durbam Created Baronet March 3. *ut supra*.
598. Sir Edmund Fortescue of Fallowpit in the County of Devon, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet the 31th of March. 1664. in the 16th year of our Sovereign.
599. Sir Samuel Tuke of Cressing-Temple in the County of Essex, (in which County his Ancestours have been memorable,) was a Descendent from that famous Sir Brian Tuke, Treasurer to the Chamber of Henry the Eighth: the which Sir Samuel going from Grayes Inne to the late King's Army, gradually ascended to several degrees, and at last commenced Major General, and Brigadier of Horse in several services; he was created Baronet *ut supra*.
600. Sir John Tempest of Tonge in Com. York, created Baronet May 25. *ut supra*.
601. Sir Littleton Osboldiston of Chudlington in the County of Oxford, Baronet and Knight, created Bar. June 25. *ut supra*.
602. Sir Giles Tooker of Maddington in the County of Wilts, was created Baronet July 1. *ut supra*.
603. Sir Stephen Anderson of Edgeworth in Com. Bedf. created Bar. July 13. *ut supra*.
604. Sir Thomas Bateman of How-hall in Com. Norf. created Bar. Aug. 31. *ut supra*.
605. Sir Thomas Lorrain of Kirkbarle in Com. Northumb. created Baronet Sept. 26. *ut supra*.
606. Sir Tho. Wentworth of Bretton in Com. York, created Baronet Sep. 27. *ut supra*.
607. Sir Theophilus Biddolphe of Westcombe in Com. Kent, Baronet and Knight, was created Baronet Nov. 2. *ut supra*.
608. Sir William Green of Micham in Com. Surrey. created Baronet *ut supra*.
609. Sir William Cooks of Northgrave in Com. Worcester, created Baronet Dec. 24. *ut supra*.
610. Sir John Westenholme of London, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Jan. 10. *ut supra*.
611. Sir John Jacob of Bromley in the County of Essex, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Jan. 11. *ut supra*.
612. Sir John Yeman of the City of Bristol, created Baronet Jan 12. *ut supra*.
613. Sir John Pye of Hone in the County of Derby created Bar. Jan. 13. *ut supra*.
614. Sir Tho. Taylor of the Parkhouse in Maidstone in Com. Kent, created Baronet Jan. 18. *ut supra*.
615. Sir William Leman of Northall in the County of Hertford, created Baronet March 3. *ut supra*.
616. Sir Robert Smith of Upton in the County of Essex, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet March. 30. 1665.
617. Sir Nicholas Crisp of Hamersmith in the County of Middlesex, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet April. 14. *ut supra*. Dyed in or about 1666. Sir Nicholas.
618. Sir John Shaw of Eliham in the County of Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet April, 16. *ut supra*.
619. Sir John Brown of Casome in Com. Oxf. created Baronet May. 10. *ut supra*.
620. Sir George Raden, or Raden, (an old English Family which came in with the Normans) of Moira in the County of Down in the Kingdom of Ireland, created Baronet May 20. *ut supra*.
621. Sir Robert Jocelyn of Hide-hall in the County of Hants, created Baronet, June 8. *ut supra*.
622. Sir Robert Duckenfield (anciently in old Saxon English **Dochenvelt** and **Dokenfeld**, of Duckenfield-hall in the County of Chester, was Created Baronet June 16. *ut supra*.

A Catalogue of the BARONETS of ENGLAND.

623. Sir George Lawson of Broughton in the County of York, created Baronet July 6. *ut supra*.
624. Sir Peter Tirell of Harflap in the County of Bucks, was created Baronet July 24. *ut supra*.
625. Sir Francis Burdet of Burchet in York, created Bar. July 25.
626. Sir George More or Moor of Maids-Morton in the County of Bucks, created Baronet. July 26. *ut supra*.
627. Sir Abel Barker of Hambleton in the County of Rutland, created Baronet September 9. *ut supra*.
628. Sir William Oglander of Nunwell in the Isle of Wight Baronet and Knight, created Bar. Dec. 12. *ut supra*: of an ancient Knightly Extraction.
629. Sir William Temple of Sheen in the County of Surrey, and his Majesties Resident at Brussels, created Baronet, January 31. *ut supra*.
630. Sir William Swan of Southfleet in the County of Kent, created Baronet March 1. *ut supra*.
631. Sir Anthony Shirley of Preston in the County of Sussex, created Baronet March 6. *ut supra*.
- Sir Maurice Diggs of Chilham-Castle in the County of Kent, created Baronet *ut supra*. Extinct.
632. Sir Peter Glean of Hardwick in the County of Norfolk, created Baronet *ut supra*.
633. Sir John Nelthorpe of Grays-Inne, created Baronet May 10. 1666. with Remainder to Goddard Nelthorpe of Clerkenwell, Esq; on whom, by death of the said Sir John, that Dignity is devolved.
634. Sir Robert Viner of London, Baronet and Knight, and Alderman of London, created Baronet, *ut supra*.
635. Sir Thomas Twisden of Bradburn juxta Malling in Com. Kent, Baronet and Knight, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, created Bar. June 13. *ut supra*.
636. Sir Anthony Auger of Bishops-bourn in Com. Kent, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet July 4. *ut supra*.
637. Sir John Doyly of Chizzlehampton in the County of Oxford, created Baronet July 7. *ut supra*.
638. Sir Edward Hoby of Bisham in Com. Bucks, created Baronet July 12. *ut supra*.
639. Sir Thomas Patt of Combe in the County of Devon, created Baronet July 21. *ut supra*.
640. Sir John Tiril of Springfield in the County of Essex, created Baronet Octob. 22. *ut supra*.
641. Sir Gilbert Gerrard of Fiskerton in the County of Lincoln, created Baronet Novemb. 17. *ut supra*: entailing the same Title upon his Issue male by Mary his second Wife, Daughter of the late John Cozens Bishop of Durham.
642. Sir Robert Teomans of Redlands in the County of Gloucester, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet December 31. *ut supra*.
643. Sir Carre Scroop of Cockrington in the County of Linc. created Baronet Jan. 16. *ut supra*.
644. Sir Peter Fortescue of Wood in the County of Devon, created Baronet Jan. 29. *ut supra*.
645. Sir Richard Bettenson of Wimbleton in Com. Surrey, Baronet and Knight, created Baronet Febr. 7. *ut supra*.
646. Sir Algernoon Peyton of Donnington in the Isle of Ely, created Baronet March 21. *ut supra*.
647. Sir Roger Martin of Long Melford in the County of Suffolk, created Baronet March 28. 1667.
- Sir Richard Hastings of Redlench in the County of Somers. created Baronet May 7. *ut supra*. Extinct.
648. Sir William Hanham of Wymborne in the County of Dorset, created Baronet May 24. *ut supra*. Dyed in May 1671. Sir John, his only Son.
649. Sir Francis Top of Tormarton in the County of Gloucester, created Baronet July 25. 1668.
650. Sir Will. Langborne of the Inner Temple, created Baronet, August 28. *ut supra*.
651. Sir Edward Mostyn of Talacre in the County of Flint, a lineal Descendant from the Knightly Family of that name in those parts, was created Baronet, April 28. 1670.
- Sir George Stonehouse, for life; (having surrendered his former Patent, dated May 7. 1628. 4 Car. 1. by a Fine;) with Remainder to John Stonehouse his second Son, and the Heirs male of his Body; and for lack of such Issue, to James Stonehouse, his Third Son, with precedence to himself and his said Sons, according to the first Patent, created Baronet May 5. 1670.
652. Sir Fulwar Skipwith of Newbold-Hall in Com. Warwick, created Baronet Octob. 25. *ut supra*.
653. Sir John Sabin of Eyne in the County of Bedford, created Baronet May 19. 1671.
654. Sir Philip Carteret of St. Owen in the Isle of Jersey, was created Baronet in June, in the year 1671.
655. Sir William Chaitor of Croft-Hall in Com. Ebor. was created Baronet June 28. *ut supra*.
656. Sir Herbert Croft, Son to Herbert Bishop of Hereford, was created Baronet in September, 1671.
657. Sir John Seintambin of Clowence, in Com. Cornw. was created Baronet March 11. *ut supra*.
658. Sir Edward Nevil of Grove in Com. Notting. was created Baronet *ut supra*.
659. Sir Robert Eden of West-stuckland, in Com. Durham, was created Baronet in September, 1672.
660. Sir John Werden of Chester his Royal Highness's Secretary, created Baronet Novemb. 28. *ut supra*.
661. Sir Francis Warre of Hestercombe in the County of Somerset, was created Baronet June 2. 1673.

662. Sir

A Catalogue of the Baronets of ENGLAND.

662. Sir Orlando Bridgeman of Ridley in the County of Chester, created Baronet Novem. 12. 1673.
663. Sir Arthur Harris of Stowford in the County of Devon, created Baronet Decemb. 1. *ut supra*.
664. Sir Francis Windham of Trent, in the County of Somerset, created Baronet Novemb. 18. *ut supra*.
665. Sir William Blacket of New-Castle in Com. Northamb. created Baronet Decemb. 12. *ut supra*.
666. Sir John Thomson of Haversham in the County of Bucks, was created Baronet, *ut supra*.
667. Sir Thomas Allen of Blundeston in the County of Suff. created Baronet Febr. 7. *ut supra*.
668. Sir Halswell Tynte of Halswell in the County of Somerset, created Baronet, June 7. 1674.
669. Sir Robert Parker of Ratton in the County of Sussex, created Baronet May 22. *ut supra*.
670. Sir John Sberard of Lophorpe in the County of Lincoln, created Baronet May 20. *ut supra*.
671. Sir Philip Carteret of St. Owen within, the Isle of Jersey, created Baronet June 4. *ut supra*.
672. Sir John Osborne of Chicksands in the County of Bucks, created Baronet Febr. 11. *ut supra*.
673. Sir Walter Clargis of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields in the County of Middlesex, created Baronet Octob. 30. *ut supra*.
674. Sir Thomas Williams of Elham in the County of Kent, created Baronet Novemb. 12. *ut supra*.
675. Sir Robert Filmer of East Sutton in the County of Kent, created Baronet Decemb. 24. *ut supra*.
676. Sir Edward Nevil of Grove in the County of Nottingham, Knight, created Baronet Febr. 24. *ut supra*.
677. Sir Cornelius Martin Tromp, created Baronet March 25. 1675.
678. Sir Richard Tulpe of Amsterdam in the Province of Holland, created Baronet April 23. *ut supra*.
679. Sir Thomas Samwell of Upton in the County of Northampt. created Baronet Decemb. 7. *ut supra*.
680. Sir Charles Rich of London, created Baronet January 24. *ut supra*.
681. Sir Benjamin Maddox of Wormeley in the County of Hertford, created Baronet March 11. *ut supra*.
682. Sir William Barker of Bokinghall in the County of Essex, created Baronet, April 1. 1676.
683. Sir Richard Head of the City of Rochester in the County of Kent, created Baronet Aug. 19. *ut supra*.
684. Sir Bennet Hoskyns of Harwood in the County of Hereford, created Baronet Decemb. 18. *ut supra*.
685. Sir Richard Standish of the County Palatine of Lancaster, created Baronet Febr. 8. Anno xxix. Caroli Secundi.
686. Sir Alexander Robertson alias Collyear, of the Province of Holland, created Baronet at Westminster, Febr. 3. *ut supra*.
687. Sir Thomas Dyke of Horeham in the County of Sussex, created Baronet March 3. *ut supra*.
688. Sir Robert Cotton of Cumbermere in Com. Cestr. Knight, created Baronet, March 29. 1677.
689. Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton in Com. Nottingham, created Baronet April 7. *ut supra*.
690. Sir Richard Newdegate, Serjeant at Law, created Baronet July 28. *ut supra*.
691. Sir Richard Cuff of Stamford in the County of Lincoln, created Baronet Septemb. 29. *ut supra*.
692. Sir Francis Anderton of Lostock in the County of Lancaster, created Baronet Octob. 8. *ut supra*.
693. Sir James Symeon of Chilworth in the County of Oxford, created Baronet October 18. *ut supra*.
694. Sir James Poole of Poole in Poole in Worrell in the County of Chester, created Baronet Oct. 25. *ut supra*.
695. Sir George Wharton of Kirkby Kendal in the County of Westmorland, created Baronet Decemb. 31. *ut supra*.
696. Sir Hugh Ackland of Callum John in the County of Devon, created Baronet Jan. 21. *ut supra*. To take place of all Baronets since the Year 1644.
697. Sir Francis Edwards of the Town of Shrewsbury, created Baronet April 22. *ut supra*. Entailing the same upon the Heirs Males of his Body, to take place of all Baronets made before the Year 1644.
698. Sir Ignatius Vitus alàs White, of the County of Limerick in the Kingdom of Ireland, created Baronet at Westminster June 29. *ut supra*.
699. Sir Henry Oxinden of Deane in the County of Kent, Knight, created Baronet at Westminster, May 8. *ut supra*.
700. Sir James Bowyer of Leighborne in Com. Sussex, created Baronet during his Natural life, and then to Henry Goring of Higden in the said County, May 18. *ut supra*.

The Degrees and Ranks of all Men and Women.

1. **T**HE KING and QUEEN.

2. The Prince of *Wales*, and Princess of *Wales*.
3. Dukes and Princes of the Royal Blood of *England*, who are the Sons, Brothers, Unkles, and Nephews of a King of *England*; as by the Statute of 31 *Hen.* 8. appears. Dutcheffes and Princesses of the same Royal Blood.
4. Dukes and Dutcheffes.
5. The Eldest Sons of Dukes of the Royal Blood, and their Ladies.
6. Marquisses, and Marchionesses.
7. Dukes Eldest Sons, and their Ladies.
8. Earls and Countesses.
9. Marquisses Eldest Sons, and their Ladies.
10. Dukes younger Sons of the Royal Blood, and their Ladies.
11. Dukes younger Sons, and their Ladies.
12. Vicounts, and Vicountesses.
13. The Eldest Sons of Earls, and their Ladies.
14. The younger Sons of Marquisses, and their Ladies.
15. Barons and Baroneffes.
16. The Eldest Sons of Vicounts, and their Ladies.
17. The younger Sons of Earls, and their Ladies.
18. The Eldest Sons of Barons, and their Ladies.
19. Privy Councillors and Judges.
20. The younger Sons of Vicounts, and their Ladies.
21. The younger Sons of Barons, and their Ladies.
22. Baronets, and Baronetteffes.
23. Knights of the Bath, and their Ladies.
24. Knights Batchelors, and their Ladies.
25. Serjeants at Law, and Doctors.
26. Esquires, and their Wives.
27. Gentlemen and Gentlewomen.
28. Citizens, Yeomen, Husbandmen, Labourers, and their Wives.

The History of the County of York

The County of York is one of the most fertile and populous in the Kingdom. It is bounded on the north by the County of Lincoln, on the east by the County of Northampton, on the south by the County of Gloucester, and on the west by the County of Hereford. The River Ouse flows through the County from north to south, and the River Don flows from the north to the south. The County is divided into four parts, the North Riding, the West Riding, the East Riding, and the City of York. The North Riding is the largest and most fertile, and is bounded by the River Ouse on the south and the River Don on the west. The West Riding is the most populous, and is bounded by the River Ouse on the south and the River Don on the west. The East Riding is the least fertile, and is bounded by the River Ouse on the south and the River Don on the west. The City of York is the most populous, and is bounded by the River Ouse on the south and the River Don on the west.

I

A
CHRONICLE
OF THE
KINGS of ENGLAND:

FROM
The Time of the ROMANS GOVERNMENT,
Unto the Death of
King CHARLES I.

Of the first known times of this Island.



ALTHOUGH we begin the *Ara* of our Computation from *William* called the Conquerour, as though he was the first of our Kings of *England*: yet before him, were many other excellent Kings; and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing after-Ages can know nothing of former times, but what is recorded by writing; it hath happened, partly by the devastation of Libraries, and partly by the scarcity of Copies before Printing came up; that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very names: and besides, it hath followed, that as the first Writers were Poets, so the first Writings have been fictions. And nothing is delivered to Posterity of the most ancient times, but very Fables; such as the Story of *Albina*, of whom they say, this Island was called *Albion*; (though others say, *Ab albis rupibus*, of the white Cliffs) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty Daughters of *Dioclesian*, King of *Syria*, (such as never was) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one night killed all their Husbands: for which Fact, they were put in a Ship, themselves alone without a Pilot, so to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Gyants were begotten. And if you like not of this, then have you the story of *Albion*, the son of *Neptune*, of whom the Island took its name. But when these are exploded, there follows another with great Attestation, and yet as very a Fable as these; namely the story of the *Trojan Brute*, (of whom

the Island they say, was called *Britain*: though many other causes are given of the name:) as likewise the story of *Brutes* Cousin *Corinanus*, of whom they say, the Countrey of *Cornwal* had its name, to whom it was given, for overcoming the Gyant *Gogmagog*: and that *Brute* having three Sons, *Lochrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*, he gave at his death to his eldest Son *Lochrine*, all the Land on this side *Humber*; and called it *Loegria*; To his second Son *Albanact*, all the Land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*:) and to his youngest Son *Camber*, all the Land beyond the River of *Severn*, of whom it was called *Cambria* (now *Wales*,) with other such stuff which may please Children, but not riper Judgements; and were first broached by *Geoffery*, Arch-Deacon of *Monmouth*: for which all the Writers of his time cried shame upon him, and yet can scarce keep many at this day from giving credit to his Fictions. This *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* (afterward made, by the favour of King *Stephen*, Bishop of *Asaph*) lights upon a Book written in *Welch*, and brought out of *Wales* by *Walter* Arch-Deacon of *Exeter* of the *British* Affairs, and translated by *Geoffery*; in which, though there were many notable passages, that might give much light to our History; yet so many commentitious Fables were inserted, that they rendred even what truths he wrote suspected.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some truth; yet that truth is delivered in such slender draughts, and such broken pieces, that very small benefit can be gotten by the knowing of it; and was not till the time of *Julius Caesar*, a thousand years after

*Brutes story
fabulous*

Mantle West

*Geoffery of
Monmouth
a fabulous
Writer.*

*Albion why
England
called.*

the Fable of *Brute*: at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small Vessels, made of Boards and Wicker. And as they had no Ships for defence without, so neither had they any Forts for defence within: scarce any houses but such as were made of stakes and boughs of Trees fastened together. Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was governed by a number of petty Rulers; so as *Kent* only had in it (as *Cæsar* calleth them) four Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilinus*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*: which division, as it made the *Britains* the more easie to be conquered, so it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two Battles might have made a Conquest of the whole; whereas being thus divided, there was need to be as many Battles as there were divisions: So as it was many years, before the *Romans* could conquer the whole Island; even from the time of *Julius Cæsar*, to the time of the Emperour *Domitian*: not much less than two hundred years. It is true, after *Cæsar*'s first coming, the Island grew sensible of this defect of their division, and thereupon by consent of a great part made choice of *Cassibelan*, King of the *Trinovants*, who had his Seat at *Verulam*, to be General of their Wars; which made indeed some little stop to the *Romans* proceedings: but after the loss of a Battle or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former defect, and thought it better to secure every one his own, by his own means, than by a general power, to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true; *Dum singuli pugnāt, universi vincuntur*. Yet before the Countrey could be wholly conquered, at first by reason of the Nations valour, seeking to keep themselves free; and afterward by reason of the insolency of the Garrison Souldiers, that sought to make them Slaves, many great oppositions were made, amongst which, the most memorable was that of *Voadicia*, a certain Queen of the Countrey, who having been by the *Roman* Souldiers her self abused, and her daughters ravished, used means to leavy an Army of Sixscore thousand men, whom she led her self into the Field, and set upon the *Romans* in their Chief Towns, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camalodunum* (now *Malden* in *Essex*), of whom she slew above Seventy thousand: But then in a second Battle, had Fourscore thousand of her own Army slain; after which Defeat, for avoiding of slavery, she poysoned her self.

How long the *Romans* were in conquering *England*.

Julius Cæsar invading *England*. *Cassibelan* resists him.

Voadicia discomfitteth the *Romans*; and after is discomfitteth her self.

The Emperour *Adrian* comes into *England*.

The Emperour *Severus* comes into *England*.

This Island for a long time was so much esteemed of the *Romans*, that their Emperours sometimes came hither in person; as first the Emperour *Adrian* in the Year 124, who re-edified that great Wall between *England* and *Scotland*, first made by *Agricola*, *Nero*'s General in *Britain*, and Father-in-law to *Tacitus* the famous Historian. *Adrian* having set the Countrey in order, returned. The same Wall was again repaired by *Severus* the Emperour, in the year 212. who came over into *Britain* to repress the Incurfions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom

in a Battel near *York*, he was wounded and thereof died; or as others say, he died of age and sickness. Afterward in the year 305. *Constantinus* the Emperour came into *Britain*, and ended his life at *York*, making that City famous for the death and burial of two great Emperours; and yet more famous for the honour done to *Constantine the Great*, Son of *Constantinus*, who in that City was first saluted Emperour. But notwithstanding the great estimation the *Romans* a long time made of this Island; yet at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it: the charge of keeping it, being greater than the benefit; for to keep it in subjection, they maintained no fewer than Fourscore thousand Souldiers in pay. And when Wars grew amongst themselves at home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them home: but then, though they left *Britain*, yet they left not the *Britains*, but carried them, at least, a great part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in their service, and the rest planted in that part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this day, called *Britain*. And now one would think, the Island should be in good case, being freed from them that kept them in subjection: but it proved to be in worse case being at liberty, than it was before in servitude; for being deprived of their ablest men, and at the same time, their King *Lucius* happening to die without Issue, they were left as a few loose sticks, without the bond of a Governour, which the *Picts* and *Scots* observing, thought now was the time to make the Countrey their own; and thereupon made Invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the *Britains* having none left of their Native Kings to succeed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they make choice of *Vortigern* Earl of *Cornwal*, one extracted from the *British* Line, to be their King: and he, whether so advised by his Cabinet Counsellor, the Prophetical *Merlin*, or as finding his own strength too weak to make resistance, implores first Aid of the *Romans*; and they making Answer, They had business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for aid, a warlike people of *Germany*, and who had greater swarms than their hives could well hold.

The Emperour *Constantinus* comes into *England*.

The *Romans* leave *England*, and why.

Vortigern is chosen King.

He calls in the *Saxons*.

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a thing it is for a Nation to call in Strangers to their aid, and especially in any great number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters, as here it proved with the *Saxons*.

These *Saxons* were Infidels, and brought in with them diversity of Idols, after whose names they gave appellations to the several dayes of the Week. Adoring the *Sun*, they named the first day *Sunday*, or *Sunday*. The second *Moonday*, from an Idol which ridiculously represented the *Moon*. Another god they had called *Tuisco*, and to him they appointed the third day, naming it *Tuesday*. The tradition is, That this *Tuisco* was the Son of

Ashke-

Ashkenaz, Grandchild to *Japhet*, and that he conducted their fore-fathers out of *Asia* into *Europe* from the unfinished Tower of *Babel*. The next Idol which they adored for a god, was *Woden*, representing an armed man, and they named the fourth day from him *Wodensday*, or *Wednesday*, they honoured him as the god of *Battel*: He had been a famous and victorious Prince amongst them, and of him lineally descended *Hengist* and *Horfa* their first leaders into this Island. Not only our *Saxons*, but all the Septentrional Nations adored and sacrificed to *Thor*, a Statue resembling a crowned King, his head encompassed with twelve bright golden *Stars*, of whom they denominated the fifth day *Thursday*. *Friday* took the name of *Friga*, an Idol representing both Sexes, with a Bow in one hand, and a Sword in the other: and though the Statue expressed an *Hermaphrodite*, yet she was generally reputed a Goddess. Then they had a god called *Seater*, and to him they consecrated *Saterday*: this Idol was like an old man, with a long beard and hair, bare headed and bare footed. Such was the Religion of the *Saxons*; which giveth us occasion before we treat further of their coming in, to say something of the state of the Christian Church in this Island. First then, it is recorded, that in the year 63. what time *Arviragus* reigned here, *Joseph* of *Arimathea* (who buried the Body of Christ) came into this Island, and laid the foundation of the Christian Faith in the Western parts, at a place called then *Thurdet*, now *Glastenbury*, and that there came with him *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*: and more than this, that *Simon Zelotes* one of the Apostles suffered Martyrdom here in *Britain*: and more than this, that both *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul* came into this Island and preached the Gospel; all which, and more to this purpose, is recorded by Authors of good account: though it be hard in believing, That persons, and specially women of so great age, as these must needs be at this time, should take so long a journey. But howsoever it was, certain it is, that the Doctrine of Christianity was about this time planted in this Island, though it made afterward but small progress, and that with some persecution; as in which time, *St. Alban* suffered Martyrdom at *Verulam*, and at *Lichfield* shortly after, no fewer than a thousand. After this in the year 180. what time *Lucius* was King of this Island, *Elutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, sent *Faganus* and *Damianus* to him: upon whose preaching, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Arch-flamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to so many Bishops Sees; whereof *London*, *York*, and *Caerleyn* (now *St. Davids*) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this day, in the Parish Church of *St. Peter*, or *Cornhil*, *London*, which recordeth, that the foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbishops See. In the year 359. a Council was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where six hundred Western Bishops were assembled, whereof three went out of *Britain*; and though they were Ortho-

doxal, and with that Synod determined to give their voices against the *Arian* Heresie, yet by reason all these Western Fathers were ignorant in the *Greek* Language, they were circumvented by the *Arian* Bishops, and unanimously they would have Christ, but not *Homousion*. After this, about the year 420. rose up in this Island, one *Pelagius* a Monk, brought up in the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who spread the poyson of his Heresie, first in this his Native Countrey, and afterward all the world over. And these had been the chief passages in matters Ecclesiastical within this Island, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the year 450.

And now under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist*, and *Horfa*, came over nine thousand *Saxons* with their Wives and Children, to assist the *Britains* against the *Scots*, and were appointed the Isle of *Thanet* to inhabit. With which assistance, the *Britains* gave their enemies *Battel*, and overcame them: so as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels sent from Heaven, and then allowed them *Kent* also for their inhabiting. Nor long after *Hengist* obtained of King *Vortigern* the property of so much ground, as he could enclose with a Bulls Hide: which cutting into thongs, he there built the Castle, *Ficti de nomine*, called *Thong Castle*. And now having built it, he invites *Vortigern* to a Feast, who there fell in love with *Rowena*, the Daughter, or rather the Niece of *Hengist*; for when *Hengist* first arrived in *Britain* he was but 30. years of age: howsoever *Vortigern* marrying this fair Lady, put *Hengist* into such a height of boldness, that he began to aspire, sending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to transplant himself hither, and to make this Island his Inheritance: which the *British* Lords perceiving, and not able to wean the King from his new Wife, and her Father *Hengist*, they depose him; and in his place set up his Son *Vortimer*, a true lover of his Countrey: who presently in a pitcht *Battel* near unto *Aylesford* in *Kent*, set upon the *Saxons*; where *Catigern* the Brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horfa*, or *Hengist*, in single fight hand to hand slew each other. In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected, the stones whereof at this day are standing in a great plain in the Parish of *Aylesford*; which instead of *Catigern*, is corruptly called *Kits-Coryhouse*. Another the like Monument was erected for *Horfa*, though now defaced; remembered only by the Town where it stood, called *Horstead*. Three other Battels after this were fought between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*: one upon *Craford*, another at *Weppedfleete*, the third upon *Colmore*: in which last, the *Britains* got so great a Victory, that the *Saxons* were clean driven out of *Kent*, and *Thanet* also not suffered to rest: so as shortly after, *Hengist* with his *Saxons* departed the Kingdom, as being now out of hope to make his fortune in this Island. But while *Vortimer* was thus intentive for his Countries liberty, *Rowena* the former Kings Wife, being Daughter to *Hengist*, was as intentive to bring it into servitude; which knowing she could not do as long as

Joseph of *Arimathea* plants the Gospel at *Glastenbury*.

St. Alban suffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*.

The Heathenish Temples converted into Bishops Sees at the preaching of *Faganus* and *Damianus*.

Pelagius the Heretic riseth up.

Hengist and *Horfa* Saxons come into England.

Thong Castle why so called.

Vortigern marries *Rowena* the daughter of *Hengist*.

Vortimer is deposed, and his Son *Vortimer* set up.

Catigern and *Horfa* fight a single combat.

The *Saxons* forced to flee England.

Vortimer lived: he used means by poyson, to take away his life, after he had been King the space of four years, and then by the Witchcraft of fair words, so enchanted the *British* Nobility, that her Husband *Vortigern* was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but *Hengist* (relying upon his Son *Vortigern's* love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being resisted, he makes a shew, as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his Daughter *Rowena*, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of amity: which motion seeming reasonable, a place and time of conference was appointed: the time upon the first of *May*; the place upon the Plain of *Ambrii*, now called *Salisbury*; whither the plain-meaning *Britains* came unarmed, according to agreement; but the fraudulent *Saxons* under their long Cassocks had short skewes hidden, with which upon a watch-word given, they set upon the *Britains*, and of their unarmed Nobility slew three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself Prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in possession of these four Countries, *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; Whereupon *Vortigern*, whether fearing a second Deposing, or whether so advised by his Cabinet-Councillor the Prophetical *Merlin*, betook himself into *Wales*, and there built him a strong Castle for his safe-guard; while the *Saxons* coming daily in great swarms into the Land, had at this time over-run all, if *Aurelius Ambrosius* a Roman born, but affected to the *British* Nation, had not landed at *Totnes* in *Devonshire*, to whom resorted great Troops of *Britains*. His first expedition was against *Vortigern*, (as the first cause of the *Britains* misery) whose Castle he besieged; and whether by wild-fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle, and all that were in it, were burnt to ashes. To this *Ambrosius* is ascribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltshire*, now called *Stonehenge*, in the place where the *Britains* had been treacherously slaughtered and interred; and of whom the Town of *Ambersbury* bears its name. After this he set upon the *Saxons*, and in many Battels discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of *Winchester* a *Saxon*, in shew a *Britain*, and in habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who instead of Physick, ministred Poyson, whereof he dyed in the year 497. after he had reigned two and thirty years.

Vortigern is again received.

The *Saxons* return, and at a meeting fraudulently kill divers of the *English* Nobility.

Aurelius Ambrosius burns *Vortigern* and his Castle which he had built by the advice of *Merlin*.

Is poisoned.

Uter Pendragon, why so called.

Is poisoned.

Arthur the son of *Uter Pendragon*, kill's eight hundred *Saxons* with his own hands.

ted the *Saxons*; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called *Callibourn*, he flew upon his Enemies, and with his own hand slew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his Wonderful deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckoned amongst the Fabulous, if there were not enough true to give them credit. Amongst other his Acts, he instituted the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no question about Precedence, and to teach Heroical minds, not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great valour, was at last in Battel wounded, whereof he dyed, in the year 522. after he had reigned six and twenty years.

He institutes the order of the Round Table.

Is wounded and dies.

After King *Arthur* succeeded his Cousin *Constantine*, and after his three years Reign, *Aurelius Conan* the Nephew of King *Arthur*; whose Reign is so uncertain, that some say, he reigned only two, some three years, some again thirty, and some three and thirty. After *Conan* succeeded *Vortiporus*, who after many Victories against the *Saxons*, and four years Reign dyed. After whom succeeded *Malgo Conan*, and reigned six years. After him *Careticus*, who setting upon the *Saxons*, and beaten, fled into the Town of *Chichester*, whereupon the *Saxons* catching certain Sparrows, and fastening fire to their feet, let them flie into the Town, where lighting upon straw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in short space was burnt; and thereupon *Careticus* flying, secured himself among the Mountains of *Wales*, where he dyed, after he had unprosperously reigned three years: and from that time forth, the *Britains* lost their whole Kingdom in the East part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers *Severn* and *Dee*. After *Careticus* succeeded *Cadwan*, who reigned two and twenty years. After him his Son *Cadwallo*, who reigned eight and forty years, and then died; whose body was buried in *St. Martins* Church near *Ludgate*, and his Image of Brass placed upon the same gate, for a terrour to the *Saxons*. In his time the Doctrine of *Mahomet* began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After *Cadwallo*, succeeded his Son *Cadwalladar*; in whose time so great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing eleven years, that the Land became in a manner desolate: insomuch, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their native Countrey, and *Cadwalladar* himself went to his Cousin *Alan*, King of little *Britain* in *France*. At which time the *Saxons* taking advantage of his absence, came over in swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn *Britains* of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. Whereupon *Cadwalladar*, obtaining assistance from his Cousin *Alan*, was coming over to restrain their insolencies; when making prayers to God for good success, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his seeming he heard a voice that forbade him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will, the *Britains* should rule this Land any longer; and therefore bad him hie him to *Rome*, and receive of

Chichester burnt by what chance.

Cadwallo's Image placed upon *Ludgate*.

The *Saxons* get possession of the whole Island.

Cadwalladar the last King of the *Britains* leaveth his Kingdom; and is shorn a Monk at *Rome*.

Pope

Pope *Sergius* the habit of Religion, wherein he should die and rest in peace; which accordingly he did: and in him ended the blood of the *British* Kings, in the year 689. So as *Britain* now was no longer *Britain*, but a Colony of the *Saxons*.

And now 'tis time to speak of the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*, so much spoken of by all Writers, and to shew by what degrees the *Britains* lost, and the *Saxons* got the whole possession of this Island: for this Heptarchy or division of this Island into seven Kingdoms, came not in all at once, nor yet in an equal partition, but some good distance of time, one after another, and as the Invader had strength to expel the Natives.

The first Kingdom being of KENT.

THE first Kingdom of the *Saxons* began by *Hengist*, in the year 455. containing all *Kent*, and continued 372. years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, shall be remembered; and for the rest it will be no loss to pass them over in silence. Of these seventeen Kings, *Ethelbert* being the fifth, was the first *Saxon* Christian King of this Island, converted by *Austin* the Monk, whom Pope *Gregory* sent hither to that purpose, with forty others, in the year 596. to whom King *Ethelbert* gave his chief City of *Canterbury*, and his own Royal Palacethere, made since the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himself to *Reculver* in the Isle of *Thanet*, where he erected a Palace for himself and his successors. He gave him also an old Temple, standing without the East Wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of *St. Pancras*, and then added a Monastery to it, and dedicated it to *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*, appointing it to be the place of the *Kentish* Kings Sepulchres. But in regard of *Austin* the procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soon forgotten, and it was, and is to this day called *St. Austins*, which Abbey, *St. Austin* enriched with divers Reliques, which he brought with him from *Rome*; amongst which was a part of *Christs* seamless Coat, and of *Aarons* Rod. This King after his own conversion, converted also *Sebert* King of the *East Angles*, and assisted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, *London*; as also the Church of *St. Peter* on the West of *London*, then called *Thorny*: and himself at *Rocheſter* built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the Apostle *St. Andrew*; and dying when he had reigned six and fifty years, was buried at *Canterbury*. And thus by this first *Saxon* Kingdom, was all *Kent* lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was the first impairing, and this happened in the Reign of *Ambrosius* before spoken of. The sixth King of *Kent* was *Ethelbald*, who at first an Apostata, was afterwards converted, and built a Chapel within the Monastery of *St. Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*. The seventh King was *Ercombert*, a virtuous and religious Prince, who first commanded the observing of *Lent*; and in his dayes, the Archbishop *Honorius* divided *Kent* into Parishes. The

Ethelbert the first *Saxon* Christian King.

St. Austins in *Canterbury*, why so called.

Pauls and *Westminster* builded.

Lent first observed. *Kent* divided into Parishes.

eight King was *Egbert*, who obtained the Kingdom by murdering his Nephews: whose sister the Lady *Dopnena*, founded the Abby of *Minster* in *Kent*. The eleventh King was *Wihred*, who founded the Church of *St. Martins* in the Town of *Dover* and stored it with 22 Canons, which he took out of a Church which had been before erected in the Castle by *Edbald* the Son of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of the *Saxons*. The last was *Baldred*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the *West Saxons*, left *Kent* a Province to that Kingdom, in the year 827.

The second Kingdom being of the South SAXONS.

THE second Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the *South Saxons*, and began by *Ella*, in the year 488. containing *Sussex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113. years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom *Cissa* being the second founded the City of *Chicheſter*, and reigned as some say, threescore and sixteen years. And then *Berthan* being the last King, was overcome by *Ina* King of the *West Saxons*, and his Countrey became a Province of that Kingdom, in the year 601. And thus as *Kent* before, so now *Sussex* and *Surrey* were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a second impairing, which also happened in the Reign of the *British* King *Ambrosius*.

Chicheſter founded.

The third Kingdom being of the West SAXONS.

THE third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the *West Saxons*, and began by *Cerdic*, in the year 519. containing *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, and continued 561. years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this *Cerdic* was the first; in whose time *Port*, a *Saxon*, landed in the West, at a place from him called afterward *Portsmouth*, and aided *Cerdic* in his Conquest. And this happened in the Reign of King *Arthur*: and as *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey* before, so now these seven other Shires were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a third impairing. The sixth King of the *West Saxons* was *Kingils*, who was the first Christian King of this Kingdom, converted by *Berinus* an *Italian* Divine, to whom he gave the City of *Dorcheſter*, near to *Oxford*; who therein erected his Episcopal See. The seventh King was *Kenwald*, who at first an Apostata, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of *Wincheſter*, and the Abbey of *Malmſbury*; whose Wife *Seburg* also built a house of Devotion in the Isle of *Sheppy*, wherein her self became a Nun, and was afterward elected Abbess of *Ely*. The Eleventh King was *Ina*, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet extant in the *Saxon* tongue, and are translated into *Latine*, by the learned Master *William Lambert*. This King built a Colledge at *Wells*, bearing the name of *St. Andrews*, which afterward King *Kenulph* made an Episcopal

Portsmouth why so called.

Dorcheſter an Episcopal See.

Wincheſter Cathedral builded.

King *Ina* and his Laws.

Wells an Episcopal See.

Episcopal See. He also, in most stately manner new built the Abby of *Glastenbury*; and out of his devotion to the See of *Rome*, he enjoined every one of his Subjects, that was possessed in his house of any one kind of goods to the value of nineteen pence, to pay yearly upon *Lammas-day*, one penny to the Pope; which at first was contributed under the name of the Kings Alms, but afterward was paid by the name of *Peter Pence*. At last he went to *Rome*, and there took upon him the habit of Religion, and therein died. His Wife also became a veiled Nun, and afterwards was made Abbess of *Barking*, near *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first permitted the bodies of the dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the fields. The fourteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his cruelty and exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods to hide himself, where by a Swine-herd he was slain. The fifteenth was *Kenwolp*, who founded the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrews* at *Wells*, and was afterwards slain by *Kynoard*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Birchrick*, whose Queen *Ethelburg* having prepared a poyson for another, the King chanced to taste it, and thereof died. In fear of which chance the Queen fled into *France*; where *Charles* the then King, for her excellent beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his Son in Marriage: but she out of her lustful humour choosing the Son, was thereupon debarred of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing Adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West Saxons ordained a Law, that no Kings Wife should hereafter have the title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many years after was severely executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these parts, named *Waxmund*, and was the Founder of *Warwick Town*: that he had a Son named *Offa*, tall of stature, and of a good constitution of body, but blind, till he was seven years old, and then saw; and dumb till he was thirty years old, and then spake.

Peter pence when first ordained.

Burials within Cities when first ordained.

K. Sigebert slain by a swine-herd.

Queen Ethelburg thrust into a Monastery, and why.

A Law that no Kings Wife should have the title of a Queen.

Offa blind and dumb till a certain age.

The fourth Kingdom of the East SAXONS.

The fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the East Saxons, and began by *Erchenwyn*, in the year 527. containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281. years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings; of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedral of *St. Paul*, *London*, which had formerly been the Temple of *Diana*: He likewise founded the Church of *St. Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple of *Apollo*, which being overthrown by an Earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the service of God; and that again being decayed, this King restored to a greater beauty, and with his Queen *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty years peaceable Reign relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a Religious Habit, in the Church of *St. Paul*,

Pauls and Westminster founded.

London, where dying, his Body was interred in a Coffin of gray Marble: the cover coped, and as yet standeth in the North-wall of the Chancel of the same Church. The twelfth was *Offa*, famous for the beauty of his countenance, who both enlarged with Buildings, and enriched with Lands the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight years reign went to *Rome*, and was there shorn a Monk, and in that habit died. The fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West Saxons subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the Britains Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

K. Sebba buried in Pauls Church.

The fifth Kingdom being of NORTHUMBERLAND.

The fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland* (so called because it lay North from the River *Humber*) and began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the year 547. Containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370. years, during the Reigns of three and twenty Kings; of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The seventh King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Westchester*) made a slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by *Redwald* King of the East Angles. The thirteenth King was *Ofred*, whose Wife *Cutburga*, out of a loathing weariness of Wedlock, sued out a Divorce from her Husband, and built a Nunnery at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a Religious Habit she ended her life. The sixteenth King was *Cednulp*, who after eight years Reign, left his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk, in the Isle of *Lindesfarn*, or *Holy Island*. Unto this King the Venerable *Bede*, a Saxon and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Werimouth* near to *Durham*, dedicated his Work of the English History, which he continued from the first entrance of the Saxons in this Island, to the year 731. containing after his own account 285. years. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty years Reign forsook the world also, and shored himself a Monk; whose Brother being Archbishop of *York*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of Learned Books. The last King of *Northumberland*, was *Oswald*, after whose death this Kingdom yielded to the protection of *Egbert*, King of the West Saxons, who was now in the year 926. become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of the fifth Kingdom, were the six Northern Shires lopped off from the Britains Dominion, and this was a fifth impairing.

K. Ethelfryd kills twelve hundred Christian Monks at Westchester anciently called Caerlegion. Queen Cutburga loathing the acts of Marriage becomes a Nun.

Bede dedicateth his History to K. Cednulp.

A Library erected at York.

Egbert becomes absolute Monarch of all England.

The sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.

The sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, and began in *Crida*, in the year 522. containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *War-*

Warwickshire, Leicester, Northampton, Derby, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings, eight of whom in a continued succession kept the Imperial Crown of the Heptarchy; for though others Reigned as Kings in their own Territories: yet among them ever one was the supreme head of the rest; and was called King of England, till Egbert the West Saxon brought them all into one. The fifth of these Kings of Mercia was Penda, who was the first Christian King of the Mercians; and laid the Foundation of the Fair Church at Medeshamstead, now called Peterborough. The seventh King was Ethelred, who reigned Thirty years, and then gave over the Crown, and became a Monk in the Monastery of Bradney in Lincolnshire, where in the year 716. he died. The eighth King was Kenred, who after four years Reign went to Rome, where he took upon him the Habit of a Monk, and after other four years died. The tenth King Ethelbald, who at first was given to much lasciviousness of life; but being reprehended for it by Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, was so far converted, that he founded the Monastery of Crowland, driving in mighty piles of Oak into the Marsh ground, where he laid a great and goodly Building of Stone; and after two and forty years Reign, was slain in a Battel by Cuthred King of the West Saxons. The eleventh King was Offa, who greatly enlarged his Dominions, reigned nine and thirty years, and founded the Monastery of St. Albans. The thirteenth King was Kenwolp, who reigned two and twenty years; and founded the Monastery of Winchcomb, in the County of Gloucester, where his body was interred. The eighteenth King was Wihlase, who overcome by Egbert King of the West Saxons, held his Countrey afterward as his Substitute and Tributary, acknowledging Egbert as now the sole Monarch of this Island. And by erection of this Mercian Kingdom, were seventeen Shires more lopped off from the Britains Dominions, and was a sixth, and a great impairing, so as now they were driven into a narrow room.

The Seventh Kingdom being of the East
SAXONS.

THE Seventh Kingdom was of the East Angles, and began by Offa in the year 575. containing Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge-shire, and the Isle of Ely, and continued 353 years during the Reign of Fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was Sigebert, who first brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and built a School for Education of Youth, whether at Oxford, or Cambridge, is left a Quere; and after three years Reign shored himself a Monk in the Abbey of Cumbreburg, which himself had built: but being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the East Angles, to resist the Mercian King Penda, and refusing to use any other weapon but only a white wand, was in a Battel by him slain. The seventh King was Anna, who after

Thirteen years Reign, was also slain by Penda the Mercian King. This King Anna was memorable chiefly for the holiness of his Children, of whom his Son Erkenwald was Bishop of London, and built the Abbey of Barking, near London. His Elder Daughter, Etheldred, was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin still, and at last became a Nun, and is remembered to posterity by the name of St. Audrie. His second Daughter named Sexburg, his third named Ethelburg, his fourth (a natural daughter) named Wihburg, all entered into Monasteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was Ethelbert, a Learned and Religious Prince; who being invited by Offa the Mercian King to marry Elfred his daughter, came for that purpose to Offa's Court; then seated at Sutton Walley; in the County of Hereford; and there by him was cruelly murdered: In whose memorial notwithstanding, he afterward built a fair Church at Hereford, the Cathedral of that See, as though he could expiate a Murder of the Living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a monument of his own Impiety. The fifteenth King was Edmund, who assaulted by the Danes for his possessions, was more assaulted for his profession; for continuing constant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, and lastly bound him to a stake, and with their arrows shot him to death: whose body was buried at the Town where Sigebert the East Anglian King, one of his Predecessors had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Town upon the occasion of his burial there, called to this day St. Edmundsbury. This Church and place, Suenus the Danish King burnt to ashes: but when his Son Canutus had gotten possession of the English Crown, terrified with a Vision of the seeming St. Edmund, in a religious devotion to expiate his Fathers Sacrilege, he built it anew most sumptuously, and offered his own Crown upon the Martyrs Tomb. After the death of this Edmund, the East Angles Countrey was possessed by the Danes, and so continued the space of fifty years, until that Edmund surnamed the Elder, expelled those Danes, and made that Kingdom a Province to the West Saxons.

By that which hath been said, it plainly appears, by what degrees the Britains lost, and the Saxons got the whole possession of this Island. For after that Vortigern, in the year 455. had called in the Saxons, every Britain King that succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the Saxons, till at last in the year 689. Cadwallader the last Britain King lost all; and then the Saxon Kings striving amongst themselves for Sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818. Egbert King of the West Saxons reduced them all under his Subjection, and then caused all the South of the Island to be called England, according to the Angles of whom himself came: after whom they were no longer properly called Saxon Kings, but Kings of England.

The Abbey of Barking built. Etheldred twice married, and yet a Virgin still.

Ethelbert treacherously murdered by King Offa.

The Cathedral of Hereford built.

St. Edmunds-bury founded.

Peterborough anciently called Medeshamstead.

The Monastery of Crowland founded.

The Monastery of St. Albans founded. The Monastery of Winchcomb founded.

Oxford or Cambridge founded.

When first called England.

land, and so continued till the Danes in the year 1017. made an interruption; of whose succession now comes the time to speak.

Of the Saxons that Reigned sole Kings of this Island, and may properly be called English Kings.

Egbert the Eighteenth King of the West Saxons, is now become the first of the Kings of England, in whose time the Danes began first to infest the Land; as thinking they might do as much against the Saxons, as the Saxons had done against the Britains; but though they made divers Invasions, and did great spoil, yet they were still repelled. This King reigned six and thirty years, and dying in the year 836. was buried at Winchester. Of his Issue, his Daughter Edith was made Governess of a Monastery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her Brother had given her, called *Pollesworth*, situate in *Arden*, in the North part of the County of *Warwick*, where she died and was buried, and the place in memory of her called *St. Ediths of Pollesworth*.

The Danes begin to infest England.

St. Ediths of Pollesworth, why so called.

Church-lands free from Tribute.

Peter-pence confirmed.

St. Nedes in Huntingdonshire, why so called.

To Egbert succeeded his Son *Ethelwolph*, who in his youth was so addicted to a Religious life, that he was first made Deacon; and after Bishop of *Winchester*; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his people to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope *Gregory* the fourth, was to that end absolved of his Vow. His Reign was infested with many and great Invasions of the Danes, to whom notwithstanding he gave incredible overthrows. In the time of his Reign, remembering his former Religious Profession, he ordained, That Riches and Lands due to the Holy Church, should be free from all Tribute or Regal Services, and in great devotion went himself to *Rome*, where he lived a year: confirmed the grant of *Peter-pence*, and agreed besides to pay yearly to *Rome* three hundred marks. Returning home through *France*, and being a Widower, he there married *Judith*, the beautiful daughter of *Charles* the Bald, then Emperour; in honour of whom in his own Court, he ever placed her in a Chair of Estate, with all other Majestical complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the West Saxons formerly made; which so much displeased his Lords, that for it they were ready to depose him: but howsoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty years. His youngest Son *Neote* was much addicted to Learning, and was one of the Divinity Readers in the University of *Oxford*, and founded a Monastery in *Cornwal*, which of him was called *Neotestock*; and being dead, his body was interred in the County of *Huntington*, at a place then called *Arnulphsbury*, and afterward, in regard of his Interment, *St. Neotes*, and now *St. Nedes*. This King was famous for having four Sons, all of them were Kings of this Land successively.

First after him Reigned his eldest Son *Ethelbald*, in the year 857. who to his eternal shame,

took to wife *Judith* his Fathers Widow, reigned about two years, and dying, was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*, at that time the Episcopal See. From this *Judith*, married afterward to the Earl of *Flanders*, after divers descents, came *Maude* the Wife of *William* the Conquerour, from whom are descended all our Kings ever since.

K. Ethelbald marries his Fathers widow.

Next to the eldest reigned his second Son *Ethelbert*, all whose Reign, which was only five years, was perpetually disquieted with Invasions of the Danes, which yet were at last repelled. He died in the year 866. and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

The Danes invade England again.

Next to the second reigned his third Son *Ethelred*, whose Reign was more disquieted with the Danes, than any other before: for they invading the Land, under the leading of *Hungar*, and *Hubba*, spoiled all the Countrey as they went, not sparing Religious places; amongst other, the goodly Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, they laid level with the ground: the Monks and Nuns they murdered or ravished: at which time a Rare example of Chastity and Fortitude was seen in the Nuns of *Coldingham*: For to avoid the barbarous pollutions of these Pagans, they deformed themselves by cutting off their upper Lips and Noses: Nine Battels in one year, this King fought with the Danes, in most of them victorious; but at last received a wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at *Winborn* in *Dorsetshire*.

Monasteries demolished by the Danes

The Nuns of Coldingham their Chastity.

Next to the third reigned his fourth Son *Alfred*, in whose time came over greater swarms of Danes than ever before, and had now got footing in the North, the West, and South parts of this Island, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only *Somerset*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltshire*; and not these neither altogether free, so that he was forced sometimes to flee into the Fens and Marish grounds to secure himself, where he lived by Fishing and Fowling, and hunting of wilde Beasts, till at last learning policy from adversity, and gathering courage from misery, he ventured in the habit of a common Minstrel, to enter the Danes Camp; where having viewed the manner of their encamping, and observed their security, he returned back, shewing his Lords in what condition he found them. Whereupon setting upon them at unawares, he not only made of them a great slaughter, but brought upon them a greater terror; for presently upon this the Danes sue for peace, and deliver Hostages for performance of these conditions: that their King should receive Baptism, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this agreement they departed for the present into *France*, yet the year following they returned with greater Forces, forraging all parts of the Countrey in most cruel manner, though still encountered by this Valorous Prince, till he ended his life in the year 901. after he had reigned nine and twenty years. The Virtues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at least admirable, whereof these may be instances. The day and night containing four and twenty hours,

K. Alfreds Policy against the Danes.

K. Alfreds Virtues.

hours, he designed equally to three special uses, observing them by the burning of a Taper set in his Chappel; (there being at that time, no other way of distinguishing them.) Eight hours he spent in Contemplation, Reading, and Prayers: eight in provision for himself, his health and recreation, and the other eight in the affairs of the Common-wealth and State. His Kingdom likewise he divided into Shires, Hundreds, and Tythings: ordaining that no man might remove out of his Hundred without security: by which course he so suppressed Thieves and Robbers, which had formerly encreased by the long Wars, that it is said a boy or girl might openly carry a bag of Gold or Silver, and carry it safely all the Countrey over: Besides his great piety, he was also learned, and as far as it might be a commendation in a Prince, a skilful Musician and excellent Poet. All former Laws he caused to be surveyed, and made choice of the best, which he translated into the *English* tongue; as also the Pastoral of *St. Gregory*, the History of *Bede*, and *Boetius* his Consolation of Philosophy; the *Psalms* of *David* likewise he began to translate, but died before he could finish it. And so great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdom, possessing two Hides of Land, should bring up their Sons in Learning, till they were fifteen years of age at least, that so they might be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily. His Buildings were many, both for God's service, and other publick use: as at *Edlensy* a Monastery, at *Winchester* a new Minster, and at *Shaftesbury* a house of Nuns; whereof he made his Daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbess; but his foundation of the University of *Oxford*, exceeded all the rest: which he began in the year 895. and to furnish it with able Scholars, drew thither out of *France*, *Grimbaldus* and *Scotus*, and out of *Wales*, *Affer*, (who wrote his life) whose Lectures he honoured often with his own presence: And for a stock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom; and had all the particulars of his Estate Registred in a Book, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. He reigned seven and twenty years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Peter* at *Winchester*, though removed afterwards into the Church of the new Monastery, without the North-gate of the City called *Hyde*. His wife *Elfwith* founded a Monastery of Nuns at *Winchester*, and was there buried. Their second daughter *Ethelgeda*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nun of *Shaftesbury*, in the County of *Dorset*, in the Monastery founded there by him, who is also accounted the founder of the Town it self.

King *Alfred* being deceased, his Son *Edward* (called *Edward the Elder*) succeeded: not so Learned as his Father; but in Valour his equal, and superiour in Fortune; For first he overcame his Cousin *Ethelwald*, who aspir'd to the Crown; then the *Danes*, whose chief Leader he slew in Battel; lastly the *Welch*, but these last more by humility shewed to their Prince *Leolyn*, than by force of Arms. But yet he must not have all the glory of his time: some must be imparted to his Sister *Elfede*, who being married to *Ethelred*

Earl of *Mercia*, had by him a Daughter, but with so grievous pains in her Travel, that ever after she refused the Nuptial bed of her Husband, saying, it was a foolish pleasure that brought with it so excessive pains: and thereupon after her Husbands death, made choice to follow the Wars; assisting her Brother both against the *Welch*, and against the *Danes*, whom she brought to be at her disposing. Dying she was buried at *Glocester*, in the Monastery of *St. Peter*, which her Husband and her self had built. King *Edward* himself, after four and twenty years Reign, deceased at *Faringdon* in *Barkshire*, in the year 924. and was buried in the new Monastery of *Winchester*, which his Father and himself wholly finished: having had by his three Wives, six Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his own hands Knighted, in an extraordinary manner; putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. His second Son *Elfred*, he so loved, that he caused him to be Crowned King with himself, which yet he enjoyed but a short time, being taken away by death. His third Son *Elfward*, presently upon his Fathers death died himself also. His fourth Son *Edwyn*, was by his Brother *Athelstan*, out of jealousy of State, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped into the Sea, and drowned himself. His fifth and his sixth Sons, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, came in succession to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the eldest *Editha*, was married to *Sithricke* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, and he deceasing, she entred into a Monastery, which she began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickshire*, and there died. His second Daughter *Elfede*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of *Ramsay*, in the County of *Southampton*, where she died and was interred. His third Daughter *Eguina*, was first married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*; and after his decease, to *Herbert* Earl of *Vermandois*. His fourth Daughter *Ethelheld*, became a Nun in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Town, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and anciently called *Ellandon*. That we may see in those first times of Religion, when there was least knowledge, there was most devotion. His fifth Daughter *Edhold*, was married to *Hugh*, surnamed the Great Earl of *Paris*, and Constable of *France*. And *Edgith* his sixth Daughter to *Otho*, the Emperour of the West, surnamed the Great. His seventh Daughter *Elgina*, was married to a Duke of *Italy*. His eighth *Edigna* to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* in *France*.

After the death of King *Edward*, his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded, and was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, by *Athelmus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 924. The beginning of whose Reign, was molested with the Treason of one *Elfred* a Nobleman; who being apprehended and sent to *Rome* to purge himself, and there denying the act upon his Oath, fell suddenly down, and within three dayes died, to the eternal terror of all perjured persons. Presently upon this, another

He divides the Kingdom into Shires.

His love to learning.

re

Oxford founded.

Shaftesbury by whom founded.

Elfede followed like to the marriage bed to follow the Wars.

Knighting in an extraordinary manner.

Wilton the head Town of Wiltshire.

Perjury pun-
ished by
the Divine
hand.

Felons pun-
ished.

A miracle
of King
Athelstan.

K. *Athelstan*
makes *Wales*
tributary.

Holy Re-
liques sent
to King
Athelstan.

other disaster befel King *Athelstan*, for having caused his Brother *Edwyn's* death (as before is shewed) chiefly procured by his Cup-bearers suggestions; it happened not long after, that his Cup-bearer, in his Service at a Festival, stumbling with one foot, and recovering himself with the other, and saying merrily, *See how one Brother helps another*; his words put the King in remembrance of his Brother, whose death he had caused, and with remorse thereof not only caused his Cup-bearer to be put to death, but did also seven years penance; and built the two Monasteries of *Middleton*, and *Michelness*, in the County of *Dorset*, in expiation of his offence. This King ordained many good Laws, and those to bind as well the Clergy as the Laity; amongst which, one was the attachment of Felons, that stole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old. Of this King there is one Act related, that may seem ridiculous; another that may seem miraculous: For what more ridiculous than that going to visit the Tomb of *St. John of Beverly*, and having nothing else of worth to offer, he offered his Knife in devotion to the Saint? Yet the miraculous is more apparent; For going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good success, he prayed withal, that God would shew some sign of his rightful cause, and thereupon striking with his Sword, he struck it an ell deep into a hard stone, which stood so cloven a long time after: But whether this be true or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great victories against the *Danes*, against the *Scots*, against the *Irish*, and against the *Welch*, whose Princes he brought to be his tributaries, entring Covenant at *Hereford*, to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and five and twenty hundred head of Cattel; besides a certain number of Hawks and Hounds. Lastly, he joyned *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and enlarged his Dominions beyond any of his Predecessors: which made all neighbouring Princes to seek his friendship, and to gratifie him with rare presents; as *Hugh King of France* sent him the Sword of *Constantine the Great*, in the Hilt whereof was one of the Nails which fastened Christ to his Cross: he sent him also the Spear of *Charles the Great*, reputed to be the samethat pierced Christ's side; as also part of the Cross whereon Christ suffered, and a piece of the Thorny Crown put upon his head. Likewise *Otho the Emperour*, who had married his Sister, sent him a vessel of precious Stones, artificially made, wherein were seen Landships with Vines, Corn, and Men, all of them seeming so artificially to move, as if they were growing and alive. Likewise the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly Ship, with a gilt Stern, purple Sails, and the Deck garnished all with Gold. Of these accounted holy Reliques, K. *Athelstan* gave part to the Abby of *Saint Swithin* in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his Tutelar Saint. He new built the Monasteries of *Wilton*, *Michelness*, and *Middleton*; Founded *Saint Germans* in *Cornwal*, *Saint Petrocus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautified the City of *Exeter*, and enriched

either with Jewels or Lands, every special Abbey of the Land. But the chiefest of his works for the service of God, and good of his Subjects, was the translation of the Bible into the Saxon Tongue, which was then the Mother Tongue of the Land. He reigned fifteen years, died at *Glocester*, and was buried at *Malmesbury*, in the year 940. having never been married.

The Bible
translated
into the
Saxons
Tongue.

After the death of *Athelstan*, his brother *Edmund*, the fifth Son of his Father, succeeded; and was Crowned at *Kingston upon Thames*: but no sooner was the Crown set upon his head, but the *Danes* were upon his back; and in *Northumberland* made insurrections; whom yet he not only repressed in that part, but took from them the Towns of *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Darby*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*; compelling them withal to receive Baptism, and to become his Subjects, so as the Countrey was wholly his as far as *Humber*. *Cumberland* also, which had been an entire Kingdom of it self, and was now aided by *Leolyn King of Southwales*, he utterly wasted and gave it *Malcolm King of Scots*, to hold of him by Fealty. After his returning home, he set himself to ordain Laws for the good of his people, which Master *Lambert* hath since translated into Latin. But after all his noble Acts both in War and Peace, he came at last to a lamentable end; for at his Mannor of *Pucklekerks*, in the County of *Glocester*, interposing himself to part a Fray between two of his Servants, he was thrust through the body, and so wounded, that he died, or as the *Saxon Annals* relate, was slain by one *Leof* a noted Thief whom meeting at a feast among his Nobles after he had banisht him the Court he fell upon in a great rage, and was buried at *Glastenbury*, after he had reigned five years, and seven months, leaving behind him two young Sons, *Edwyn*, and *Edgar*.

K. *Edmund*
compels the
Danes to re-
ceive Ba-
ptism.

His good
Laws.

His unfortu-
nate end.

King *Edmund* dying, his brother *Edred* in the minority of his Nephews, was Crowned at *Kingston upon Thames*, by *Otho Archbishop of Canterbury*, in the year 946. Not as Protector, (it seems that kind of Authority was not yet come in use) but as King himself, though with purpose to resign, when the right Heir should come of age; which at this time needed not, for while the right Heir was scarce yet fourteen years old, he resigned to him the Kingdom, by resigning his life to Nature, after he had twice repressed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiven their Rebelling, which yet was not a simple Rebellion; for they had sent for *Anlaf* the *Dane* out of *Ireland*, and made him their King: which place for four years he held; and then weary of his Government, they thrust him out, and take one *Hericus* to be their King, whom not long after they put down also; and then partly allured by the lenity of King *Edred*, and partly forced by his Arms, they submit themselves to him, and ask forgiveness, to whom he as a merciful Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them again into protection. This Prince was so devout and humble, that he submitted his body to be chastised at the will of *Dunstan*, Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and committed all his Treasure and Jewels to his custody. The stately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington near Oxford*, built by King *Inas*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified, endowing it with Revenues

King *Edred's*
devotion.

Revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he confirmed with Seals of Gold. He ordained Saint *Germans* in *Cornwal*, to be a Bishops See, which there continued, till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Episcopal See of *Kyrton* in *Devonshire*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the Confessor, translated to the City of *Exeter*. He left behind him two Sons, *Elfred*, and *Bertfred*, and was buried in the old Minster, without the City of *Winchester*, whose bones with other Kings, are to this day preserved in a gilt Coffin, fixed upon the Wall, in the South side of the Quire.

Ever made the Episcopal See.

K. *Edwin* shameful fact at his Coronation.

After *Edred*, not any of his Sons, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the eldest Son of King *Edmund* succeeded, and was anointed and Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 955. This Prince, though scarce fourteen years old, and in age but a child, yet was able to commit sin as a man; for upon the very day of his Coronation, and in sight of his Lords, as they sat in Council, he shamefully abused a Lady of great Estate, and his near Kinswoman; and to mend the matter, shortly after slew her Husband; the more freely to enjoy his incestuous pleasure. And whether for this infamous fact, or for thrusting the Monks out of the Monasteries of *Malmesbury*, and *Glastenbury*, and placing married Priests in their rooms, as also for banishing *Dunstan* the holy Abbot of *Glastenbury* out of the Realm, a great part of his Subjects hearts was so turned against him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and swore Fealty to his younger brother *Edgar*; with grief whereof, after four years reign, he ended his life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hyde*, at *Winchester*.

After *Edwyn*, succeeded his younger Brother *Edgar*, at the age of sixteen years; but his Coronation, when and where, and by whom, is so uncertain, that some say he was Crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames* by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the first year of his Reign; others say not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Malmesbury* not till the thirtieth: Another Chronicle saith, in his eleventh year; and that in the City of *Bathe*, by the hands of *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This King, by reason of the tranquillity of his Reign, was surnamed the *Peaceable*; for as he was something inclined to the *Danes*, so the *Danes* never offered to stir in all his time; and as for the *Saxons*, they acknowledged him their sole Sovereign, without division of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were some Virtuous, some Politick, some Just, some Pious; and yet all these not without some mixture of Vice. To repress drunkenness, which the *Danes* had brought in, he made a Law, ordaining a fine, by certain pins in the pot; with penalty to any that should presume to drink deeper than the mark. It was a politick device which he used for the destruction of Wolves that in his dayes did great annoyance to the Land: For the tribute imposed on the *Princes* of *Wales*, by King *Athelstan*, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof, a certain number of Wolves, yearly to be paid; whereof the Prince of *North-Wales*, for his part was to pay three hundred; which continued for three years space: and in the fourth

year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and so the tribute ceased. He had in his Navy Royal, three thousand and six hundred Ships, which he divided into three parts, appointing every one of them to a several Quarter, to scowre the Seas, and to secure the Coasts from Pirates: and lest his Officers might be careless, or corrupted, he would himself in person sail about all the Coasts of his Kingdom every Summer. It was a notable Act of Justice, that in his Circuits and Progresses through the Countrey, he would take special account of the demeanour of his Lords; and specially of his Judges; whom he severely punished, if he found them Delinquents. Wars he had none in all his Reign, only towards his end the *Welchmen* moved some Rebellion; against whom he went with a mighty Army, and chastised the Authors: but when his Souldiers had gotten great spoils, and made prey upon the innocent Countrey people, he commanded them to restore it all back again; which, if it made some few *English* angry, it made the whole Countrey of the *Welch* well pleased, and found forth his praises. His pious Acts were, that he built and prepared seven and forty Monasteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by death. But now his mixture of Vice marred all; especially being a Vice opposite to all those Virtues, which was Lasciviousness. For first, he deflowred a Sacred Nun, called *Wolfschild*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaste *Eldyth*. After her another Virgin, called *Ethelfede*, for her excellent beauty surnamed the White, on whom he begot his Eldest Son *Edward*; for which fact he did seven years penance enjoined him by the Archbishop *Dunstan*. After this he chanced to hear of a Virgin, Daughter to a Western Duke, exceedingly praised for her beauty, and coming to *Andover*, commanded her to his Bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughters honour, brought in the dark her Maid to him; who in the morning making haste to rise, and the King not suffering her to depart, she told him what great work she had to do, and how she should incur her Ladies displeasure, if it were not done; by which words the King perceiving the deceit, turned it to a jest: but so well liked her company, that he kept himself true to her ever after, till he married. But now his marriage it self happened by a greater vice than any of these; for hearing of the admirable beauty of *Elfrida*, the only Daughter of *Ordganus*, Duke of *Devonshire*, Founder of *Tavestock* Abbey in that Countrey, he sent his great Favourite Earl *Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commission, that if he found her such as fame reported, he should seize her for him, and he would make her his Queen. The young Earl, upon sight of the Lady, was so surprized with her love, that he began to wooe for himself, and got her Fathers good will, so as the King would give his consent. Hereupon the Earl posted to the King, relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed, but nothing answerable to the Fame that went of her; yet desired the King that he might marry her, as being her Fathers Heir, thereby to raise his Fortunes. The King consented, and

King *Edward* Navy Royal of 26000 ships.

Souldiers made to restore their Booties.

King *Edgar* built seven and forty Monasteries.

King *Edward* lasciviousness.

A trencher-boys favourite.

King *Edgar* called the *Peaceable*.

A Law to repress drunkenness.

How wolves came to be destroyed in England.

the marriage was solemnized. Soon after, the fame of her beauty began to spread more than before; so as the King much doubting that he had been abused, meant to try the truth himself, and thereupon taking occasion of hunting in the Dukes Park, came to his house; whose coming *Ethelwold* suspecting, acquainted his Wife with the wrong he had done both her, and the King; and therefore to prevent the Kings displeasure, intreated her by all the persuasions he could use, to cloath her self in such attire, as might be least fit to set her forth: but she considering that now was the time to make the most of her beauty, and longing to be a Queen, would not be accessory to her own wrong, but decked her self in her richest Ornaments, which so improved her beauty, that the King at the first sight was struck with admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favourite; yet dissembling his passion, till he could take him at advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through; and having thereby made fair *Elfrida* a Widow, took her to be his Wife.

Ramsay Monastery in Hampshire founded.

This King founded the Monastery of *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*, reigned sixteen years, lived seven and thirty, and with great Funeral pomp was buried in the Abby of *Glastenbury*. He had Children by his first Wife *Ethelfreda*, one Son named *Edward*, and by his second Wife *Elfrid*, two Sons, one named *Edmund*, who died young, the other *Ethelred*. He had also one natural Daughter, named *Edgyth*, by a Lady named *Wolfschilde*, the Daughter of *Wolholme*, the Son of *Birding*, the Son of *Nesting*; which two later, bear in their names the memory of their Fortunes; the last of them being found in an Eagles nest, by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monastery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buried.

A child found in an Eagles nest: and thereof called *Nesting*.

After the death of King *Edgar* succeeds his Son *Edward*, but not without some opposition, for Queen *Elfrid* combined with divers of the Lords, to make her Son *Ethelred* King, saying, that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other side, the Archbishop *Dunstan*, and the Monks stood for *Edward*, abetting his Title as being lawfully born; but while the Council was assembled to argue their Rights, the Archbishop came in with his Banner and Cross, and not staying for debating *de Jure, de facto* presented Prince *Edward* for their lawful King, and the Assembly consisting most of Clergy men, drew the approbation of the rest; and thereupon Prince *Edward* was admitted, being but twelve years of age, and was Crowned King at *Kingston upon Thames*, by Archbishop *Dunstan*, in the year 975. In the beginning of his Reign, it fell into debate whether married Priests were to be allowed to live in Monasteries upon the Revenues of the Church. The *Mercian* Duke *Alferus*, favouring the cause of the married Priests, destroyed the Monasteries in his Province, cast out the Monks, and restored again the ancient Revenues to the Priests and their Wives. On the other side, *Edelwyn* Duke of the East *Angles*, and *Brynoth* Earl of *Sussex*, who stood for the Monks, cast married Priests out of their Provinces. The matter being debated in a Council at *Westminster*, the Monks

Married Priests excluded from living in Monasteries, by what verdict.

cause was like to have the foil, till it was referred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory Wall where the Council sate: For to this great Oracle Saint *Dunstan* desired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent ear for an answer, when suddenly a voice was heard to say, *God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so*. This was thought Authority sufficient, to suppress the Priests, till they perswaded the people, that this was but a cunning practice of the Monks, in placing behind the Wall, a man of their own, who through a Trunk uttered these words in the mouth of the Rood. Whereupon another Assembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltshire*, whither repaired the Prelates, with most of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. The Synod being set, and the matter at the height of discussing, it happened that the Joysts of the Room, where the Synod was held, suddenly brake, and the floor with all the people thereon, fell down, whereof many were hurt, and some slain; only the Arch-bishop *Dunstan*, then President, and mouth for the Monks, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by practice, or were miraculous, it served the Monks turn for justifying their cause, and married Priests were thereupon discarded. It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to speak of all the Miracles, reported to be done by this Saint *Dunstan*, which may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

But now a most lamentable disaster comes to be remembered: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Island of *Purbeck*, not far from *Corfe Castle*; where his Mother-in-Law, Queen *Elfrid*, with his Brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then residing, he out of his love to both, would needs himself alone go visit them; where the cruel woman, out of ambition to bring her own Son to the Crown, caused one to run him into the back with a Knife, as he was drinking a Cup of Wine on Horseback at his departing, who feeling himself hurt, set Spurs to his Horse, thinking thereby to get to his company, but the wound being mortal, and he fainting through loss of much blood, fell from his Horse; but one foot being intangled in the Stirrup, he was thereby rudely dragged up and down, through Woods and Lands; and lastly left dead at *Corfes Gate*; for which untimely death, he was ever after called by the name of *Edward the Martyr*. He reigned only three years and six months, and was buried first at *Winchester*, without all Funeral pomp, but after three years, by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great solemnity interred in the Minster of *Shaftsbury*. Queen *Elfrid*, to expiate this her bloody fact, built the two Monasteries of *Almesbury*, and *Worwel*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire*, and *Southampton*, in which later with great repentance, she lived till her death.

K. Edwards lamentable end by the wickedness of his Mother-in-law: and called the Martyr.

After the death of *Edward the Martyr*, dying at the age of sixteen years, his half Brother *Ethelred*, at the age of twelve years, in the year 979. was Crowned King at *Kingstone* upon *Thames* by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though much against his will; which King by reason of his backwardness in Action, was commonly called the Unready. At the Coronation of this Prince *St. Dunstan* in a Prophetick

K. E. Ethelred called the Unready.

Spirit

spirit denounced on him and the Kingdom; the wrath and indignation of Almighty God in these words following; Because (saith he) thou hast aspired to the Crown by the death of thy Brother whom thy mother hath murdered; therefore hear the word of the Lord: *The Sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall furiously rage all the dayes of thy life, killing of thy seed, till such time as thy Kingdom shall be given to a people whose customes and language the Nation thou now governeest, know not. Neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy Mother, and the sin of those men, who were partakers of her Counsels, and Executors of her wicked designs, be expiated but by a long, and most severe vengeance.* Which prediction of the Holy Archbishop was seconded by Prodigies, and by the disastrous calamities which fell on him and his house, and the whole confirmed for truth. Besides this, most remarkable are the prophecies of a holy man in the time of this King *Ethelred*. Before whose time, for two and twenty years past the *Danes* had lived as quiet inmates with the *English*: but whether weary of so long doing nothing, or finding now opportunity of doing something, in the second year of this King, they begin to stir, and inviting from home, Forces, who in seven Ships arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*; they spoiled all the Countrey, specially the Isle of *Thanet*, and continued this course of foraging the Kingdom, sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another, for eleven years together: till at last, in the year 991. the King by advice of his Lords, of whom *Siricius* the now Archbishop of *Canterbury* was chief, was contented to pay them ten thousand pounds, upon condition they should quietly depart the Realm. This served the turn for the present, but was so far from satisfying them, that it did but give them the greater appetite; for the year following they came again, and that with a greater fleet than before, against whom the King prepared a competent Navy, and committed it to *Elfrick*, Earl of *Mercia*, but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the most part did, whom the King employed against the *Danes*, as with whom they were allied in blood) the *Danes* so prevailed, that for the next composition, they had sixteen thousand pounds given them, and a year after, twenty thousand; and so every year more and more, till it came at last to forty thousand: by which means, the Land was emptied of all coin, and the *English* were brought so low, that they were fain to Till, and Ear the Ground, whilst the *Danes* sate idle, and eat the fruit of their labours, abusing the Wives and Daughters of their Hosts, where they lay, and yet in every place, for very fear, were called *Lord Danes*; (which afterward became a word of derision when one would signify a lazy Lubber.) In this distressed state, the King at last bethought himself of a course: he sent forth a secret Commission into every City within his Dominions; that at an appointed time, they should massacre all the *Danes* that were amongst them: the day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the Festival of *St. Brice*, in the year 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in *Oxford* the *Danes* for refuge took into the Church

of *St. Frideswide*, as into a Sanctuary, when the *English*, neither regarding place nor person, set the Church on fire, wherein many of the *Danes* were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that *England* by this Fact had clean shaken off the *Danish* yoke for ever? yet it proved clean otherwise: For the news of this massacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition, made the *Danes* sharper set against the *English*, than ever they had been before; so as the year following, their King *Sweyne*, with a mighty Navy entred the Countrey, razed and levelled with the ground the City of *Exeter*, all along from the East Gate to the West: against whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it the Earl *Edrick*, his great Favourite, whom he had created Duke of *Mercia*, and given him his Daughter *Edgith* in marriage; yet all this great favour could not keep him from being treacherous, for being sent Ambassadour to the *Danes*, to mediate for peace, he revealed to them the weakness of the Land, and treacherously dissuaded them from consenting to any Truce. Upon this King *Ethelred* gave order, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should build a Ship, and every eight Hides find a compleat Armour furnished; yet all this great preparation came to nothing, but only to make a show. After this, the King seeing no end of their Invasions; nor promise kept upon any composition; (for three *Danish* Princes, with a great Fleet were now newly arrived) he intended to adventure once for all; and to commit his cause to God, by the fortune of a Battel. To which end he secretly gathered a mighty power, and coming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared, he had certainly given an end to the Quarrel, if the wicked *Edrick* had not dissuaded him from fighting; and put him into a causeless fear, by forged tales. After this the *Danes* foraged many Countries, burnt *Oxford*, *Thetford*, and *Cambridge*; and lastly, entred *Wiltshire*, which was the seventh shire in number, they had laid waste like a Wilderness. The year after they make a new Expedition, and besiege *Canterbury*; which by treason of a Church-man they won, took *Alphegus* the Archbishop, and slew nine hundred Monks, and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tythed the people, slaying all by nines, and reserving only the tenth to live; so that of all the Monks in the Town there were but four saved, and of the Lay-people, four thousand eight hundred; by which account Master *Lambert* collecteth, that there dyed in this Massacre three and forty thousand, and two hundred persons. The Archbishop *Alphegus*, for that he refused to charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his Ransome, they most cruelly stoned to death at *Greenwich*. *Turkillus* the leader of these Murderers, took into his possession all *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, over whom he tyrannized in most savage manner; the rest compounding with the *English* for eight thousand pounds, quietly for a while sojourned among them. The year following came King *Sweyne* again, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of *Humber*, and landed at *Gainsborough*, to whom the *Nor-*

In revenge whereof King Sweyne the next year invades the Kingdom, and prevails by the treachery of Edrick.

The *Danes* having been long quiet, begin now to stir.

The *Danes* prevail, and are called *Lord-Danes*.

The *Danes* massacred.

thumbrians, and the people of *Lindsey* yielded themselves; so that now over all the North, from *Watlingstreet*, he reigned sole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he passed into the South, subduing all before him till he came to *London*, where he was so valiantly encountered by the *Londoners*, that he was glad to retire, in which retiring notwithstanding he entered *Bathe*, where *Ethelmore* Earl of *Devonshire*, with his Western people, submitted himself to him. Yet after this, between him and the *English* was struck a fierce Battel, which had been with good success, if the treachery of some in turning to the *Danes*, had not hindered it. After this the *Danes* proceeded on victoriously, and had gotten most part of the Land, and even *London* also by submission: whereupon the unfortunate King *Ethelred*, sending his Wife *Emma* with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, to her Brother Duke of *Normandy*, himself also the Winter following passed thither, leaving the *Danes* Lording it in his Realm. *Sweyne* now as an absolute King extorted from the *English* both Victuals and Pay for his Souldiers; and demanding such a Composition for preserving of *St. Edmunds* Monastery in *Suffolk*, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refused to pay: he thereupon threatened spoil, both to the Place, and to the Martyrs bones that were there interred, when suddenly in the midst of his jollity (saith *Hoveden*) he cried out, that he was struck by Saint *Edmund* with a Sword, being then in the midst of his Lords, and no man seeing from whose hand it came; and so with great horror and torment, three dayes after, upon the third of *February*, he ended his life at *Thetford*, or (as others say) at *Gainsborough*. And now who would not think but this was a fair opportunity offered to the *English*, to free themselves wholly from the *Danish* yoke? but when all was done, either crossed by treachery, or frustrated by misfortune, nothing prospered. It is true, upon this occasion of *Sweyne's* death, King *Ethelred* returned out of *Normandy*, but at his coming *Canutus* the Son of *Sweyne*, had gotten the people of *Lindsey* to be at his devotion, and to find him both Horse and Men against their own King; so as *Ethelred* was now to encounter as well his own Subjects as *Danes*, which he did so valiantly, that he made *Canutus* glad to return into *Denmark*, as utterly hopeless of any good to be done in *England*. And now one would certainly think the *Danes* had been removed Root and Branch, out of *England*, and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it that could be. But it is a true saying, That which will be, shall be, let all be done that can be. For now *Turkil* the *Dane*, who had before revolted to King *Ethelred*, growing sensible of his fault, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Countrey-mens case, which was now or never to be helpt, with nine of his Ships sailed into *Denmark*; and first excusing himself to *Canutus* for his former defection, as though he had done it of purpose, to learn all advantages against the *English*, which now he could discover to him: he so prevailed with *Canutus* once again to try his for-

ture, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he set sail for *England*, and landed at *Sandwich*, where he gave the *English* a great overthrow, and passed victoriously through the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Wilt.* When (*Ethelred* lying dangerously sick at *Cossam*) the managing of the War was committed to Prince *Edmund* his Son, who preparing to give the *Danes* Battel, had suddenly notice given him, that his Brother-in-Law *Edrick* meant to betray him into his Enemies hands, which made him suspend his proceeding: and *Edrick*, perceiving his design to be discovered, cast off the Masque, and with forty of the Kings Ships fled openly to the Enemy; and thereupon, all the West Countries submitted themselves unto *Canutus*. By this time King *Ethelred* having recovered his sickness, prepared to go on with the Battel, which his Son *Edmund* had intended; but his Forces being assembled, he likewise had suddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the *Danes*. Hereupon he withdrew himself to *London*, as the place in which he most confided; where falling into a relapse of his former sickness, he ended his unfortunate dayes in the year 1016. when he had reigned 37. years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, whose bones as yet remain in the North Wall of the chancel, in a Chest of grey Marble, adjoyning to that of *Sebba*, King of the East Saxons. He had by his two Wives, eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom his youngest named *Goda*, was married to one *Walter de Maigne*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, by whom she had a Son named *Rodolph*, which *Rodolph* had a Son named *Harold*, created afterward by King *William* the Conquerour Baron of *Sudely* in the County of *Glocester*, and Ancestor to the Barons, of that place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudely*, now being.

Ethelred being dead, his third Son *Edmund* called *Ironside* (of his ability in enduring labour) but the eldest living at his Fathers death, succeeded, and was crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by *Levingus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1016. A great part of the *English* both feared and favoured, and indeed out of fear favoured *Canutus*; especially the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, and swore Fealty to him: but the *Londoners* stood firm to Prince *Edmund*, and were the principal authors of his Election. *Canutus* before the death of King *Ethelred*, had besieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompassed it: but the new King *Edmund* coming on, raised the siege, and made *Canutus* fly to the Isle of *Sheppey*; where having staid the Winter, the Spring following, he assailed the West of *England*, and at *Penham* in *Dorsetshire*, a Battel was fought, and the *Danes* discomfited. After this, in *Worcestershire* at a place called *Sherostan*, another Battel was fought, where the *Danes* were like again to be discomfited: but the traitorous *Edrick* perceiving it, he cut off the head of a Souldier like unto King *Edmund*, both in hair and countenance, and shaking his bloody Sword, with the gasping head crying to the Army of the *English*, Fly ye wretches, fly, and get away, for your King is slain; behold,

Is perswaded by *Edrick* the *Dane* to return into *England*.

Edrick continues treacherous still.

The Lord *Chandois* of *Sudely* from whom descended.

Edmund Iron-side crowned King.

Drives *Canutus* from the siege of *London*.

Edrick treacherous still.

King *Sweyne* is stricken by the Divine Hand for offering violence to *St. Edmund* the Martyrs bones.

Canutus in despair returns into *Denmark*.

behold, here is his head; but King Edward having notice of this treacherous stratagem, hastened to shew himself where he might best be seen; whose sight so encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a final victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke Edrick excuses his Fact, as being mistaken in the countenance of the Man, and desirous to save the blood of the English; upon which false colour he was received into favour again. After this, Canutus secretly in the night brake up his Camp, and marched towards London, which in a sort was still besieged by the Danish Ships: but King Edmund hearing of his departure, followed him, and with small ado removed the Siege, and in triumphant manner entred the City. After this near unto Otford in Kent, was another great Battel fought, in which Canutus lost four thousand five hundred men, and King Edmund only six hundred; the rest of the Danes saving themselves by flight: whom if King Edmund had pursued, it is thought that day had ended the Wars between these two Nations for ever. But the ever traiterous Edrick, kept King Edmund from pursuing them, by telling him of Ambushes and other dangers: so as Canutus had leisure to pass over into Essex, but thither also King Edmund followed him; where at Ashdon three miles from Saffron Walden, another Battel was fought, in which the Danes being at the point to be overthrown, the traiterous Edrick with all his Forces revolted to their side; by which treachery the English lost the day. There died of King Edmund's Nobility, Duke Alfred, Duke Goodwyn, Duke Athelwald, Duke Athelwyn, Earl Urcil, Codnoth Bishop of Lincoln, Wolfey Abbot of Ramsey, with many others. The remembrance of which Battel is retained to this day, by certain small hills there remaining, whence have been digged the bones of men, armour, and horse-bridles. After this at Dereberst, near to the River Severn, another Battel was ready to be fought; when suddenly, a certain Captain steps forth, and for saving of blood, used great perswasions, that either they should try the Battel by single Combat, or else divide the Kingdom betwixt them: Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entring into a small Island called Alney adjoyning to the City of Gloucester, in compleat Armour assailed each other; at first on Horseback, and after on foot: when Canutus having received a dangerous wound, and finding himself overmatched in strength, desired a Compromise, and with a loud voice used these words. What necessity should move us, most valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aside, and condescend to a loving agreement? let us therefore become sworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us. This motion was by King Edmund accepted, and thus was the Kingdom divided between these two Princes; Edmund enjoying that part which lies upon the Coast of France, and Canutus the rest. But now Duke Edrick hath his last and greatest act of treachery to play; for King Edmund being retired to a place for nature's necessity, he thrust from under the draught a sharp Spear into his Body, and then cutting off his head presented

it to Canutus, with these fawning words, *All hail, thou sole Monarch now of England, for here behold the head of thy Co-partner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.* Canutus thought ambitious enough of sovereignty, yet abashed at so disloyal a fact, replied and vowed, that in reward of that service, his own head should be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom: which soon after he performed; for by his command the false Edrick's head was cut off, and placed upon the highest Gate of London. Matthew of Westminster and Huntingdon, relate this murder to have been acted by Edrick's own Son at the commandment of his Father: William Malmesbury writes that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber hired by the same disloyal Edrick, notwithstanding Roger Hoveden reports that he died a natural death at London. The death of this King in this manner, some say, was acted at Oxford; others, that he died of a natural sickness in London; but howsoever he came to his death, his reign was but only seven months, and his body was buried at Glastenbury, near to his Grandfather King Edgar. This King Edmund had by his Wife Aelfth, two Sons; the eldest named Edward, surnamed the Out-law, because he lived out of England, in Hungary, as a banished man, for fear of King Canutus: but when his Uncle King Edward the Confessor had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he died. He married Agatha, Sister to Queen Sophia, Wife to Salomon King of Hungary, and Daughter to the Emperour Henry the Second; by whom he had Edgar surnamed Atheling, the right Heir of the English Crown, though he never enjoyed it. The second Son of Ironside was called after his Father's name Edmund. King Edmund had also two Daughters, Margaret and Christina, of whom the younger became a Veiled Nun at Ramsey in Hampshire; the elder Margaret, after she Heir to the Saxon Monarchy, married Malcolm the third King of Scotland, from which Princely bed in a lineal Descent, our High and Mighty Monarch King James the first, doth in his most Royal Person, unite the Britains, Saxons; Norman, and Scottish Imperial Crowns in one.

Edward Atheling in his Father.

King James descended from Margaret daughter of King Edmund Ironside.

Of the first DANISH King in England.

Canutus being possessor of half the Kingdom by composition with King Edward, now after his death seized upon the whole, and to prevent all further question, he called a Council of the English Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt Edmund and him, any claim of Title to the Crown had been reserved for King Edmund's Brethren or Sons; to which (not daring to say otherwise) they absolutely answered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to Canutus. Being thus cleared of all opposites, he prepared with great solemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at London, by the hands of Levingus surnamed Elstane, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1017. being the first Dane that reigned Monarch of England. But Canutus not thinking himself sufficiently

Canutus possessor of the whole Kingdom.

King Edmund and Canutus try the matter by a single combat.

They divide the Kingdom between them.

Edrick treacherous still, murders King Edmund.

ficiently safe, as long as any that might pretend, were in the peoples eye, caused first *Edwin* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realm, who was yet afterward recalled, and treacherously murdered by his own men, and his body buried at *Tave-stock* in *Devonshire*. Next were the two sons of *Edmund Ironside*, *Edward*, and *Edmund*, whom to the end the people might not see him shed the blood of Innocents, he sent to his half Brother King of *Sweden*, to be made away, but the King of *Sweden* more compassionate and noble than this jealous and cruel *Dane*, sent the young Princes into *Hungary*, to *Salomon* (the King thereof) in whose Court they were brought up and preferred, as we have before mentioned. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of King *Ethelred*, and them their Mother Queen *Emma* had sent away before to her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be in safety, so as none of the Royal Blood was now left in the Land, to give *Canutus* any fear of competition. After this he took to Wife the virtuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of King *Ethelred*, by which match he procured to himself three great benefits: one that he won the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they so intirely loved, another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandy*, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he secured himself against the Sons: as likewise Queen *Emma* was not unwillingly perswaded to the match, upon agreement to make her Issue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of *England*. And to win the love of the people more, he caused great numbers of his *Danes*, who pestered the Countrey, to return home, bestowing amongst them for their satisfaction, fourscore and two thousand pounds. And to win the love of the people yet more, he now set himself to the making of good Laws, in a Grand Convention of his Nobles which he held at *Oxford*; whereof, for a Pattern of those times, some that concern Religion, may not unfitly be here related. First, for the celebration of Divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the increase of Reverence and Devotion should be used as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath day, all Publick Fairs, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all secular actions should be forborn, unless some urgent necessity should require it. Thirdly, that every Christian should thrice in the year receive the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Minister of an Altar killed a man, or committed any notorious crime, he should be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married woman convict of Adultery should have her nose and ears cut off. Sixthly, That a widow marrying within a twelfth month after her Husbands decease should lose her Joynture. These and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained during all his time, in a most peaceable state and government. In the third year of his Reign he heard how the *Vandals* taking advantage of his absence, had entred *Denmark*, and annoyed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Army of *English* he passed over the Seas, and gave them Battel, but with ill success the first day;

when preparing for the next dayes Battel, the Earl *Godwin* who was the General of the *English*, secretly in the dead of the night, set upon the *Vandals* Camp, and with a great slaughter of their Souldiers, made their two Princes, *Ulfus* and *Anlave*, to flie the Field. In the morning it was told *Canutus* that the *English* were fled, for that their station was left, and not a man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his Patience: but he going in person to see the truth, found the great overthrow the *English* had given, for which service ever after he held the *English*, and especially the Earl *Godwyn*, in great estimation. After this, returning home, he made a prosperous expedition against *Malcolme*, King of *Scots*, and at last, in the fifteenth year of his Reign, wearied with the honourable troubles of the world, and out of devotion, he took a Journey to *Rome*, to visit the Sepulchre of *St. Peter and Paul*, from whence he writ to the Bishops, and Nobility of *England*, that they should carefully administer Justice, and never seek to advance his profit by any undue wayes, or with the detriment of any man. At his return from *Rome*, he built in *Essex* the Church of *Ashdon*, where he got the Victory against King *Edmund*; in *Norfolk*, the Abby of *St. Benets*, which Saint he greatly revered; and in *Suffolk* the Monastery of Saint *Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Winchester* he gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Cross, valued to be worth as much as the whole revenue of *England* amounted to in one year. To *Coventry* he gave the arm of the great *St. Austin*, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, for which he paid an hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. One strange act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning flatterers, who used to tell him that his powers were more than humane; For being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his Chair of State should be set on the shoar when the Sea began to flow, and then sitting down there in the presence of his many attendants, he spake thus to that Element: I charge thee that thou presume not to enter my Land, nor wet these Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his command, but keeping on his usual course of Tyde, first wet his skirts, and after his thighs, whereupon suddenly arising, he thus spake in the hearing of them all: Let all the worlds Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keeps both Heaven and Earth and Sea in obedience. After which time he would never suffer the Crown to be set upon his head: but presently Crowned therewith the Picture of Christ on the Cross at *Winchester*; from which example arose perhaps the Custom, to hang up the Armour of worthy men in Churches, as Offerings consecrated to him who is the Lord of Battel. When he had reigned nineteen years, he deceased at *Shaftsbury* in the County of *Dorset*, the twelfth of *November*, in the year 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old Monastery at *Winchester*; which being after new built, his bones with many other *English* Saxon Kings were taken up, and are preserved

He marries
Queen *Emma*.

He makes
good Laws.

The Sabbath
to be strictly
observed.

The Com-
munion to
be received
thrice a year.

A married
woman con-
vict of adul-
tery, to have
her nose and
ears cut off.

He takes a
journey to
Rome.

He builds
divers Mo-
nasteries.

A Jewel as
much worth
as the reve-
nues of
England.

His Act for
convincing
his flatterers.

Hanging up
the armour
of worthy
men in
Churches,
from whence
it began.

in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the Walls of the Quire in that Cathedral Church. He had by his two Wives, three Sons, *Sweyne* and *Harold* by his first Wife *Alfgive*, and *Hardiknute* by his second Wife *Queen Emma*; and two Daughters, of whom the eldest, called *Guinhilda*, was married to the *Roman* Emperour *Henry* the Third, who being accused of Adultery, and none found to defend her cause, at last an *English* Page, a very Boy and Dwarf, who for the littleness of his Stature, was generally, and jeaſtlingly ſurnamed *Mimecan*, adventured to maintain her Innocency againſt a mighty Giant-like Combatant; who in fight, at one blow, cutting the ſinews of his adverſaries Leg, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his Sword, taking his head from his ſhoulders, redeemed both the Emperesſes life and honour. But the Emperesſe after this hard uſage forſook her Huſbands Bed, and took upon her the Veil of a Nun, in the Town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where ſhe devoutly ſpent the reſt of her life.

Guinhilda's
Innocency
defended by
a Page.

Of the Second Danish King in England.

KING *Canutus* dying, left his Kingdom of *Norway* to his eldeſt Son *Sweyne*, and his Kingdom of *England* to his youngeſt Son *Hardiknute*, whom he had by his Wife *Emma*; but he being at the time of his Fathers death in *Denmark*, *Harold* his elder Brother by a former Wife, taking advantage of his abſence, layes claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords aſſembled at *Oxford*, where *Queen Emma* pleaded for her Son *Hardiknute*, urging the Covenant of *Canutus* at their Marriage, and his laſt will at his death; as alſo *Earl Godwyn* of *Kent* did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his laſt Wil. But *Harold's* preſence, together with the favour of the *Londoners*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, ſo wrought with the Lords, that the abſent *Hardiknute* was neglected, and *Harold* was proclaimed and crowned King at *Oxford*, by *Elnothus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1036.

Harold ſuc-
ceedeth his
Father *Can-*
nutus.

His Plot to
intercept
Competitors

Harold having now attained the Crown, was not ſo jealous of his Brother *Hardiknute*, as of his Mother-in-law *Queen Emma*, and her Sons by King *Ethelred*, who were beyond Sea; and therefore how to ſecure himſelf againſt theſe was his firſt care: For effecting whereof he framed a Letter, as written by *Queen Emma*, to her two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred*; inſtigating them to attempt the Crown uſurped by *Harold*, againſt their Right: To which Letter coming firſt to the hands of *Alfred*, he ſuſpecting no fraud, returned answer, That he would ſhortly come over and follow her counſel. And thereupon with a ſmall Fleet, and ſome few ſouldiers lent him by *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, he took the Sea for *England*, where coming to ſhore, *Earl Godwyn* met him, and bound himſelf by Oath to be his Guide to his Mother *Queen Emma*; but being wrought firm for *Harold*, he led him and his Company a contrary way, and lodged them at *Guildford*, making known to King *Harold* what he had done, who preſently committed them all to ſlaughter, ſparing only

ever Tenth man, for ſervice of ſale. Prince *Alfred* himſelf he ſent Priſoner to the Iſle of *Ely*, where having his Eyes inhumanely put out, in grief and torment he ended his life. Some add a more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his Belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out, and faſtned to a ſtake, his body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about till all his entrails were extracted. This done, then he ſet upon *Queen Emma*, conſiſcating her Goods, and baniſhed her the Realm. And now further to ſecure himſelf, he kept the Seas with Sixteen *Danish* Ships, to the maintenance whereof, he charged the *English* with great payments; by which, if he procured the ſafety of his perſon, he certainly procured the hatred of his Subjects. This King for his Swiftneſs in Running was called *Harefoot*; but though by his Swiftneſs he out-run his Brother for the Kingdom, yet could not he run ſo faſt, but that death quickly overtook him: For having reigned only four years and ſome moneths, he dyed at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Weſtmiſter*, having never had Wife or Children.

His cruelty
againſt his
Brother-in-
law *Alfred*.

Called *Hare-*
foot for his
Swift Run-
ing.

Of the Third and laſt DANISH King in England.

KING *Harold* being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, ſent now for *Hardiknute*, and offer him their Allegiance; who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coaſt of *Kent*, the ſixth day after he had ſet ſail out of *Denmark*; and with great pomp conveyed to *London*, was there crowned King by *Elnothus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1040. His firſt act was to be revenged of his deceased Brother *Harold*, whoſe Body he cauſed to be digged up, and thrown into the *Thames*, where it remained till a Fiſherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of *St. Clement* without *Temple-Barr*; commonly called *St. Clement Danes*, becauſe it was the burying place of the *Danes*, as ſome write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince *Edward*, he ſhewed true natural affection, inviting them both to return into *England*, where he received them with all the Honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

Hardiknute
ſucceedeth
Harold.

St. Clement
Danes why
ſo called.

But now as the King *Harold*, for his Swiftneſs in Running, was ſurnamed *Harefoot*; ſo this King for his intemperance in dyet, might have been ſurnamed *Swineſmouth*, or *Bocca di Porco*; for his Tables were ſpread every day four times, and furniſhed with all kinds of curious diſhes, as delighting in nothing but gormandizing and ſwilling; and as for managing the State he committed it wholly to his Mother *Queen Emma*, and to the politick Earl of *Kent Godwyn*; who finding this weakneſs in the King, began to think himſelf of aſpiring; and to make the better way for it, he ſought by all means to alien the Subjects hearts from the Prince; amongſt other courſes he cauſed to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Ship-money to pay his *Danes*, amounting to two and

His intem-
perance in
Diet.

He impoſeth
Ship-money
upon his
Subjects.

He dies
suddenly.

A day called
Hocks-tide,
and why.

thirty thousand pounds: which was so offensive to the people, that the Citizens of Worcester slew two of his Officers, *Thurstan* and *Fendax*, that came to collect it. But this King had soon the reward of his intemperance; for in a solemn Assembly and Banquet at *Lambeth*, revelling and carousing, he suddenly fell down without speech, or breath, after he had reigned only two years, and was buried at *Winchester*. His death was so welcome to his Subjects, that the day of his death is to this day commonly celebrated with open pastimes in the street, and is called *Hocks-tide*, signifying scorn or contempt which fell upon the *Danes* by his death; For with him ended the Reign of the *Danes* in *England*, after they had miserably afflicted the Kingdom for the space of Two hundred and forty years; though in regal Government, but only six and twenty.

Of ENGLISH Kings again, and first of
EDWARD the Confessor.

Edward the
Confessor
succeeded
his father.

He ren's
Dane-gilt.

He ordained
the Common
Laws.

King *Hardiknute* dying without Issue, as having never been married, and the *Danish* line clean extinguished, *Edward* for his Piety called the *Confessor*, half Brother to the deceased *Hardiknute*, and Son to King *Ethelred* by his wife Queen *Emma*, was by a general consent admitted King of *England*, and was Crowned at *Winchester* by *Edsine* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on *Easter-Day*, in the year 1042. being then of the age of forty years. He was born at *Islip* near to *Oxford*; and after his Father's death, for safety sent into *France*, to the Duke of *Normandy*, his Mother's Brother, from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of *England*. His Acts for gaining the peoples love, were first, the remitting the yearly Tribute of Forty thousand pounds, gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had been imposed by his Father, and for forty years together paid out of all mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Laws of the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he selected the best, and made of them one body certain, and written in *Latin*, being in a sort the Fountain of those which at this day we term the Common Laws, though the forms of pleading and process therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquerour. The Reign of this King was very peaceable, only in his sixth year the *Danish* Pirates entered the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-coasts of *Essex* they spoiled, and then in *Flanders* made merchandize of their prey. As likewise the *Irish*, with Thirty Ships entered *Severn*, and with the assistance of *Griffyth* King of *South-wales*, burnt or slew all in their way, till at last *Reese* the Brother of *Griffyth* was slain at *Bulenden*, and his head presented to King *Edward* at *Glocester*. His Domestical troubles were only by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons; who yet after many contestations and affronts were reconciled, and *Godwin* received again into as great favour as before. But although King *Edward* forgave his Treasons, yet the Divine Providence did not; for soon after as he sat at Table

with the King on *Easter-Monday*, he was suddenly stricken with death, and on *Thursday* following dyed, and was buried at *Winchester*. Some make his death, more exemplar, as that justifying himself for Prince *Alfrid's* death, he should pray to God, That if he were any way guilty of it, he might never swallow down one morsel of Bread; and thereupon by the just Judgement of God was choaked by the first morsel he offered to eat.

Earl Godwin
punished by
the Divine
hand.

In this Kings time such abundance of Snow fell in *January*, continuing till the middle of *March* following; that almost all Cattel and Fowl perished, and therewith an excessive dearth followed.

Extremity
of Snow.

Two Acts are related of this King, that seem nothing correspondent to the general opinion had of his Vertue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife; That concerning his Mother Queen *Emma*, was this; That because after King *Ethelred's* death, she married the *Danish* King *Canutus*, and seemed to favour her Issue by him, more than her Issue by King *Ethelred*, therefore he dispossessed her of all her Goods, and committed her to custody in the Abbey of *Wormel*; and more than this, so far hearkened to an aspersion cast upon her, of unchaste familiarity with *Alwyne* Bishop of *Winchester*, that for her Purgation, she was fain to pass the tryal of Fire Ordeal, which was in this manner; Nine Plow-shares red hot were laid in unequal distance, which she must pass bare-foot and blind-fold; and, if she passed them unhurt, then she was judged Innocent; if otherwise, Guilty. And this tryal she passed, and came off fairly, to the great astonishment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife, was this; He had married *Editha* the Beautiful, and indeed Vertuous Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, and because he had taken displeasure against the Father, he would shew no kindness to the Daughter; he had made her his Wife, but conversed not with her as a Wife, only at board, but not at bed; or if at bed, no otherwise than *David* with *Abishag*, and yet was content to hear her accused of Incontinency, whereof if she were guilty, he could not be innocent. So as, what the Virtues were, for which after his death he should be reputed a Saint, doth not easily appear. It seems he was chaste, but not without injury to his Wife: Pious, but not without ungratefulness to his Mother: Just in his present Government, but not without neglect of Posterity; for through his want of Providence in that Point he left the Crown to so doubtful Succession, that soon after his decease it was translated out of *English* into *French*, and the Kingdom made servile to a fourth Foreign Nation. One ability he had which raised him above the pitch of Ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, That by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a Disease, which from his curing is called, *The Kings-Evil*. His Mother Queen *Emma*, in memory of the nine Plow-shares she had passed in her Tryal, gave nine manors to the Minster of *Winchester*, and himself remembering the wrong he had done her, bestowed on the same place, the Island of *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, being about seven miles in compass. He made

Queen Emma
passeth
the Tryal
of Fire Or-
deal.
Ma. West.

The first
King that
cured the
Kings Evil.

made also of a little Monastery in the West of London, by the River of Thames, a most beautiful Church, (called of the place *Westminster*) where he provided for his own Sepulchre; and another dedicated to St. *Margaret*, standing without the Abbey. This of *Westminster* he endowed with many rich Revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the first of the Kings of England, who used that large and stately impression in their Charters and Patents. He founded also the Colledge of St. *Mary Ottery* in *Devonshire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Ottery*, and removed the Bishops See from *Cridington* to *Exeter*, as a place of far more dignity: and when he had reigned the space of three and twenty years and six months, he ended his life the fourth of *January*, in that room of his Palace at *Westminster*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber*, in the year 1066. and was buried in the Church at *Westminster*, which he had builded.

He builded Westminster.

He first used the Broad Seal.

He dyed in the Painted Chamber at Westminster.

Of HAROLD the second English King after the Danes.

KING Edward the Confessor, being himself without Issue, had in his life-time sent into Hungary for his Nephew Edward called the Out-law, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*, with a purpose to design him his Successour in the Crown, but he dying soon after his coming into England, King Edward then gave his Son Edgar the name of *Atheling*; as to say, Prince Edgar, meaning to design him for his Successour, but being prevented by death, before the Successour was fully established, and Edgar *Atheling*, though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his right, Harold the Son of Earl *Godwin* steps into the Throne, and never standing upon Ceremonies, set himself the Crown upon his own head, wherein, though as a violater of Holy Rites, he offended the Clergy,

Harold succeeds Edward the Confessor: setting the Crown upon his own head.

yet not any either of Clergy or Laity, durst oppose him, as being at that time the most Martial man in the Kingdom; and such a one, as the state of the Realm stood at that time in need of, and besides his own worthiness had the assistance of *Edwyn*, and *Murchar*, the two great Earls of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*, whose Sister *Algyis* he had married. It is true withall, That King Edward had appointed the Crown after his own decease, sometime to *William Duke of Normandy*, sometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and sometimes to this *Harold*, so as he was Crowned by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, as not coming in by intrusion or wrong, but by the appointment of King Edward; though that appointment of King Edward, was rather to make him Regent, during the minority of *Edgar*, than to make him absolute King: but howsoever being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title, and to make Prince *Edgar* some amends, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, which was indeed to use him like a Child, take away a Jewel, and please him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carried himself with great Valour and Justice, for the time he sate in it, which was but very short (only nine moneths) as being indeed but tottering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother *Toustayne*, who by diverting his Forces to suppress a Rebellion, made him of less force to resist an Invasion. But now that we have shewed how *Harold* entred the Throne, we must forbear to shew how he was cast out, till we come to him that cast him out; who because he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we must necessarily take the beginning from a deeper root; and indeed, seeing in him we shall joyn our Island to the Continent, which is a larger world, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Discourse, than heretofore they have done.

Edgar Atheling made Earl of Oxford.

The LIFE of
KING WILLIAM
 THE FIRST,
 Called the
CONQUEROUR.

His Parentage and Descent.

The Race of
 the Dukes of
 Normandy.

THere were Six Dukes of *Normandy* in *France*, in a direct line succeeding from Father to Son. The first was *Rollo*, who of a private man in *Denmark*, coming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wrested by force of Arms from *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, to be made Duke of *Normandy*. The second was *William* his Son, called *Long-Espee*, or *Long-Sword*. The third was *Richard* his Son, called the *Hardy*, who had *Richard*, and a Daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of *England*, Father of *Edward the Confessor*. The fourth was *Richard* the second, his Son, called the *Good*. The fifth was *Richard* the third, his Son, who by a first Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*; and by a second two other Sons, *William* Earl of *Arguon*, and *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldest Son by his first Wife, succeeded him by the name of *Richard* the fourth, and dying without Issue, the Dukedom descended to *Robert* his second Son by his first Wife: which *Robert* was Father to our *William* the Conq. or whom it is thus recorded; That riding one time abroad, he happen'd to pass by a company of Country Maids that were a dancing, where staying a while to look upon them, he was so taken with the handsomeness and graceful carriage of one of them whose name was *Arlotte*, a Skinners Daughter (from whence as some think our word Harlot comes) that affection commanding him, and authority her, he caused her that night to be brought to his Bed, where being together, what was done or said between them, is no matter for History to record, though some Historians have recorded both; making her not so modest as was fit for a Maid: only ten months after it appeared, that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary spirit, we may attribute it to the heat of affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before, and at his birth fore-running tokens which presaged his future greatness; for his Mother *Arlotte* being great with him, had a Dream like that of *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus* the first *Persian* Monarch; namely, That her Bowels were extended and dilated over all *Normandy* and *England*. Also as

soon as he was born, being laid on the Chamber floor, with both his hands he took up rushes, and shutting his little fists, held them very fast; which gave occasion to the Gossipping Wives to congratulate *Arlotte* in the birth of such a boy, and the Midwife cry'd out, the child would prove a King.

His succeeding in the Dukedom, notwithstanding his Bastardy.

It appears by many Examples, that Bastardy in those dayes was no bar to succession, till a Law was afterward made to make it a bar. It brought some disgrace, where the Mother was mean, but no impediment where the Father was Noble; and even his Bastardy seemed to have some allay, if it be true (as some write) that his Father took the said *Arlotte* afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedom so much by succession, as by gift. For when he was about nine years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, caused them to swear Allegiance to this base Son of his, and to take him for their Liege Lord after his decease. Neither was this in those dayes unfrequent, for Princes to confer their Principalities after their own deceases upon whom they pleased, counting it as lawful to appoint Successors after them, as Substitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdom the Duke of *Northumberland* prevailed with King *Edward* the sixth, to exclude his two Sisters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to succeed him.

Bastardy no
 bar to suc-
 cession.

Princes to
 appoint their
 Successors.

His Education and Tuition in his Minority.

His Father having declared and appointed him to be his Successor, went soon after (whether out of devotion, or to do Penance for procuring his Brothers death, whereof he was suspected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he dyed, having left the Tuition of his young Son to his two Brothers, and the Guardianship to the King of *France*, in whose Court for a time he was brought up. A strange confidence, to commit the tuition of a Son that was base, to pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of *France*, who aimed at nothing more

more, than to re-annex this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his confidence was grounded upon the proximity of blood in his Brothers, and upon the merits of his own service formerly done to the King of *France*; which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

His troubles in his Minority.

First, *Roger de Tresney*, who derived his Pedigree from *Rollo*, and had won much Honour by his valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites Complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: a fair pretext, if the Fate of Duke *William* had not been against it; who though he were himself but young, and could not do much in his own person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up Friends that supplied him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beaumont*, by whose valour this *Roger de Tresney*, with his two Brothers, was defeated and slain. After *Roger de Tresney*, *William de Arques* his Uncle layes claim to the Duchy, and assisted by the King of *France* comes to a Battel, but by the valour of Count *Gifford*, the Dukes General, was likewise defeated; and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeen years of age. After this, one *Guy*, Earl of *Burgoigne*, Grandchild to *Richard* the second, Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible of his right to the Dukedom, and joyning with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earl of *Bessin*, two powerful *Normans*, conspired Duke *William's* death, and had effected it, if a certain Fool about him had not stoln away in the night, to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the Gate, till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to flye for his life instantly, or he would be murdered. The Duke considering, that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away, all alone, toward *Falaise*, his principal Castle, but missing his way, he happened to pass, where a Gentleman was standing at his door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the Conspirators came presently, inquiring if such a one had not passed that way; which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their Guide to overtake him; but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this means came safely to *Falaise*, and from thence journeys to the King of *France*, complaining of his injuries, and imploring his aid, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care by his servant his Father. The King of *France* moved with his distress, and remembrance of his Fathers merits, though he wished he was less than he was: yet he so aided him, that he made him greater than he was; for himself in person, suffered much in the Battel, procured him the Victory. By which we may see, that Folly, and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves, are all assistants to the Destinies; or to say better, indeed to the Divine Providence. Many other

A Fool saves Duke William's life.

affronts were offered him; some by meaner Princes, some afterwards by the King of *France* himself; who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encountred with such dexterity, that made his Bastardy, as it were, become Legitimate, and Virtue her self grow proud of his person.

His Carriage afterwards in Peace.

BY this time he was come to the age of two and twenty years; and whereas all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in War, he now began to shew himself a provident Governour in Peace, composing and ordering his state: wherein he so carried himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him; or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

His Incitements for Invading of England.

Duke *William* had Incitements to invade *England*, and some shew of a Title. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some passages transacted betwixt the two former Kings, *Edward* the Confessor, and *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*. And this recapitulation will give some light, and is very pertinent to our intended purpose.

Earl *Godwin* falling out with King *Edward*, the business was carried with such heat on both sides, that the Earl and all his Allies were in a manner banished the Realm. *Godwin* makes his refuge to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Harold* his Son into *Ireland*. *Emma* the Kings Mother deceasing, they both return with a great Navy, and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a Civil War, labour for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Exiles; but *Edward* jealous of *Godwin's* arts and treachery, would by no means hearken unto it. At last upon conditions they are restored to the Kings favour and their Countrey: Hostages are delivered, *Walnoth* the Son of *Godwin*, and *Harun* his Grandchild, whom the King for more security sends into *Normandy*, thereto be detained by Duke *William* his Kinsman. After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* succeeds him, Earl of *Kent*, who craves leave of the King to go to *Normandy*, and bring back his Brother and Kinsman: The King in this manner answers him, *Harold* you may do your pleasure, and I may permit, though I will not consent; for I do foresee, that if you undertake this Journey, it will prove to the ruine of the Kingdom, and your own confusion. *Harold* notwithstanding, obstinate in his resolution, after a Tempestuous Voyage, arrives in *France*, where he is taken prisoner by the Lord of *Pontive*, and at the command and threats of Duke *William* dismissed; and though first rob'd of his Treasures, and choicest things he transported, at last sent into *Normandy*; where relating the cause of his Journey, he was honourably entertained, and fairly promised, unless himself were the obstacle, all things should succeed as he wished. After some time the Duke taking his opportunity entred into private discourse with him, and told him, That King

Edward

Edward being brought up in his youth together with him, had faithfully promised him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would make him his Heir, and settle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore *Harold* (quoth the Duke) if you will assist me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into *England*, you shall have your Brother and Nephew; and to make our tie of Friendship the stronger, you shall promise to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and send your Sister hither, whom I will bestow on one of my chief Lords: you shall also promise me to secure the Castle of *Dover* for my service: and I promise you that when I am King of *England*, I will deny you nothing, which in reason you shall demand. *Harold* having heard the Duke, was much perplexed: but seeing himself in such straits, That he must either venture on a promise, or hazard an imprisonment, condescends to all the Duke demanded; and for more security, with a solemn Oath confirms his agreement: and returning into *England*, acquaints *Edward* with all these passages, who replied, Did not I know *William's* disposition, and foretell thee how much mischief this Journey would bring upon *England*? Duke *William* having the Word of *Edward*, and the Oath of *Harold*, had sufficient obligations to expect the Kingdom: but hearing of the death of *Edward*, and that *Harold* was Crowned King, he thought himself not more forgotten by *Edward* than wronged by *Harold*; and therefore sent a Messenger to put him in mind of King *Edward's* Promise; and his own Oath. *Harold* returns answer, That he could not send his Sister over, because she was dead; but if *William* would have her Carcase he should. Secondly, That he could neither promise, nor dispose of a Kingdom, which was none of his own. Lastly, he should be injurious to his own Nobility, if he should without their consent and advice take a stranger for Wife. *William* having heard his answer, was as yet patient, and again sending to *Harold* mildly, demands of him at last to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwise by force of Arms he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the promise of King *Edward*. To this *Harold* peremptorily replies, that as he feared not the one, so by no means would he do the other. Duke *William* thus slighted by *Harold*, endeavours to make him honest by force, and assured himself he should find him a weak Enemy, who had proved so perjured a Friend. These were the Incitements, which caused *William* in his declining age to undertake this Expedition; But who can think himself too old for a Kingdom, when *Galba*, above 73. years of age buckled on an Armour on his unwieldy limbs for the attaining of a *Roman* Empire?

The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.

Duke *William* incensed with *Harold's* answers, acquaints the Nobility with his purpose, who with some ado consented to aid him, as likewise many other great Lords of *France*, but specially *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, whose Daughter he had married; and who being at that time Guardian of the young King

of *France*, procured aid from him also; and to make the Enterprize the more successful, Pope *Alexander* the second sent him a Banner, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the hairs of *St. Peter*. So as the preparation of the Duke, both by Sea and Land; was very great, having three hundred Sail of Ships, and as some write, 890. and as one *Norman* above a thousand, and as *Gemeticensis*, three thousand; and though *Harold* had likewise provided a Warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way. For *Toustayne* his Brother being then in Rebellion in the North, and *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*, at the same time invading those parts, and perhaps upon a bruit, That the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither; where though he got the Victory at *Stamford*, with the death both of his Brother *Toustayne*, and of the King of *Norway*: yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entered the Kingdom as easily as one may enter a house, when the doors are all left open. By this means King *Harold's* Shipping (the best Wall of defence to an Island) was utterly frustrate; and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battel at *Stamford*, exceedingly both weakened and impaired: yet hearing that Duke *William* was landed at *Pemsy*, not far from *Hastings* in *Sussex*, he repaired thither with all speed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increasing them by all the means he could, made himself ready to give the Duke Battel. Duke *William* in the meantime, as soon as he had landed his men, sent his Ships presently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory: And then going himself on Land, it is said, his foot slipped, and he fell down; which some that stood by, taking it for an evil sign, No (saith he) I have by this taken possession of this Land. And indeed presages are but as *Animus ejus qui presagit*, as in this Duke's fall it afterwards fell out. The like confidence of spirit shewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to joyn; for he that put on the Dukes Armour, whether out of haste, or out of perturbation of mind, putting the forepart behind, and the back-part before, the Duke seeing it, merrily said, I see now by this inversion of my Armour, that my Dukedom will be turned into a Kingdom: taking that for a good Omen, which some other of weaker spirits would have taken for a bad. Many wayes of composition between Duke *William* and King *Harold* were propounded, yet *Harold* would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of success, and perhaps thinking it a disgrace to capitulate for that, which was now his own: and when one of his Brothers called *Gyrth*, being less interested, and therefore clearer sighted, intreated him to consider what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath, which he so solemnly had sworn, *Harold* seemed to conceive, that nothing which he did being a private man, could be of force to bind him, now being a Prince: and so on the Fourteenth day of *October*, being Saturday, in the year 1066. (which day he liked the better, because it was his Birth-day, hoping that the day of his Birth

Duke *William's* number of Ships to invade *England*.

King *Harold* prepares to resist Duke *William*.

Duke *William* at his landing takes a fall.

An. Dom.
1066.

Kentish-men
are to be
placed in
the forefront
of the Battel

Duke Wil-
liam useth a
Strategem.

King Harold
is slain.

Birth, would not so much degenerate, to prove the day of his Death, though this also even bred no good blood to the action; for the Souldiers of *Harold*, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, spent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Souldiers of the Duke out of consideration of their next dayes work, spent the night in quietness and devotion) they joyned Battel, (the *Kentish-men* being placed in the fore-front, as by an ancient custom is their due, and King *Harold* with his *Londoners*, leading the main Battel) where though their Armies were not much unequal in number, (for they were each of them near about Threescore thousand men) yet there was great odds in the expertness of their Souldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons; for, the Duke had with him all the Flower of *France* and *Flanders*, where King *Harold* had lost his best men, in his late Battel: And for advantage of Weapons, the *Normans* had long Bows and Arrows, which among the *English* at that time were not at all in use. What marvail that the *Normans* got the Victory, though King *Harold* losing his life, yet lost no reputation; and though the *English* Souldiers shewed no less valour, in being conquered, than the *Normans* did in conquering? One circumstance may not be omitted, That King *Harold* as an expert General, had ordered his men in so firm a Body, that no force of the *Normans* could disorder their Ranks, till Duke *William* used a Strategem, commanding his men to retire, and to counterfeit flight; by which he drew the *English* on, upon a hollow ground covered with earth: where into many of them fell and perished, and besides into an ambush of his Horsemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withal, there seems one great error to have been committed (at least, if it were an error, and not rather a necessity) that there was not a supplemental Army provided, (as his Brother *Gryth* would have had it) which might have come on if the first had failed; and would have been of great advantage against a wearied Army. But when *Sic visum est superis*, all humane force is weak and cannot withstand, all humane Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke *William* that day fought so valiantly, that he had three Horses killed under him; but King *Harold* shewed no less valour in killing many *Normans* with his own hands: so as the fight continued doubtful a long time; till at last, King *Harold* being struck into the Brains with an Arrow, fell down dead: upon whose falling, a base *Norman* Souldier cut off one of his Thighes, while he was yet breathing: which Duke *William* hearing, was so much offended, that he caused the Souldier to be disarmed, and with shame cashiered. The body of King *Harold*, his Mother *Thyra* offered a great summe to have it delivered to her; but the Duke out of the nobleness of his mind, would take no money; but delivered it freely, and then it was buried in *Waltham* Abby; which himself had begun to build, at least, to repair. But hear *Gyraldus Cambrensis* tells a strange story, That *Harold* was not slain in the Battel, but only wounded and lost his left eye, and then escaped by flight to

Chester, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorers life, in the Cell of St. *James*, fast be St. *John's* Church.

How Duke William proceeded after his Victory at Hastings.

AS his Valour won him the Victory, so his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was suddenly become a young King: and indeed, nothing so much renews life, and makes the years in a manner young again, as addition of honour, especially when it is the fruit of merit. First therefore, having given publick Thanks to God for his happy success, he led his Army towards *London*; not the direct way (perhaps doubting of some new Encounter) but coasting about through part of *Kent*, through *Sussex*, *Surry*, *Hamshire*, and *Barkshire*, where at *Wallingford* he passed over the *Thames*; and then through *Oxfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, and *Hartfordshire*, until he came to *Barkhamstead*, where there came unto him *Aldred* Archbishop of *Tork*, *Wolston* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Wilfere* Bishop of *Hereford*, and many other Prelates, accompanied with *Edgar Atheling*, with Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*; Brothers, and men of the greatest sway in the Kingdom, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the defeat at *Hastings*, Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar* had a purpose to set up *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heir of the Royal Blood, and Grandchild to *Edmund Ironside*, and so beloved of the people, that he was called their Darling: but considering his young years, and other inabilities, but especially finding the minds of the Bishops, (who at that time bare all the sway) to be otherwise inclined, they desisted from that course; and thus the Duke without any opposition, coming to *London*, was received by Bishops and Lords and all, with great joy, though small gladness: and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees, for in most humble manner they submitted themselves to him, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord; and upon *Christmas* day after, he was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Aldred* Archbishop of *Tork*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, not being admitted to do that office, for some defect in his Investiture; and perhaps for some aspersion in his manners.

How he rewarded his Followers.

THOUGH he hath had the name of Conquerour, yet he used not the Kingdom as gotten by Conquest; for he took no mans living from him, nor dispossessed any of their goods, but such only, whose demerit made them unworthy to hold them; as appears by his Act to one *Warren* a *Norman*, to whom he had given the Castle of *Sharnborne* in *Norfolk*. For when *Sharnborne*, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, That the Castle was his, and that he had never born Arms against him, he presently commanded *Warren*, to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only vacancies of offices, and filling up the places of those who were slain or fled, were the present means he made use of, for preferring his Followers. One special preferment we cannot omit. That where one *Herlowyn* a Noble-man in *Normandy*, had married

1067.

Duke Wil-
liam is
Crowned
King of
England.

He useth his
Conquest
moderately

married his Mother *Arlotte*, and had by her a Son named *Hugh Lupus*, he gave to the said *Hugh* the Earldom of *Chester*, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held *England* by his Crown; by vertue of which Grant the said *Hugh* ordained under him four Barons, *Nigel*, he made Baron of *Halton*; *Malbank*, Baron of *Nantwich*; *Eustace*, Baron of *Mampase*; and *Vernon*, Baron of *Shipbrook*: Such an Honour, as no Subject before or since ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew *Alane* Earl of *Britain*, all the Lands which sometimes belonged to Earl *Edwyn*. And this Earl of *Britain*, the better to secure the Kings gift, built him a Strong Castle near to his Mannor of *Gillingham*, and named it *Richmont*: from which Castle the Earls of *Richmont* bear their Titles of Honour.

What means he used for securing himself in the Kingdom.

BESIDES the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, at his Coronation; in Lent following going into *Normandy*, he took along with him the greatest part of the great men of the Kingdom, of whom *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltheoff* Son to *Syward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, were the chief; leaving the care of the Kingdom in his absence to *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Brother by the Mother: and to *William Fitz Osborne*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford*: and to abate the greatness of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he ordained that from thenceforth they should not command with any Temporal Authority whatsoever. And because the common people are no less to be feared for their number, than the Nobility for their greatness, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without stings, they might afterward be but Droans. And because there is seldom any danger from singular numbers, but all the danger ariseth from plurality, therefore to prevent Conspiracies and Combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at Eight a clock in the Evening, and that in every house they should then put out their Fire and Lights, (which was called *Couure feu*) and go to bed. And for more security, he erected Castles in the most doubtful places of the Kingdom, one at *York*, another at *Lincoln*, a third at *Nottingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*) and a fourth at *Hastings*, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdom was quiet all the time of his being away at *Normandy*, saving only that *Edrick* the Forester in the County of *Hereford*, calling in to his aid the Kings of *Wales*, made some small disturbance. And indeed all the States of the Kingdom might in his very person finde something to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For first, the people might think themselves in a sort advanced, being now made members of a greater body; when the Dukedom of *Normandy* should come to be annexed to the

Kingdom of *England*; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former King's choosing; and though a stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many veins of the same blood, and therefore likely also to have some veins of the same goodness of their good King *Edward*. But specially the Clergy could not chuse but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a commending as strong as a commanding, the Popes Benediction.

What Troubles or Insurrections were during his Reign.

BUT the body of a State being more obnoxious to crudities and ill humours, than the state of a Natural Body, it is impossible to continue long without distempers; notwithstanding any preservatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second year of his Reign, brake forth the discontentment of *Edgar Atheling*, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of the late *Royal Blood*, and therefore the most apt to be sensible of servitude; who taking along with him his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Sisters, *Margaret*, and *Christine*, stole secretly away to Sea, with intention to pass into *Hungary*, the Countrey where he was born: but by contrary Winds was cast upon the Coasts of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolme*, not only most kindly entertained him, but for a stricter bond of kindness took his Sister *Margaret* to Wife, by whom he had many Children, out of which, in the second Generation after, a Match was found, by which in the Person of King *Henry* the Second, the *Saxon* and *Norman* Blood were conjoyned, the Union whereof continues in the Race of our Kings of *England* to this day. Nor long after to *Edgar* in *Scotland*, came the Two great Earls, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers to *Agatha* the late King *Harold's* Wife; also *Hereward*, *Gospatrik*, and *Syward*, with many other Lords; and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And these Lords being together in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had lost: And assisted by the *Scots*, they invaded the North parts spoiling the Countrey, and killing many for the fault they had themselves committed, but all they could do, was but to forrage the Countrey, and so return.

After this, in the Third Year of his Reign, the Two Sons of *Sweyne* King of *Denmark*, *Harold* and *Canutus*, with a Fleet of 240 Ships, entered *Humber*, and invaded the North parts, with whom the *English* Lords in *Scotland* joyned, and foraged all the Countrey, till they came near to *York*. When the *Normans* that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the Suburbs; but the fire not so contented, by assistance of a violent Wind, took hold of the City it self, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth than the City, a Library of excellent Books; and the *Normans* that were left in defence of the City, to the number of Three thousand, were all slain. King *William* hear-

An. Reg. 2.
1068.

Edgar Atheling is cast upon the shore of *Scotland*.

Whose sister *Margaret* King *Malcolme* marries.

An. Reg. 3.
1069.

The Danes invaded *England*; and at *York* slay 3000. *Normans*.

He takes from the Clergy all Temporal Authority.

He takes from the people all their Armour.

He ordains *Couure feu* at eight a Clock.

hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army, and entered Northumberland, wasting the Countrey that already lay waste; and yet for all this great rage, was contented with a great summe of money, to purchase the Danes departure. By these devastations in many Shires of the Kingdom, especially in Northumberland, so great a Dearth and Famine followed, that men were glad to eat horses and dogs, cats and rats, and what else is most abhorrent to nature, and between York and Durham, the space of 60 miles, for nine years together, there was so utter desolation, as that neither any house was left standing, nor any ground tilled.

King William purchased their departure with a great sum of money.

Northumberland left desolate 60 miles together.

1076

Many other Insurrections there were in his Reign, as at Exeter, at Oxford, in the Isle of Ely, and many times by the Scots in the Northern parts. The most dangerous of all the Conspiracies, and most distasteful of him, was that of Roger Fitz Aubrey Earl of Hereford, Ralph Waher Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk; Walthoeff Earl of Northumberland, with Eustace Earl of Boulogne, (sent purposely, as it was thought, by the King of France into England, to incite and joyn with the Conspirators.) Ralph Waher married the Sister of Roger the young Earl of Hereford, contrary to the express commandment of King William: at the solemnization of the marriage, these Lords conspire to keep the King now in Normandy, and dispossess him of his Sovereignty, which to perform, they agreed to joyn theirs with the Danish Forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous combination of all, it happening when he was out of England, at the siege of Dole, a Castle in Britain belonging to Ralph Waher, and defended against him by the King of France; and at such a time as almost all Christendom had declared their jealousies of him, and ill affections towards him. The King of Scotland, and Princes of Wales ready to assist the Rebels at home; Swaine King of Denmark invading England with a Navy of 200. Sail, to which Drone King of Ireland added 65. Ships. How much such an action did distaste and offend him, may be conjectured, by that most of these great Noblemen were either his Kinsmen, or in affinity nearly allied to him: But William's fortune secures him as well at home against Traitors, as in the field against his Enemies. This grand Conspiracy is discovered by Walthoeff to Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury, who perswades the Earl to go over to King William, and inform him in what danger he was. Notwithstanding this discovery, Roger and Ralph persist in their intentions, raise Forces to prosecute their designs: but by the diligence of Odo the Kings Brother, Bishop of Bayeux, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Abbot of Evesham, were so prevented, that they could never unite their Forces. Ralph flies into France, Roger Earl of Hereford is taken, put in prison, and as some report, to death; Walthoeff, of all lamented, beheaded. But all these were easily suppressed, for they were but scattered Forces, Et dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur; whereas if they had united themselves into an Army, they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more than Routs and Riots. Yet some write,

Malmesbury

That King William granted Cumberland to Malcolme King of Scots, to hold from him conditionally, that the Scots should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of England, for which grant King Malcolme did him homage.

The greatest and last was an Insurrection raised in Normandy, by his Son Robert, the more dangerous because unnatural; for by the instigation and assistance of Philip King of France, (emulous now of King William's greatness) he entered Normandy, and claimed it in his own right. His Father indeed had made him a promise of it long before, but Robert impatient of delay, as counting so long staying to be little better then dis-inheriting, endeavoured by strong hand to wrest it from his Father. But his Father King William hearing hereof, with a strong Army passeth over into Normandy, where in a Battel meeting hand to hand with his Son; he was by him unhorsed, and hurt in the Arm: but his Son perceiving him by his voice to be his Father, suddenly leaps off his horse, takes up his Father, cast himself down at his feet, and humbly intreats his pardon; which as a Father he easily grants, embraceth his Son: and ever after, the Son from the Father had fatherly love, and the Father from the Son a filial obedience. But though his Father did thus pardon him, yet it seems there is a Nemesis, or to say better, a Divine Providence, that did not pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prospered in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the Kings severity begat his Subjects Insurrections; or his Subjects Insurrections the Kings Severity: but which of them soever was the mother, it is certain they were Nurses each of them to other. Yet after this, King William so far trusted his Son Robert, that he sent him with an Army against Malcolme King of Scotland, who had invaded Northumberland: but at the coming of Duke Robert retired. At which time Duke Robert begun the foundation of a Castle upon the River of Tyne; whereof the Town of Newcastle did after take both beginning and name, which before this time was called Moncafter. In his twentieth year in Whitsun-week, he honoured his Son Henry with the order of Knighthood, wherein what Ceremony he used is not certainly known: but it is worth observing, that before his time, the custom among the Saxons was; first, he who should receive the order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a Priest; then he continued all that night in the Church, watching and applying himself to his private devotion: the next morning he heard Mass, and offered his Sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a Benediction put about his neck. Lastly, He communicated the Mysteries of the blessed Body of Christ; and from that time, remained a perfect Knight. But this custom of consecrating Knights, the Normans abhorred.

His Son Robert riseth in Arms against him.

He unhorsed his Father.

His aptness to forget Injuries.

Certainly there is no such goodness of Nature, as aptness to be reconciled; of which vertue it seems King William had a large proportion.

E

proportion, for he seldom remembered injuries after submission. *Edrick*, the first that rebelled against him, he placed in office near about him. *Gospatrick*, who had been a factious man, and a plotter of Conspiracies against him, he made Earl of *Glocester*, and trusted him with managing a War against *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloigne*, who in the Kings absence in *Normandy* attempted to seize upon *Dover* Castle, he received afterward into great favour and respect. The Earls *Marchar* and *Syward*, with *Wolnoth* the Brother of *Harold*, a little before his death, he released out of Prison. *Edgar*, who as next heir to the *Saxon* Kings, had often attempted by Arms to recover his right, he not only after twice defection pardoned, but gave him also allowance as a Prince: It is said twenty shillings a day, or rather a pound weight of Silver, and other large Livings besides; so as *Edgar* finding the sweetness of safety, and the pleasures of a Country life, spent the rest of his dayes (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envied. Only *Waltheoff*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Northampton*, of all the *English* Nobility, was put to death in all the time of this Kings Reign; and not he neither, till he had twice falsified his Oath of Allegiance.

Waltheoff
Earl of *Northumberland*
the onely
Nobleman
put to death
in all this
Kings time.

Of new Acquests to this Kingdom, by this Kings means.

IN the Thirteenth year of his Reign, he subdued *Wales*, and made it Tributary to him, as before in the Seventh year of his Reign, he brought *Malcolme* King of *Scots* to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hostages; that if *England* made him greater than he was before, a King of a Duke; he no less made *England* greater than it was before, three Kingdoms in one.

Of his Exactions and Courses for raising of Money.

AS his Taxations were many in number, so they were various in kind, not alwayes bringing in money directly, but sometimes obliquely saving it: The first Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the first year of his Reign, after his return out of *Normandy*; a grievous Tax all Writers say, but none what it was. In the third year of his Reign he ransacked all Monasteries, and all the Gold and Silver of either Chalices or Shrines, he took to his own use. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal, and richer persons of the Realm, fearing King *William's* cruelty, and insatiable desire of moneys, deposited their Treasures, Jewels, and chiefest Commodities in the Monasteries and Abbeys, as in sure Sanctuaries to be safely kept for their own uses; the King violently seized on all for himself, neither regarding the Sanctity of the places, nor what injustice he did to his own Subjects, but as a Conquering Tyrant made their poverty his own security. Likewise he seized all Bishops and Abbots what number of Souldiers they should find to serve him in his Wars: also the strangers which he maintained in Pay, he dispersed into Religious houses; and some also among the Nobility to be maintained at their

charge. Many other Taxations he made, but last of all in the eighteenth year of his Reign, by the advice of *Roger* Earl of *Hertford*, he caused the whole Realm to be described in a Censual Roll (whereof he took a Precedent from King *Alfred*) so as there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly Rent, and the owner thereof was therein set down: How many Ploughlands, what Pastures, Fens or Marishes, what Woods, Farms and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Also how many Villains every man had; what Beasts, what Cattel, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Possessions did yield. This Book was called the Roll of *Winton*, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*. By the *English* it was called *Dooms-day* Book, either by the reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly, instead of *Domus Dei* Book, for that it was laid in the Church of *Winchester*, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll Taxations were imposed, sometimes two shillings, and at this time six shillings upon every Hyde of Land, (a Hyde containing, as Master *Lambert* proveth, a hundred Acres.) In all those lands which he gave to any man, he reserved Dominion in chief to himself, as also a yearly Rent, and likewise a Fine whensoever the Tenant did alien or die. These were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage, and if any died, his heir being within age, the King received the profits of his Lands, and had the custody and disposing of the heirs body, untill his age of one and twenty years. To be short, his greediness of money was so great, that he spared not his own Brother *Odo*, but found accusations against him, to the end he might seize upon his Treasure, which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kind of profit he forbore to meddle with, that is Vacancies of Abbeys and Bishopricks; which he alwayes reserved for the successors: but then he took another course of far greater profit, for he compelled all men to make new Fines at his pleasure, for confirmation of any Grant or privileges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm; by which device he got into his possession the greatest part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of *Ely*, to purchase their peace, agreed to give him seven hundred Marks, when coming to pay it, there wanted a Groat in the weight, (for in those dayes greater Sums were not paid by taile, but by weight) which the King understanding, denied them all composition for Peace, untill with much suit he was intreated to accept of a thousand Marks more.

The Roll
of *Winton* or
Dooms-day
Book.

A Hyde of
Land, how
much it
contains.

Wardships
ordained by
K. *William*.

For a groat
in weight
wanting, a
thousand
marks ex-
acted.

Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Justice erected by him.

ALthough at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to observe the Laws of King *Edward* then in use, yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of course) he abrogated many, and in their stead brought in the Laws of *Normandy*; commanding them to be

He brings in
the Laws of
Normandy:
and causeth
them to be
written in
French.

be written in *French*; and also that all Causes should be pleaded, and all matters of Forms dispatched in *French*; upon a pretence to dignifie the *French* tongue, but with a purpose to intrap men through ignorance of the Language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the *Normans* Language predominant in the Kingdom as he had made their persons: which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any footsteps remaining of the *Norman* Language in the *English* tongue. Forms of Judgement, and trials by Fire and Water, called *Ordeal*, formerly used, were in short time after the Conquest disused, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganism. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary use: and all actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like form is used, and called by the name of Enquest, with the same cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day; Though by the Laws of *Ethelred* it appears, that the trial by twelve men was in use long before his time. And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Judges to determine all business in every Shire, and the Bishop, in many Cases shared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergie within the Province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in business concerning rule of Souls, according to the Canons and Laws Episcopal. And where the Causes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward*, all matters in question were upon special penalty decided in their Gemore, which was a little Court held monthly in every Hundred: now he ordained that four times in the year, for certain dayes, the same businesses should be determined in such places as he would appoint, where he constituted Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffs in every Shire, and Justices of Peace for punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Council of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scaccarium*, corruptly called so, of the word *Statarium*, or rather of the Board or Table, where the Officers sate;) also his Courts of Justice, which alwayes removed with his Court. These places he furnished with Officers, and assigned four Terms in the year for determining Controversies among the people. The place of these Courts was *Westminster*, where King *William Rufus* afterwards built a stately Palace. Now for his provisionary Revenues, the Kings Tenants, who held Lands of the Crown, paid him no money at all, but only Corn and other Victuals; and a just note of the quality and quantity of every mans ratement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied ever certain, for maintenance of the Kings House. Only the *Kentish* men procured the continuance of their ancient Lawes by a trick; for King *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swanscombe*, two miles from *Gravesend*, the *Kentish* men met him, but in the form of a moving Wood, by reason of the great boughs they had cut, and carried in their hands, and compassing the King about, they only made suit for

the continuance of their Laws and Customes; of which one special was, That the Tenure of their Lands was *Gavelkind*; by which they descended not to the eldest alone, as in other Countreys, but were partable between all the Sons: and the Priviledges which the owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conquerour considering, that he might as well allow them, as other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their request. But see the levity of these *Kentish* men, to hazard themselves more for the preserving a simple Custome, than for preserving the Liberty of themselves, and their Countrey: But such is the violence of conceit, till it be mastered by time, or rather so very a Changeling is Humane Reason, that what they then cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to see abolished, without cutting down so much as a twig. But one Law especially he made, extreemly distasteful to all the Gentry of the Land; for where before they might at their pleasure hunt, and take Deer which they found abroad in the Woods; now it was ordained under a great penalty, no less than putting out their eyes, that none should presume to kill, or take any of them, as reserving them only for his own delight. And indeed so great delight he took in that kind of sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty miles, where there had been (saith *Caxton*) six and twenty Towns, and fourscore Religious Houses, and made it a habitation for such kind of sports; which was then, and to this day is called the new Forest. But the lamentable disasters that have happened to this Kings issue, do plainly shew, that there is a Power that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *Memorem Fandi atque Ne-fandi*. But in the first year of this Kings Reign, he granted to the City of *London*, their first Charter and Liberties, in as large form, as they enjoyed them in the time of King *Edward the Confessor*, which he granted at the suit of *William a Norman*, Bishop of *London*, in grateful remembrance whereof, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, upon the solemn daies of their resort to *Pauls*, do still use to walk to the Grave-stone where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first, that brought the Jews to inhabit here in *England*: as likewise he made a Law that whosoever forced a woman should lose his Genitals: and in his time, long Bows came first into use in *England*: which as they were the weapons with which *France* under this King conquered *England*: so they were the weapons with which *England* under after-Kings, conquered *France*; as if it were not enough for us to beat them, if we did not beat them with their own weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of *Dover-Castle*, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Immunities as they are at this day. And to be short, this King ordained so good Laws, and had them so well executed; that it is said a Girl might carry a bag of Money all the Country over without danger of robbing; and in his time, the setting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first used,

He brought in the trial by Verdict of twelve men.

He ordained the Four Terms of Law.

He ordained Sheriffs and Justices of Peace.

He ordained the Court of Chancery and Exchequer.

His Tenants pay their Rents in Corn and other Victuals.

The *Kentish* men procure the continuance of their ancient Lawes.

He forbids hunting.

He depopulates 26 Towns to make the New Forest in *Hampshire*.

He grants to the City of *London* their first Charter of Liberties.

He first brought Jews into *England*.

Also long Bows.

used, where before there were only witnesses to Deeds.

Affairs of the Church in his Reign.

IN his time, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was for divers causes deprived of his dignity, and kept private all his life after in the Castle of *Winchester*: after whom succeeded *Lanfrank* an *Italian*, in that See: who in the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, held a Synod at *London*, where amongst other things he removed the Bishops Sees from small Towns to great Cities, as from *Silliway* to *Chichester*; from *Kyrton* to *Exeter*; from *Wells* to *Bathe*; from *Shirborn* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester*, to *Lincoln*; and from *Lichfield* to *Chester*, and from thence again to *Coventry*: and not long before, the Bishoprick of *Lindisfern*, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the River *Tweede*, had been translated to *Durham*. In the sixth year of his Reign, a Controversie arising between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, they appealed to *Rome*, and the Pope remitted it to the King and bishops of *England*. Hereupon a Synod is holden at *Windsor*, where Sentence was given on *Lanfrank's*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, side; That in matters of Religion, the Archbishop of *York*, should ever be subject to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Only at *Rome* it was decreed, for matter of Title, That the See of *York* should be styled *Primas Angliae*; and the See of *Canterbury*, *Primas totius Angliae*, as it is at this day. And as the Archbishop of *York* oweth obedience to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so all the Bishops of *Scotland* owe obedience to the Archbishop of *York*, as to the Primate of *Scotland*. It shall not be amiss here to write the Journey of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to *Rome*; who in the fifth year of King *William's* Reign made Bishop of *Canterbury* went to *Rome* to obtain the Pall, due to Archbishops, taking for his Companions *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*; arrived at *Rome*, and admitted to the Popes presence, Pope *Alexander* rose from his Seat, and gently saluting him, saith withall, This honour I do not give, as due to your Archbishoprick, but as due to my Master; to whose labour I must acknowledge to be due what Learning I have. The next day having audience he accused the two Companions of his Journey.

Bishops Sees removed.

The Archbishop of York, Primas Angliae; of Canterbury, Primas totius Angliae.

Aldred Archbishop of York, his insulting over King *William*.

But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalities, for he ordained they should exercise no Temporal Authority at all: so in Spiritualities, he rather raised them, as may be seen by a passage between *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* and the King; for at a time, upon the repulse of a certain Suite the Archbishop in great discontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his displeasure, stayed him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promised to grant his Suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbishops feet, the Noblemen that were present, put him in minde that he should cause the King to rise: Nay (saith the Archbishop) let him alone, let him find what it is to anger Saint *Peter*. And as by this story we see the insulting pride of a Prelate in

those dayes: so by another, we may see the equivocating falsehood of a Prelate at that time; For *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* would often swear, He had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable, but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of Simony, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to answer, told him that a Bishoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghost; and therefore to buy a Bishoprick, was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, which the Bishop beginning, and oft assaying, could never say [and to the Holy Ghost] but said it plainly when he was put out of his Bishoprick. And yet was not the Church in that age so barren of vertue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as *William* Bishop of *Durham*, Founder of University-Colledge in *Oxford*, but especially Bishop *Wolston*, whom, upon *Lanfrank's* reporting to be insufficient for the place, for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontifical Robes, and to leave his Bishoprick: when suddenly out of a Divine Inspiration, *Wolston* answered, A better than you, O King, bestowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them. And therewithal going to *St. Edward's* shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he struck his Staff upon *St. Edward's* Monument, which stuck so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himself: which so terrified both *Lanfrank* and the King, that they intreated him to take his Robes again, and keep his Bishoprick. Also *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who devised a Form of Prayers to be daily used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of *Secundum usum Sarum*. In this Kings time was *Be-rengarius*, who denied the true Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament; Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh removed married Priests from executing Divine Service, whereof great Troubles arose in *England*: Also in his time was instituted the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*: Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, in a Synod holden at *Rome*, ordained that none should be called Pope but only the Bishop of *Rome*, where before all Bishops were called Popes.

An equivocating Bishop.

A Miracle done upon a Bishop.

A Miracle done by a Bishop.

Prayers devised Secundum usum Sarum.

No Priests to be married. Eaamare.

Works of Piety, by him and others, in his time.

THIS King founded the Abbey of *Battel* in *Sussex*, where he overcame *Harold*, as a Monument in memory of his Victory; but there succeeded a greater Monument in memory of this *Battel*, if it be true which *Newbrigenfis* saith, that after every small rain, the Grass where the *Battel* was fought, shews to be of the colour of blood, and had continued to do so to his dayes who lived in the time of King *Stephen*, almost an hundred years after the *Battel* was fought. The Abby of *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and a third near *London*, called *St. Saviours*. He founded also the Priory of *St Nicholas* at *Exeter*, and gave great Priviledges to *St. Martins le Grand*

Grand in London; which Church was founded before the Conquest, by *Ingelricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Cousins to King *Edward* the Confessor. He also builded the Tower of London: namely the great white and square Tower there. These were this Kings works of Piety in England; but in Normandy he founded also an Abbey at *Caen*, where his Wife *Mande* built also a Monastery of Nuns. He gave also to the Church of *St. Stephens* in *Caen*, two Mannors in *Dorsetshire*, one Mannor in *Devonshire*, another in *Essex*, much Land in *Barkshire*, some in *Norfolk*, a Mansion in *Woodstreet*, London, with many Advowsons of Churches: and even he gave his Crown and Regal Ornaments to the said Church being of his own Foundation: for the redemption whereof, his Son *Henry* gave the Mannor of *Brydleton* in *Dorsetshire*. In this Kings time *Robert*, Son to *Hildebert Lacies* founded the Priory of *Pontfraight*: *Henry* Earl *Ferrers* founded a Priory within his Castle at *Tisbury*; *Alwyne Childe*, a Citizen of London, founded the Monastery of *St. Saviours* at *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in London. Also in this Kings time, *Maurice* Bishop of London, after the firing of the former Church of *St. Paul* in London, began the Foundation of the New Church, a work so admirable, that many thought it would never have been finished. Towards the building of the East end whereof, the King gave the choyce stones of his Castle at the West end of the City, upon the Bank of the River *Thames*; which Castle having been at that time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did afterwards found a Monastery of *Black Fryers*. The King also gave the Mannor of *Starford* to the same *Maurice*, and to his Successors in that See; after whose decease, *Richard* his next Successor bestowed all the Rents of his Bishoprick to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himself by his private Patrimony: and yet all he could do, made no great shew, but the finishing of the Work was left to many other succeeding Bishop. In the fourteenth year of this Kings Reign, *Roger de Montgomery* Earl of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*, founded the Abby of *Shrewsbury*; He also built another at *Wenlock*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, founded University-Colledge in *Oxford*; Also one *Gilbert* a Norman Lord founded the Abby of *Merton* in *Surrey*, seven miles from London; and *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* first builded the Minister of *York*. In this Kings sixteenth year, his Brother Duke *Robert* being sent against the Scots, builded a Fort, where at this day standeth *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*; but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by King *John*. Also in this Kings time *Ledes* Castle in *Kent* was builded by *Creveken*, and the Castle of *Oxford*, by *Robert d' Oylie*; two Noblemen that came into England with him. *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the new Church there.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the twentieth year of his Reign, so great a fire happened in London, that from the West-Gate to the East Gate, it consumed Houses and

Churches all the way, and amongst the rest the Church of *St. Paul*, the most grievous fire that ever happened in that City. Also this year, by reason of distemperature of weather, Thunders and Lightnings, by which many men perished, there ensued a Famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of Men and Cattel; and which is very strange, Hens, Peacocks, Geese, and Ducks bred in, and accustomed to Houses, forsook their wonted Hives, and turned wild. (*Matt. West. Anno Dom. 1087.*) Also this year in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea-shore, was found the Body of *Gawen*, Sisters Son to *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britains*, reported to be fourteen foot in length. Also in this Kings time, a great Lord sitting at a Feast, was set upon by Mice; and though he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land; yet the Mice still followed him, and at last devoured him.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE had to Wife, and her only, *Mathilde*, or *Mande*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*. She was Crowned Queen of *England*, the second year of his Reign: the seventeenth year of his reign she died. A Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that she built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where she lies buried. By her he had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert* the eldest called *Court-cayse*, of his short Thighs; or *Court-hose*, of his short Breeches; or *Courtois*, of his Courteous behaviour, (for so many are the comments upon his name) succeeded his Father in the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *Richard* his second Son was kill'd by misfortune, hunting in the *New-Forest*. *William* his third Son, called *Rufus*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* his youngest Son called *Beauclerk* for his Learning, had by his Fathers Will five thousand pounds in money, and the Inheritance also of his Mother: His Daughters were *Cecilie*, *Constace*, *Adela*, *Margaret*, and *Elenor*, of whom *Cecilie* was Abbess of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Constace* was married to *Alan* Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never married and died young. *Elenor* betrothed to *Alphonfus* King of *Gallicia*, but desiring to die a Virgin, she had her wish, spending her time so much in Prayer, that with continual kneeling her knees were browned.

Of His Personage and Condition.

HE was but mean of stature, yet big of Body, and therewithal so strong, that few were able to draw his Bow: growing in years he was bald before; his beard always shaven, after the manner of the *Normans*; and in his younger time he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of strength of Youth, Incontinency. After he was once married, whether out of satiety or out of Grace, he was never known to offend in that kind. Of so perfect health, that he was never sick, till that sickness whereof he died. Of a stern countenance,

The body of *Gawen*, Sisters Son to King *Arthur* found.

A Lord eaten up with Mice.

Robert Courtois why so called.

Good Devotion.

St. Pauls Church new builded.

University Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

New-Castle upon *Tyne* builded.

A great fire in London.

tenance, yet of an affable nature: In War as Expert as Valiant: In Peace, as Provident as Prudent: and in all his Enterprizes as fortunate, as bold and hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feasting, where he was no less pleasant than magnificent. He made no great proficiency in Learning, as having had his Education in the licentiousness of the *French* Court; yet he favoured learned men, and drew out of *Italy*, *Lanfrank*, *Anselm*, *Durand*, *Terherne*, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and great Piety. Very devout he was, and alwayes held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence. And this is one special Honour attributed unto him, That from him we begin the Computation of our Kings of *England*.

His Places of Residence.

HIS Christmas he commonly kept at *Glocester*, his Easter at *Winchester*, and his Whitsuntide at *Westminster*, and once in the year at one of these places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crown, he thought to make it sit the easier upon his head. And for the Houses which the Kings of *England* had in those dayes in *London*; I find that at *Westminster*, was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*, from the time of *Edward* the Confessor; which in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, was by casual fire burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately Palace this was, and in that Age, for Building, incomparable. The Remains whereof are the Chamber of assembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called *St. Edward's* Painted Chamber; because the Tradition holdeth, that the said King *Edward* died in it. Adjoyning unto this, is the *White-Hall*, wherein at this day the Court of Requests is kept. Beneath this, is the Great Hall, where Courts of Justice are now kept: This Hall which we now have, was built by King *Richard* the second, out of the ground; as appeareth by his Arms engraven in the stone work: (when he had plucked down the old Hall, built before by *William Rufus*) and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid Palace, after it was burnt down in *Anno* 1512 lay desolate, and King *Henry* the Eighth shortly after translated the Kings Seat, to a house not far off, built by Cardinal *Woolsey*, and is called *White-Hall*. The Tower of *London* was anciently used by the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other Houses they anciently had; one where *Bridewell* now standeth, out of the ruines whereof, the now *Bridewell* was built. Another called the *Tower-Royal*, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in *Bucklers-bury*, called *Sernes* Tower. Another where now the Popes-Head Tavern is, over against the *Old Exchange*, thought to have been the Kings House; also another in *Lime-street*, called the Kings Artirce. Also another in the *Old Jury*; and oft-times they made use of *Baynards Castle*. But these are all long since demolished, that we may see Palaces and Places have their fates and periods well as men. And as for his Arms, he gave three Lions passant Gold in a Field Gules; which have ever since been

used as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; to which three *Flower de Lucas* were added by King *Edward* the Third, by reason of his claim to the Crown of *France*.

His Death and Burial.

TOwards the end of his Reign, he appointed his two Sons, *Robert* and *Henry*, with joynt authority, Governours of *Normandy*. These went together, to visit the King of *France* lying at *Constance*; where entertaining the time with variety of sports, *Henry* played with *Lewes* the Heir of *France* at Chesse, and winning much money of him, *Lewes* grew so cholerick, that he threw the Chesse-men at *Henries* face, calling him the Son of a Bastard; and thereupon *Henry* struck *Lewis* with the Chesse-board, and had presently slain him, if his Brother *Robert* had not stept in and stayed him. Upon this the King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and drawes *Robert*, King *William's* eldest Son, to joyn with him against his Father: But King *William* coming presently over with an Army, was soon reconciled to his Son; yet being corpulent and in years, was by this means much distempered in body, and so retired to *Roan*, where he stayed, as not being well in health. The *French* King hearing of his sickness, scoffingly said, That he lay in Child-bed of his great belly. Which so incensed King *William*, that he swore by Gods Resurrection and his Brightness, (his usual Oath) that as soon as he should be Church'd of that Childe, he would offer a Thousand Lights in *France*: And indeed he performed it; For he entred *France* in Arms, and set many Towns and Corn-fields on fire, in which he was so violent, that by reason of his travel, and the unreasonable heat, being in the month of *August*, it brought upon him a relapse of his sickness, and withall, leaping on Horseback over a Ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pummel of his Saddle, that he took a Rupture in his inner parts; whereupon returning to *Roan*, his sickness so increased, that in short time he dyed. And that which is scarce credible, yet recorded for certain, the very same day he dyed at *Roan* his death was known at *Rome*, a thousand miles off; which if it be true, it seems there are certain Invisible Intelligencers, that can make such speed: whereof *Froissard* tells a strange story; and for the strangeness not unworthy to be here related. There was (saith he) in the time of King *Edward* the Third, a Knight in *France*, called *Corasse*, who could tell any thing that was done all the World over, the very day it was done, or within a day or two, how far soever it were off; and this he did by such an invisible Intelligencer. For he had gotten a Familiar Spirit, called *Orthone*, who brought him the news continually; and held on this course with him divers years, till at last he lost him, by this occasion. He had only heard the voice of his spirit *Orthone*; and now had great longing to see his shape: whereupon the spirit seeing his earnestness; Well then (saith he) to morrow morning when you rise out of your bed, the first thing you see shall be I. So the Knight rising in the morning, looked out, but could see nothing: whereupon he blamed his spirit *Orthone*

King *William* new Crowned every year.

Westminster Palace the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*.

Westminster Hall built by *Richard* the second.

White-Hall, when made the Kings habitation.

The *French* King scoffs at King *William's* great belly.

1087.
King *William's* death known the same day he dyed, a thousand miles off.

thone, for not keeping his promise with him. Orthone answered, He had kept his promise : for, saith he, bethink your self, what it was you first saw after your rising. Then the Knight bethinking himself, remembered he saw two straws upon the ground, tumbling upon one another: Why (saith Orthone) that was I. Then the Knight desired he might see him in such a shape, as that he might take notice of him. Well then, said Orthone, to morrow morning when you rise, the first thing you see, that shall be I. So the next morning, the Knight rising, and looking out of his Chamber Window, the first thing he saw was a Sow, so lean and deformed, that he could not abide to see it: and thereupon caused his men to set Dogs upon it, to drive it away: which being done, the Sow vanished away; after this his spirit Orthone never came to him any more. And this relation Froissard had from the Knights own mouth: and by such a like means, it might perhaps be, that the death of King William was known at Rome, the very day he died at Roan, though a thousand miles asunder. And now to go on with the story, William the Conquerour in all the time of his sickness retained to the very last his memory and speech; and shewed many demonstrations of his Devotion, and true contrition, specially for his severity used towards the English. And thus he who was a Conquerour of men, was conquered himself by death, the ninth day of September, when he had reigned Twenty years, and near eleven months, in the Threescore and fourth year of his age; Malmesbury saith in the fifty ninth. I may well say he was conquered by death, seeing death used him more despitely, than ever he living used any whom he had conquered: For no sooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants purloining what they could lay hands on, forsook him and fled, leaving his body almost naked upon the ground. Afterwards, William, Archbishop of Roan, commanded his body should be conveyed to Caen, but his command was little regarded: till at last, one Herlewyne, a Countrey Knight, at his own charges caused his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monks meeting the corps, suddenly in the midst of their solemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and thus was his body the second time left forlorn. In the end a few Monks returned, and accompanied the Herse to the Abbey Church, but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the Grave, one Anselm Fitz Arthur, stood up and claimed that ground to have been the Floor of his Fa-

thers house, which King William had violently wrested from him, and thereupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his Body with the earth of his Inheritance. Whereupon after some pause, agreement was made with him, and three pound was paid in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground it self, paid him by Henry, the Kings youngest Son, who only of all his Sons was present at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put in the earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of stone which stood within the Grave, was hewn somewhat too strait for his fat belly, so as they were fain to press it down with some violence, with which, whether his bowels burst, or whether some Excrements were forced out of their natural passage, such an intolerable stink proceeded from him, that none were able to endure it, but made all the haste they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the last of his miseries, for in the year 1562. when Castillion took the City of Caen, certain dissolute Souldiers opened his Tomb, and not finding the Treasure they expected, threw forth his bones with great derision: whereof some were afterward brought into England. So that if we consider his many Troubles in his life, and after his death; we may well think, that notwithstanding all his greatness, a very mean man would hardly be perswaded to change fortunes with him. He bare the same Arms as peculiar to the Crown of England, which all succeeding Princes have used: namely, Three Lions passant Gold in a Field Gules: for as for the Three Flower de Lucies, they were added by King Edward the Third, upon his claim of the Crown of France.

The Arms
born by King
William.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time, were but rare in this Island, yet some there were, particularly Marianus Scotus, an Historiographer, and Alpheredus a Monk of Beverly, a Writer also of Historical Argument. And as for the Men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of servitude, but as if all the English Valour were now remaining in the Kentish men, they only made resistance, when all other Countries had submitted. Yet it is memorable in this time, what a private Norwegian Souldier did, who himself alone upon a Bridge, resisted the whole Army of the English, slew forty of them, and maintained the place for divers hours together, till one getting under the Bridge, found means to thrust up a Spear into his body and killed him;

King William being dead, how neglected and molested at his burial.

The REIGN of
KING WILLIAM
 THE SECOND.

William
 Rufus is
 Crowned.

An. Dom.
 1087.



KING William the Second, called *Rufus*, third Son to William the Conquerour, appointed Successor by his Fathers Will, was upon the fifth of October, in the year 1087. by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Crowned at *Westminster* King of *England*. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger Son *Joseph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his Sword and his Bow, had King William gotten the Land of *England*; and therefore might justly bestow it on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was cause enough, why he should shew this Son of his some extraordinary favour, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother *Robert*, yet he stood firmly for his Father; and in his quarrel incurred no small hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds: and perhaps also, his Father thought the rough disposition of this Son, fitter to bridle the insurrections of the *English*, than the softly disposition of his Son *Robert*.

His Brother
 is incited to
 claim the
 Crown.

He is com-
 pounded
 with for
 9000 marks
 a year.

But though he have thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to hold it so; and indeed at his very beginning is assaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with *Robert* to assist him in it. The first mover of this trouble was *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Uncle, who finding himself not to bear the sway he expected, and specially for an old grudge he bore to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by whose means, in the former Kings time he had been imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, That though he might not imprison a Bishop, yet he might imprison an Earl of *Kent* (as this *Odo* was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and Temporal Lords to joyn with him, in behalf of Duke *Robert* against the King; but though the storm were violent for a while, yet it soon passed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his Brother *Robert* with more cost: for it was at last agreed, That *Rufus* should pay him Three thousand marks a year, during his life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own decease. But there was difficulty in repressing his Rebel Lords by reason of their spreading themselves abroad in many quarters. For *Odo* fortified himself in *Kent*; *Roger Montgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*; *Hugh de Grandmenil*, in *Leicestershire*, and *Northamptonshire*; *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, possessed himself of

Bristow; *William* Bishop of *Durham*, of the North parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy and Nobility, fortifie themselves in *Herefordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and all the Countreys adjoyning to *Wales*, thinking by this means to distract the King, that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repress them suddenly, so it made it easie to repress them at leasure; for being thus divided, they were but as single sticks, that are easily broken; whereas if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a strength of far greater resistance. But the King having *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, firm of his side: partly by their Authority and love amongst the people; but chiefly by his own promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly won the hearts of all unto him; that some of the Rebel Lords he reconciled with fair words: as *Robert Montgomery*; (a principal finew of the Faction) some again he mastered by strong hand; and *Odo* the chief Engineer of all the work, he besieged in the Castle of *Rocheſter*, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppressed: In which it is observable, that though so many hot bloods were up, yet there was but little blood spilt. A happy Rebellion for the *English*; for the Rebel Lords and Bishops being all *Normans*, the King had none to trust to, but the *English*, whom for their faithfulness to him in this service, he ever after respected more than he had done before.

The Rebel
 Lords are
 won or
 overcome.

The *English*
 firmer to
 King *William*
 than the
Normans.

This year died *Lanfrank*, after he had been Archbishop of *Canterbury* eighteen years, who had brought the Monks to some good order, that before his time followed hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, to the great discredit of their profession.

After this storm was over in the South, there ariseth another in the North; For now *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, thinking it a fit time to do some feats when King *William* was troubled at home, invades *Northumberland*, and having burnt and spoiled the Countrey, returns home laden with booties: Which King *William* hearing, he takes his Brother *Robert* along with him, and with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, brings *Malcolme* to acknowledge his ancient homage: and upon Faith given returns to *London*. After this, Duke *Robert* finding his Brother King *William* not to keep his promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of *France*, and with his aid,

An. Reg. 3.
 1090.

King *William*
 am represseth
 the *Scots*.
 He represseth
 his brother
Robert
 raking up
 Armes for his
 Pension not
 payed.

aid assaults and take some Towns, which he before had delivered in pawn for money to his brother King William; who hearing of it, hastens into Normandy with an Army, and by the mediation of money takes off the King of France, and makes his brother, being left destitute of Assistance, to ask him pardon; a wise and merciful course in King William; for to buy his peace with the King of France, did cost him but money, where to have purchased it by War, must besides money, have cost the lives of many.

An. Reg. 6. 1093. After this, *Malcolme* King of Scots, came in kindness to visit King William at Gloucester; but the King not vouchsafing so much as to see him, put him into so great an indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades Northumberland, making great spoil, and getting great spoils, but by *Robert Mowbray*, the Kings Lieutenant there, was taken in ambush, and together with his eldest Son *Edward*, defeated and slain. This King *Malcolme* was a most valiant Prince, as may appear by an Act of his of an extraordinary strain; for hearing of a conspiracy, plotted to murder him, whereof one was Author, whose name is not recorded, he dissembled the knowing of it, till being abroad one day a hunting, he took the fellow apart from the company, and being alone, said unto him; Here now is a fit time and place, to do that manfully, which you have intended to do treacherously; draw your weapon, and if you kill me, none being present, you can incur no danger: with which speech of the King, the fellow was so daunted that presently he fell down at his feet, confessed his fault, humbly asked forgiveness, and being granted him, was ever after serviceable and faithful to him. The death of King *Malcolme* and his Son was so grievous, and so grievously taken of *Margaret* his Queen the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, that she made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to overlive them, and so within three dayes after died. A woman as full of virtues all her life, as at this time of sorrows; whom yet I should not break order to mention, but for one Pious Act of hers, in causing a most barbarous custome of Scotland to be abrogated, that when a man married, his Lord should lie the first night with his Bride. Which custome by her endeavour was altered to a payment in money.

A most valiant Prince.

With grief of whose death his Queen *Margaret* dyeth within three dayes.

A barbarous custom in Scotland abrogated by her means.

An. R. 11. 1098. After these troubles were ended in the North, a new trouble ariseth in the West; for now the Welch men hearing of King William's distractions, enter upon the English borders, making spoil and havock of men and Towns: whom King William went with an Army to encounter, but could do no good upon them, till he was fain to return to London, and provide him a stronger Army. About this time also *Robert Mowbray* Earl of Northumberland, by whom *Malcolme* King of Scots was in King William's service formerly slain; finding his service not rewarded as he expected, enters into conspiracy against the King: but the King being informed of the practice, seizes suddenly upon many of his Complices; and himself, after many devices and shifts for flight, is taken and put in Prison, in the Castle of Windsor. After this, King William to take a further revenge of the Welch, and to make an absolute conquest of that unquiet people, with a far greater Army than ever before, enters Wales, and thinks with new

devices of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue them, but they defending themselves, with their Woods and mountainous passages, tire and weary out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the business to two *Hughs*, one Earl of Salop; the other of Chester, who first invaded and took Anglesey, (their Island of refuge) where they used all kind of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and cutting off hands and noses: In prosecuting of which business, *Hugh* Earl of Salop was slain, but *Hugh* Earl of Chester, entered Wales, and in the end with the slaughter of *Rees*, the last King of Wales, made an absolute conquest of the Countrey: For after this, though they often rebelled, yet they were in a true subjection. And these for the most part, were all the troubles of his reign; where we may observe, that none of them did overtake him, but still he met them; and from none of them he ever fled, but still was the pursuer; and yet so many as might well have taken away all the comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a pair of Beads: but that Ambition, though sometimes weary, yet never tires.

Wale also lately conquered by King William.

Rees the last King of Wales slain.

His Exactions and Courses for raising Money.

IN the second year of his Reign, *Lanfrank*, Archbishop of Canterbury dyed, who had kept the Kingdom and King in some good order; but as soon as he was dead, the King, as though he were then got loose, ranged without reins, in all licentiousness, preying especially upon the Clergy, as amongst whom he found the richest Booties. When Bishopricks or Abbeyes were vacant, it was familiar with him to seize them into his own hands, as this of *Lanfrank's*, he kept to his own use four years together, and longer would have kept it, if a sickness of his body had not healed this disease of his mind; For finding himself in some hazard of death, he then conferred the Archbishoprick of Canterbury upon *Anselm*, and the Bishoprick of Lincoln upon *Robert Bloet*, two eminent men of that time: but as soon as he was well again, it repented him of that he had done, and he was not quiet, till he had drawn from the said *Bloet*, five thousand pounds, and from *Anselm* also good sums of money. For he repented not more in time of sickness for the evil he had done in health, then being in health he repented of the good he had done in sickness; that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing made him sick but health, and nothing made him be in health but sickness. But this preying upon the Clergy was grown into such a custome with him, that he kept in his hands at one time, three Bishopricks, Canterbury, Winchester, and Salisbury, and twelve Abbeyes; all which he let out to farm, and received the profits; and from this King the use is said to have risen first in England, that the Kings succeeding had the Temporalities of Bishops Sees, as long as they remained void. Having agreed to pay the King of France a great sum of money, he raised it in this manner; He caused twenty thousand men to be levied, under pretence for his wars in Normandy; but when they were ready to be shipped, it was signified to them from the King, that whosoever would pay ten shillings towards the levying of Souldiers in Normandy, should be excused from going

King William keeps Abbys and Bishopricks vacant in his hands.

From this King the Kings succeeding took the Temporalities of Bishops Sees vacant.

going, and stay at home, which was so plausible an offer to the Army, that scarce a man was found that accepted not that condition. When Duke Robert went into the Holy Land he pawned his Duchy of Normandy to his Brother King William for 6666 pounds, or as some write, for 12600. which money King William took up part by a grievous Imposition: so that Bishops melted their Plate, and the Temporal Lords spoiled their Tenants for the payment thereof: and part by loan; but chiefly of Religious Persons. He sold the Abbey of *Glastenbury* to *Thurstan* for five hundred pounds, and when he built *Westminster* Hall, he made that an occasion to lay a heavy tax upon the people, who grudged at it as done on purpose. He usually sold all Spiritual Preferments, to them who would give most, and took Fines of Priests for Fornication, as also he took money of Jews, to cause such of them as were converted, to renounce Christianity, and return to Judaism, as making more benefit by their unbelief than by their conversion. He caused divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for transgressing his Laws, though the fault were never so small. He set forth a Proclamation that none should go out of the Realm without his Licence, by which he drew much money from many; for either they must tarry at home and live discontented, or else content him for giving them leave to go abroad. And from thence the Custom or Law of *Ne exeat Regno*, seems to have taken its beginning: for Precedents of servitude are sure to live, where Precedents of Liberty are commonly still-born. These were his wayes for raising of money, wherein Promoters and Informers were his darling servants; and the most officious of all was *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, of whom he would often say, there was not such a man in the world to serve a Kings turn. And yet he was not so greedy of lucre, but that he did some acts that may serve for examples; as one time, an Abby being vacant, two Monks of the Covent came suiters to him for the place, offering great sums, and each of them out-bidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and espying another Monk standing not far off, asked him what he would give for the place? Who answering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it: Well (said the King) thou hast spoken honestly, thou art fitter to be Abbot than either of these; and so bestowed the place upon him gratis.

Of his Magnanimity.

Word was brought him as he sat at dinner, that his City of *Mans* in Normandy was besieged, and in great danger to be taken, if not presently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way *Mans* lay, and then caused Masons presently to take down the Wall, to make him passage the next way, and so rode instantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, advising him to stay till his people were ready, No (saith he) such as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboard, and the weather growing very tempestuous, he was advised by the Master of his Ship to stay for some calmer season: No (saith he,) Fear nothing, I ne-

ver yet heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby coming to *Mans* unexpected, presently dispersed the Besiegers, and took *Helias*, Count de la *Flesche*, who had been Author of the tumult prisoner; who vaunting to the King, and saying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wile; but if I were at liberty again, you should find me to do other kind of feats: at which the King laughing, Well then (saith he) go your waies and do your worst, and let us see what feats you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother Robert, he assisted him to recover the Fort of Mount St. *Michael*, which their brother *Henry* did formerly hold in Normandy: during which siege, stragling one time alone upon the shoar, he was set upon by three Horsemen, who assaulted him so fiercely, that they drove him from his saddle, and his saddle from his Horse, but he taking up his saddle, and withal drawing out his Sword, defended himself till rescue came: and being afterward blamed for being so obstinate to save his saddle, he answered: It would have angered me at the very heart, that the knaves should have bragged they had won the saddle from me.

In what he was just in keeping his word, in what he was failing.

His vertue especially was commended in him, and he would often say, That even God himself was obliged by his Word. But if we observe the course of his life, we shall find that howsoever he might keep his word in small matters, yet certainly not in great; For he kept not his word with his Brother Robert, to whom he promised to leave his Kingdom of *England* after his decease, but performed it not. He kept not his word with his Subjects, for in the rebellion of the Norman Lords, he promised the *English*, if they would now stick to him, they should have their ancient Laws restored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Forests; which promise he kept not at all, or at least soon brake. Lastly he kept not his word with God himself, for being sick at *Glocester*, and in some hazard of his life, he made a solemn vow, that if he recovered he would lead a new life, and give over all his disorderly courses: but being recovered he grew more disorderly than he was before: that if denomination be made from the greatest action, it cannot be truly said, that he was just of his word. But such is the privilege of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a promise, it must be believed; and if they break it, it must not be questioned.

Of his Incontinency and Prodigality.

Much is spoken of his lascivious life in general, but nothing in particular; for neither is mentioned any violence he ever offered to any, nor is any woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are seldom concealed. It is true, he was never married and of a strong constitution of body, and so probable he might be inclined to that vice: but probabilities are not alwaies concluding, and therefore whether it be a true accusation, or but a slander, it may well be doubted; one base Son is spoken of, called *Bertrannus*, whom he advanced in honour, and matched in a Noble Family.

King William never married.

Fines taken
of Priests
for fornication.

Ne Exeat
Regno,
whence it
began.

A notable
part of
King William.

Family. But why should we look more for particulars of his Incontinency, than of his Prodigality? for he was taxed no less for being Prodigal, than for being Incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not so much as one instance recorded, unless we take this for an instance, that when his Chamberlain brought him a pair of hose, which because they were new, he asked what they cost? and being told they cost three shillings, in a great chafe he threw them away; asking him, If he thought a pair of hose of 3 s. to be fit for a King to wear? Get thee gone (saith he) and let me have a pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair scarce so good as the former, and telling him they cost a Mark; I marry (saith the King) these are something like, and was better satisfied with hearing what they cost, than with seeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wisdom, for to say the truth, it is no defect of wisdom in a King to be ignorant what his clothes are worth.

Of his wavering in Religion.

HE appointed a disputation to be held between Christians and Jews, and before the day came, the Jews brought the King a Present, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing; The King took the Present, encouraging them to quit themselves like men: and swore by St. Luke's face (his usual Oath) that if they prevailed by Disputation, he would himself turn Jew, and be of their Religion. A young Jew on a time was converted to the Christian Faith, whose Father being much troubled at it, presented the King sixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son to return to his Judaism; whereupon the King sent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation: But the young man answered, he wondred his Majesty would use such words: for being a Christian, he should rather perswade him to Christianity: with which answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young man to get him out of his sight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his money again, Nay (saith the King) I have taken pains enough for it; and yet that thou maist see how kindly I will deal, you shall have one half, and the other half you cannot in conscience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the Kings Deer, which they denyed, and were therefore condemn'd to the trial of fire, which by Gods merciful judgement they passed through untouched; the King hearing it, and deceived of the confiscation expected, is said in a great chafe to say, How happens this? Is God a just Judge in suffering it? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It seems also he doubted in many points of Religion then in credit? For he would often protest, that he believed not that Saints could profit any man in Gods sight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wise (as he affirmed) make Intercession either to Peter, or to any other for help.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THE King claimed the Investiture of Bishops to be his right, and forbade Appeals and In-

tercourse to Rome: for Appeals had been seldom used till *Anselm* in this Kings reign appealed to the Pope; upon whose complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King, but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, he forbore at that time to do it, lest by making Excommunication common, he should make it be slighted. At this time great contention arose between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*; and *Anselm* not yielding to the King in any point prejudicial to the Popes authority, nor the King yielding to *Anselm* in any point prejudicial to his own Prerogative, (which were points indeed incompatible) the contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, because there were at that time two Popes on foot at once; one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the second; another set up by the Emperour called *Clement* the third: for *Anselm* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*; and thus not agreeing in a third, it was impossible they should agree between themselves. And this contention, though palliated with pretensions, sometimes of one side, sometime of another; yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the time of many Kings after. *Anselm* often threatening his going to Rome, the King told him plainly he would not thrust him out of the Realm: but if he would go without his leave, he would then keep him out during his pleasure; and besides, he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him. Yet *Anselm* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warlewast* was sent to ristle him in his passage at Sea, of all he had, neither was he suffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the profits of his Archbishoprick to his own use. It may not be amiss to shew a passage here concerning the first cause of contention between the King and *Anselm*, which some say was this; The King required a thousand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See; which *Anselm* refused to give, as judging it no less Simony to give after the preferment than before: but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much; whereupon *Anselm* told him, Your Grace may have me and all that is mine, to serve your turn in a friendly manner: but in the way of servitude and bondage, you shall neither have me nor mine; Which words so angered the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this Kings Reign Pope *Urban* exhorted all Christian Princes to joyn together for recovery of *Jerusalem* and the Holy Land: and by the soliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, there assembled for that enterprise, under the conduct of *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, to the number of three hundred thousand men; amongst whom was *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who so valiantly carried himself in the action, that after *Jerusalem* was won, the Kingdom of it (as some write) was offered to him: but he looking more after the Kingdom of *England*; and therefore refusing it, it is observed he never prospered all his life after. In this Kings reign, although he had no command in *Ireland*, yet their Bishop of *Dublin* was sent over to *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

Wilfred before this appeared to the Pope; as *Bede* largely relates.

Contentions between the King and Archbishop *Anselm*.

Anselm fleeth the Realm, and not suffered to return during the Kings life.

Liberty of the Subject.

Godfrey of *Bulloigne* undertakes the recovery of *Jerusalem*. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* refusing the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* never prospered after.

A costly suit for a King.

King *William* takes money to perswade a Christian Jew to turn to Judaism. *Edmeram*.

A blasphemous speech of King *William*.

K. *William* trusted not to the Prayers of Saints.

to be consecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* also desiring to have a Bishop, procured *Mercherdach* King of *Ireland*, to write to *Anselm*, to give his consent. Also in this Kings dayes the Pope forbad the marriage of Priests.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THe King gave the Monks of *Southwark* the Church of *St. Saviour* of *Bermonsey*, and *Bermonsey* it self; He also founded at *York* the Hospital of *St. Leonards*: He gave the Church of *St. Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Bishops See. *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* in this Kings dayes builded the Abby of *Chester*: *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, founded the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*. *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, to the end his Bishoprick might be removed to *Lincoln*, began to build the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*; and *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* builded two Hospitals without the City; the one of *St. John*, the other at *Harbaldown*; repaired *Christs Church*, and caused five and twenty Manours to be restored to that See, which had unjustly been withholden. He repaired also the Abby of *St. Albans*, and the Church of *Rocheſter*, where for four secular Priests he placed to the number of fifty Monks. In the sixth year of this Kings Reign, *William Warren* the first Earl of *Surrey*, (who came with Duke *William* into *England*) and *Gundred* his Wife, founded the Abby of *Lewis* in *Suffex*. In his twelfth year, *Robert Loſaunge* Bishop of *Thetford*, removed his See from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded there a fair Monastery.

Bath made a Bishops See.

The Abby of Lewis in Suffex is founded.

His Buildings and Structures:

THis King enlarged the Tower of *London*, and compassed it with new walls: he also built the great Hall at *Westminster*, being 270. foot in length, and 74. in breadth, but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the *Thames* to the *Kings-street*. He repaired the City and Castle of *Carlisle*, which had been wasted by the *Danes* two hundred years before; and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern parts. He finished *New-Castle* upon *Tyne* and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the borders of *Scotland*; many also upon the Frontiers, and within the very Breast of *Wales*.

Westminster Hall built by this King.

Casualties happening in his Reign.

IN the fourth year of his Reign, on *St. Lukes* day, above six hundred houses in *London* were thrown down with tempest, and the roof of *St. Mary Bow Church* in *Cheapside*, was so rased, that in the fall six of the beams being 27. foot long, were driven so deep into the ground (the streets being not then paved with stone) that not above four foot remained in sight, and yet stood in such rank and order as the workmen had placed them upon the Church. Also in this Kings Reign all the Lands in *Kent*, sometimes belonging to Earl *Godwin*, were by breaking in

A strange Fall. The streets in this Kings time not paved with stone.

of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called *Godwins Sands* to this day. In his eleventh year, at a Town called *Finchamstead* in the County of *Berks*, a Well cast out blood, as before it had done water; and after by the space of fifteen dayes, great flames of fire were seen in sundry places, and at sundry times.

Godwins Sands in Kent.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was but mean of stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his hair deep yellow, whereof he was called *Rufus*, his forehead four square like a window; his eyes spotted, and not one like another; his speech unpleasant, and stammering, especially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his mind, they may best be known by looking upon the actions of his life; in which we shall find he was never more assured, than when he was least sure; never less dejected, than when in most extremity; being like a Cube, that which way so ever he fell, he was still upon his bottom. For his delights to pass the time, there was none in more request with him than hunting, a delight hereditary to him; which was the cause that as his Father had begun the great new Forest, so he enlarged it to a far greater extent. Other delights of his we find not any, unless we shall reckon his Wars for delights; for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them: yet sometimes he entred into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest virtues, was that which is one of the greatest virtues, Magnanimity; and his worst vice, was that which is the worst of vices, Irreligion.

Presages that preceded his Death.

AT *Finchamstead* in *Barkshire*, near unto *Abington*, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteen dayes, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the King was kil'd, a certain Monk dreamed, that he saw the King gnaw the Image of *Christ Crucified* with his teeth; and that as he was about to bite away the legs of the same Image, *Christ* with his feet spurned him down to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoak. This being related to the King by *Robert Fitz. Mammon*, he made a jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same night, the King himself dream'd that the veins of his arms were broken, and that the blood issued out in great abundance; and many other like passages there were, by which it seems he had friends somewhere, as well as *Julius Caesar*, that did all they could to give him warning: but that, as *Cesars*, so his *malus Genius* would not suffer him to take.

No warning can prevent destiny.

Of his Death and Burial.

King *William* having kept his Christmas at *Gloceſter*, his Easter at *Wincheſter*, his Whitfuntide

Whitsuntide at *Westminster*; notwithstanding forewarned by many signs of some great disaster toward him, would needs the day after *Lammas*, go a hunting in the New Forest; yet something resenting the many passages, he staying within all the forenoon. About dinner time, an Artificer came and brought him six Cross-bow Arrows, very strong and sharp; whereof four he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to Sir *Walter Tyrel*, a Knight of *Normandy*, his Bow-bearer, saying, Here *Tyrel*, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose: and so having at dinner drank more liberally than his custome, as it were in contempt of Presages, out he rides into the *New Forest*, where Sir *Walter Tyrel* shooting at a Deer, at a place called *Charingham*, (where since a Chapel hath been erected) the Arrow glanced against a tree, or as some write, grazed upon the back of the Deer: and flying forward, hit the King upon the breast: with which he instantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common consent of all; only one *Sugerus* a Writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the said *Tyrels*, against the current of all Writers, affirms that he had often heard the said Sir *Walter* swear that he was not in the Forest with the King all that day. I have been the longer upon this point, because a more pregnant example of Gods Judgement remains not

any where upon record. For not only this King at this time, but before this, a Brother of his named *Richard*, a young Prince of great hope; and also a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, came all in this place to violent deaths; that although King *William* the Founder of the Forest escaped the punishment in his own person, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his Issue. Thus died King *William Rufus*, in the three and fortieth year of his age, and twelfth and some months, of his Reign: His body was drawn in a Colliers Cart, with one Horse, to the City of *Winchester*, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Swithing*, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble stone; till afterward it was translated, and laid by King *Canutus's* bones.

Men of Note in his time.

FOR men of Valour, he must stand alone by himself: for men of Learning, there was *Lanfrank*, a *Lombard*, but Bishop of *Canterbury*; also *Robert*, a *Lorain*, who Epitomized the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*: also *Turgotus* an *English* man, Dean of *Durham*, who wrote the Annals of his own time, and divers other works; but especially *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who composed the ordinary Office, or Book of Prayer.

King William slain in hunting in the new Forest.

1100.

Sugerus differs from all other Writers.

The

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown.

An. Dom.
1100.

Although *Henry* came not to the Crown, as his Brother *William* did, by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the Prophecy of his Father; for when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Estate in Land between his two Eldest Sons, giving to *Henry* his youngest only a portion in Money, with which division he perceived him to be much discontented, he said unto him, Content thy self *Harry*, for the time will come, that thy turn shall be served as well as theirs. And now the time was come that his Prediction was accomplished, for on the fifth of *August*, in the year 1100. he was Crowned King of *England* at *Westminster* by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, (as Dean of all the Bishops of *England*, and therefore might do it without any prejudice to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though he had been present, who was indeed at this time in exile.) But though it appears *fuisse in Fatis*, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it should be so; yet it would not have been so, if his own endeavours had not been concurring. And therefore being in the New Forest, when his Brother King *William* was killed, he never stayed to complement the Disaster, but rode presently to *Winchester*, and there, not without some opposition of the keepers, seized upon his Brothers Treasure, as knowing Treasure to be the means of getting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the first means he made use of it for the second; and both of them together brought him to this he is. Yet withal there were circumstances in his own person that conduced to it; his Brother was born, when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; *Robert* but a Foraigner, being born in *Normandy*, himself a Native, born at *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and it was not the least circumstance, that he was called *Beauclerk*, as much as to say a good Scholar, having been bred in *Cambridge*; not perhaps that his learning was so great, but that it was great, either in respect of that age, which had but little, or in respect of his Brothers, who had none at all; and the people having been oppressed before, by the ill Government of two Kings that were illiterate, could not chuse but be glad to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And though his Brother *Robert*, as being the elder, had right unto it; yet he as out of sight was out of mind, and perhaps neglected,

as being himself negligent; withal it was given out, that he was chosen King of *Jerusalem*, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and to give force to all these reasons, *Henry Newborough* Earl of *Warwick* was a Principal furtherer.

His course for establishing himself in the Kingdom.

IT is a hard matter to keep that safely, which is unjustly gotten; and therefore he took all possible care to overcome that hardness, which he effected by these means: First he called *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* home from Exile; placed *William Gifford* a learned man, in the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; and Monasteries that had been long vacant, he furnished with good Abbots. And because it is no less pleasing to the people to have bad Instruments punished, than the good to be advanced, he cast *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* (a principal cause of their late oppressions) into prison, then mitigated the rigour of the new Laws, and promised restitution of the old. And that there might be no abuse in measures, he ordained a measure, made by the length of his own Arm, which is called a Yard. He restored to his Subjects the use of Lights and Fire in the night, which before had been forbidden after eight a clock at night. He acquitted the people from the Tax of *Dane-gilt*, and from all other unjust payments, which had been imposed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, to inclose Parks for Deer, and Warrens for Coneyes, and such like Game. And because he knew *Scotland* might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tied by some Bond, and none so sure as the Bond of Alliance, he therefore takes *Matild* sister of the present King *Edgar* to be his Wife.

His troubles during his Reign.

Ralph Bishop of *Durham*, the late King *William's* greatest Instrument for Exactions, that had by this King been committed to the Tower, made an escape, and passing over to Duke *Robert* in *Normandy*, incenseth him, not to suffer himself to be baffled by a younger Brother: as for his Brother *William* there was some reason, because his Father had given him the Kingdom by his Will; but what could

Henry

King Henry is crowned. The Bishop of London is as Dean to all the Bishops of England.

Why Henry preferred before Robert his Brother.

Anselm called home from exile.

The measure of a Yard ordained by King Henry.

Dane-gilt remitted.

He marries the King of Scots Sister.

An. Reg. 2.
Ralph Bishop of *Durham* incenseth Duke *Robert* to claim the Crown.

Henry pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother William, with consent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the survivor of them should succeed. With such like instigations, and withal assuring him, there were many in England would take his part; he easily persuaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have dissuaded him. Who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at Portsmouth, while Henry waited for his coming about Hastings; and being landed there, much people resorted to him, that it was like to have been a bloody business; but by mediation of friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke Robert, it was brought at last to this agreement, that King Henry should pay to Duke Robert, three thousand marks yearly, and Duke Robert should succeed him in the Kingdom if he survived. And thus this cloud, that threatened so great a storm, brought with it rather Sun-shine, and fair weather; for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a right, and he might now justify his being a King, without any scandal or usurpation. After this another little cloud arose, but was soon dispersed; for Robert de Blesm, Earl of Shrewsbury, a rash young man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great estate, he was not a King as well as some others, fortified the Town of Shrewsbury, and the Castle of Bridgenorth, and got many Welchmen to assist him, but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrified the Welch, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a prey to the King in his person, and more in his estate; for the King seized his estate into his hands, but for his person he only banished it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of blood, and putting to death, though for great Treasonable Practices, was not much in use: Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of severity. The like attempt, and upon the like occasion, was made by William Earl of Mortaigne in Normandy, and of Cornwall in England, Uncle to the King, only for denying him the Earldom of Kent, which because he could not obtain, he entered into Treasonable practices, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these troubles were but as the labour of a woman, that is safely delivered; painful for a time, but ending in joy; and indeed for the most part this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his losses.

After this Duke Robert came in kindness into England, to visit his Brother Henry; where he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that in requital thereof, and to do favour to the Queen, that was his God-daughter, he released to King Henry, the three thousand marks, which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into Normandy, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly couzened him. Which coming to King Henry's ear, so incensed him, that he presently sent over a mighty Army, which foraged the Countrey, and won many Towns, and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke Robert but only Roan in all

Normandy to put his head in; and this done, returns into England. And now Duke Robert begins to be sensible of his own weakness, and therefore comes over into England to try the uttermost of his Brothers good nature. Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withal, when in a siege he was ready to perish for want of water: and it cannot be but that gratefulness and natural affection, meeting together, must needs work something in the mind of a Brother. Thus resolved, he presents himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and himself, and all differences and debates to his will and pleasure. But whether incensed with the scandalous words Duke Robert had given out of him, or whether aspiring to joyn Normandy to England, as his Father had done before, King Henry scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least vouchsafed not to make him any answer, but in a sullen manner turned away, and so left him: which scornful usage put the Duke into such indignation, that he resolved to set his whole state at stake, and either to redeem his disgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into Normandy, he useth all his force in raising of Forces; but King Henry suspecting his intentions, and not using to give Insurrections time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a Battel before he was half ready to fight. In which Battel King Henry received sundry stripes on the head at the hands of one William Crispine, Count de Eureux; so as the blood burst out of his mouth: yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his enemies, and particularly the said Crispine who was there taken prisoner at the Kings feet. And now desire of revenge so animated the Duke, and the Duke his Souldiers, that never Battel was more fiercely fought, and the Normans seemed at first to have the better, till King Henry shewing himself in the Army, put such courage into his Souldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number, and King Henry obtained a compleat Victory, both in slaughter of men, (of whom there were slain above ten thousand) and in taking of Prisoners (to the number of four hundred:) amongst whom, besides other great ones, as the Earl of Mortaigne, William Crispine, and William Ferrers, was Duke Robert himself, whom the King (having first taken order for all things, in his new State of Normandy) brought over with him into England, and committed him to the Castle of Cardyffe in Wales, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a time with reasonable liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes; which though it increased his misery, yet it shortened not his life, for he lived many years after, in all, from the time of his first imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of Nature, in his life was the scorn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy the observing, that the English won Normandy, the very same day fortieth year, the Normans had won England. Such Revolutions of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unstable is the state of all worldly greatness. He died, Anno Dom. 1134. and lies buried at Gloucester.

1101.
Duke Robert comes with an Army into England.

Is compounded with upon certain conditions.

Robert de Blesm Earl of Shrewsbury rebels.

An. Reg. 3.
1102.
banishment as yet the greatest punishment, though for Treason.

William of Cornwall rebels.

An. Reg. 4.
1104.
Duke Robert remits his annuity.

1105.
He giveth out that his Brother had couzened him.

1106.
Duke Robert is invaded by King Henry.

1107.
Is taken prisoner, brought into England, and hath his eyes put out.

cester. *Matth. Westmon.* writes that King Henry his Brother sent him according to his custome, a Robe of Scarlet; and putting it first on himself, perceived the Capouch to be somewhat strait: whereupon he said, Carry this Garment to my Brother, for his head is less than mine. The messenger delivering the Robe, Duke Robert demanded if any had worn it, and being told him the King had first assayed it, and what speeches he had used, the Duke replied, I have now too long protracted a miserable life, since my Brother is so injurious to me, that he sends me his old cloaths to wear; and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort.

And now is King Henry as great as ever his Father was; and as greatness draws envy, as much envied as ever his Father was; and as envy makes enemies, as much opposed as ever his Father was. For now Fulk Earl of Angiou, and Baldwin Earl of Flanders, upon small occasions, and Lewis the Gross King of France, upon none but such as envy suggested, seeking to place William, Son to Duke Robert, in his Right to Normandy, assaulted the Kings Dominions, perhaps to try whether greatness had not made him unwieldy; but King Henry, to shew that greatness had made him more active, went over into Normandy with a mighty Army, and at Nice encountered the French King, where a bloody Battel was fought, with exceeding valour on both sides: but at last King Henry repelled the French King, and recovered Nice, and after many other Conflicts between them, with variety of Fortune, at last the King made peace with the Earl of Angiou, confirmed by a marriage of the Earls Daughter with his Son William; and upon this also the two Kings grew to a peace, in which William, Son to King Henry, being about seventeen years of age, was invested into the Duchy of Normandy, doing homage for the same to the King of France. From whence it was afterward a custome, that the King of England's eldest Son (as long as Normandy remained in their hands) was made alwayes Duke of Normandy. After this, Charles Earl of Flanders being slain at Brussels by a conspiracy of his own people, and leaving no issue behind him, Lewis King of France invested William, Son to Duke Robert, in the Earldom of Flanders, descended from Earl Baldwin, whose Daughter Maude was Wife to King William the first, and Grandmother to this William. So as William now having gotten this step of advancement, seeks to go on, and to recover Normandy, and was thereof by the assistance of the King of France in a fair possibility, when in a certain light conflict, receiving a wound in his hand, the thread of his fair possibility was upon a sudden cut off; and of that light wound he shortly after died.

King Henry now in perfect peace abroad, was not without some little disquietings at home, and marching through Powis-land in South Wales to repress some Insurrections of the Welch, he came to certain straits, where his main Army could not pass, in which place the King was smitten with an Arrow full upon the breast, whereat he swore by our Lord's death (his usual Oath) that it was no Welch arm had shot that

Arrow; yet in his distress, for a thousand head of Cattel, he had the passage left open, and came safely off. And these were his troubles of Arms, both at home and abroad, during all his reign.

His Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

TOWARDS the marriage of his Daughter Maude with the Emperour; he obtained at his first Parliament at Salisbury, three shillings upon every Hide of Land, throughout the Kingdom; which was afterwards drawn to a custome; to receive aid from the Subjects, whensoever the King gave his eldest Daughter in marriage. Besides this he had no more in all his reign, but only one supply for his Wars in France, but he kept Bishopricks, and Abbeys, void in his hands; and that of Canterbury, five years together. By an act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Bishops holden at London, he was authorized to punish marriage, and incontinency of Priests, which the Bishops afterwards repented; for he suffered Priests to have Wives for Fines; or rather took Fines of them, whether they had Wives or no, because they might have them if they would. Punishments which before his time were mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Provisions of his house, which were used to be paid in kind, were in his time rated at certain prices, and received in money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appears there were in this Kings dayes, but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations, whereof the one may be thought to be the cause of the other; the first perhaps of the second, but certainly the second of the first.

Laws first Instituted in his time.

HE first instituted the form of the High Court of Parliament; for before his time, only certain of the Nobility and Prelates of the Realm were called to consultation, about the most important Affairs of State: but he caused the Commons also to be assembled, by Knights and Burgeses of their own appointment, and made the Court to consist of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common People, representing the whole body of the Realm, and appointed them to sit in several Chambers, the King, the Bishops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another; to confer together by themselves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in use at this day. The first Council of this sort was held at Salisbury, on the 19. day of April, in the 16. year of his Reign. He forbade the wearing of long Hair, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the French. He commanded Robbers upon the High-way, to be hanged without redemption; of whom a famous one at that time was one Dunne, and of him, the place where he most used, by reason of the great Woods thereabout, is to this day called Dunstable, where the King built the Borough as now it standeth.

The custom of giving aid for marrying the Kings eldest daughter, when it first began.

Punishments made pecuniary.

His Rents paid now in money.

The Court of Parliament first instituted by King Henry.

Long hair forbidden.

Dunstable why so called.

King Henry's Son William marries the Earl of Angiou's Daughter. The King of England's eldest Son alwayes Duke of Normandy.

William Son to Duke Robert is wounded and dieth.

King Henry in distress in Wales.

Counterfeits of money how punished.

standeth. Counterfeiters of money he punished with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy Members; a punishment both less than death, and greater.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Contention between the King and the Pope about investiture of Bishops.

AT his first coming to the Crown, he forbore his claim to the investitures of Bishops, but after he had been King some time, he claimed that both to invest Bishops, and to allow, or hinder appeals to Rome, belonged to him. In these *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* who was now returned into *England*, opposed him; affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope. The contention at last was brought to the Pope, to whom King *Henry* sent *William Warleswaft*, elect Bishop of *Exeter*, who saying to the Pope that his Master would not for the Crown of his Realm, lose the Authority of investing his Prelates; the Pope started up, and answered, Neither will I lose the disposing of Spiritual Promotions in *England*, for the Kings head that wears the Crown; before God (saith he) I avow it. So the contention grew long and hot, and many messengers were sent to and fro about it: The conclusion was (which proved no conclusion) that the King should receive homage of the Bishops elect; but should not invest them by Staff and Ring: to which the King said nothing for the present, but forbore not to do it ever the less. For five years after the death of *Anselm*, *Ralph* Bishop of *Rochester*, was by the King made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and notwithstanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Investiture of the King. About this time a Council of Bishops was held at *London*, at which the Temporal Lords were present; to the end that the Decree of the Council might be confirmed by both Orders. If any man desire to know more of the passages between the King and *Anselm*; and of the many great virtues of *Anselm*, let him read *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who was his Secretary, and hath written of purpose to set forth his praises. About this time a Canon was made against the marriage of Priests, to which purpose *Johannes Cremenfis*, a Priest Cardinal, by the Kings licence came into *England*, and held a solemn Synod at *London*, where inveighing sharply against it, affirming it to be no better than profest Adultery, he was himself the night following taken in bed with a common Harlot. Even *Anselm* himself, the most earnest enforcer of single life; dyed not, it seems, a Virgin; for else he would never in his writings make such lamentation for the loss thereof. A little before this, *Anselm* being at *Roan*, *Boemundus* one of the chief Princes that had been at *Jerusalem*, came thither; and amongst other holy Reliques, gave unto him certain hairs of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, which *Anselm* held alwayes in great veneration: and *my self having the custody of them committed to me, have found by experience great holiness to be in them. About this time *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, held a Council at *Westminster*, where divers Constitutions were made; of which these were two, That Priests should no more be suffered to have

Wives: and that there should be no more buying and selling of men in *England*, which was hitherto accustomed; as if they had been Kine or Oxen. *Anselm* about this time dying at the age of 76. years *Rodolph* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, but not till five years after the death of *Anselm*; and *Thomas* dying, *Thurstan* succeeded him in the Archbishoprick of *York*; between which two Prelates there arose great contention. *Rodolph* would not Consecrate *Thurstan*, unless he would profess obedience; *Thurstan* was content to embrace his Benediction, but profess obedience he would not. In this Contention the King takes part with *Rodolph*, the Pope with *Thurstan*; after many passages in the business, upon the Popes threatening to Excommunicate the King, *Thurstan* entered upon his Bishoprick, and the King connived. In the Tenth year of his Reign, the Abbey of *Ely* was made a Bishops See, and *Cambridgeshire* was appointed for the Diocels thereof, which because it belonged before to the Jurisdiction of *Lincoln*, the King gave the Bishop of *Lincoln*, in recompence thereof, the Mannor of *Spalding*. This King also created a Bishoprick at *Carlisle*, and endowed it with many Honours. In his time, the Order of the *Templars* began. In the 27 year of his Reign, the *Grey Fryers* by the procurement of the King, came first into *England*, and had their first house builded at *Canterbury*. Also in this Kings time, the first Legat to supply the Popes room came into *England*, but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two stories of Churchmen, for refreshing of the Reader. *Guymond* the Kings Chaplain, observing that unworthy men, for the most part were advanced to the best Dignities of the Church; as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read these words out of *St. James*, [*It rained not upon the Earth. III. years, and VI. months*] he read it thus, *It rained not upon the Earth, one, one, one years, and five one months*. The King observed his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but *Guymond* answered, that he did it of purpose, for that such Readers were soonest preferred by his Majesty. The King smiled, and in short time after preferred him to the Government of *St. Frideswids* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* falling sick, his Physicians told him, that nothing would do him good, but to Company with a Woman; to whom he answered, that the Remedy was worse than the Disease, and so died a Virgin: This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his successors, the custody of Constableship of the Castle of *Rochester* for ever. In this Kings time the errors of *Gilbertus Porretas*, were condemned in a Council holden at *Rheimes*, by Pope *Calixtus*; also in his time *Innocentius* and *Anacletus* contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schism arose in the Church.

Contention between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Ely made a Bishops See.

Carlisle made a Bishops See.

The Order of the *Templars* begins.

Preferment for Ignorance.

A rare charity.

The Errors of *Gilbertus Porretas* condemned.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded and erected the Priory of *Dunstable*, the Abbey of *Cirencester*, the Abbey of *Reading*, the *New-Abbey* without the

Windsor Castle
built by him.

The first
stone-bridge
in England.

Stratford
the town why
is called.

Saint John
near to
Smithfield
founded.

Saint Bar-
tholomew's
Hospital
founded by
a Minstrel.

Baynards
Castle in
London by
whom built.

The Devises
in Wiltshire
by whom
built.

the Walls of *Winchester*, the Abbey of *Shirborn*. He also new builded the Castle of *Windsor*, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River between *Turkesey* and *Lincoln*, a work of great charge, but greater use. His Wife Queen *Maud*, passing over the River of *Lue*, was somewhat endangered; whereupon she caused two Stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Town of *Stratford*, the other over another stream there, called *Channel-Bridge*, and paved the way between them with Gravel. She gave also certain Mannors, and a Mill called *Wyggon Mill*, for repairing the same Bridges, and Way. These were the first Stone-Bridges that were made in *England*, and because they were Arched over like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterward called *Bow*. This Queen also founded the Priory of the *Holy-Trinity*, now called *Christs Church*, within the East Gate of *London* called *Aldgate*; and an Hospital of *St. Giles* in the Field, without the west part of the City. In this Kings time *Jordan Briset* Baron, founded the House of *St. John* of *Hierusalem* near to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave 14. Acres of ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwel*, to build thereupon a House of Nuns, wherein he with *Myrial* his Wife was buried in the Chapter House; *Robert Fitzham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conquerour, founded anew the Church of *Teukesbury*, and was there buried. *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hospital of *St. Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was founded by a Minstrel of the Kings, named *Reior*, who became the first Prior there. Before this time, *Smithfield* was a Loystal of all ordure and filth, and the place where Felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Lanthony* near to *Glocester*. *Juga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmow*, founded the Church there and gave to maintain it half a Hide of Land. This Lady *Juga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that first builded *Baynards Castle* in *London*. *Endo*, the Kings Sewer, founded the Monastery of *St. John* at *Colchester*, of black Canons, and those were the first of that Order in *England*. *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Maud* his Wife founded the Monastery of *St. Andrew* in *Northampton*. In the seventh year of this Kings Reign, the first Canons entered into the Church of our Lady in *Southwork*, called *St. Mary Overy*; founded by *William Pountarge* Knight, and *William Dancies*, *Normans*. *Robert* the first Earl of *Glocester*, the Kings base Son, builded the Castles of *Bristow* and *Cardyffe*, with the Priory of *St. James* in *Bristow*; and his Son Earl *William* began the Abbey of *Kensham*. *Geoffery Clinton*, Treasurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at *Kenelworth*, of Regular Canons. *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* his Wife, founded the Colledge of *St. Mary* in the Town of *Warwick*; and *Roger de Blemond*, his Son, and *Ellyne* his Wife, translated the same Colledge into the Castle of *Warwick*, in the year 1123. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*; the Castles also of *Malmesbury* and *Shirbourn*. He repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and environed it with a Wall; he also built the stately Church of *Salisbury*; destined to a

longer life than any of his other works. *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* began to build the Castle of *Norham*, upon the bank of the River *Tweed*. In the 32. year of this Kings Reign, the Priory of *Norton* in *Cheshire*, was founded by one *William* the Son of *Nychel*, and the Abby of *Cumbermere*, in the same shire. The Colledge of *Secular Canons* also in the Castle of *Leicester*. Also in this Kings Reign was founded the Monastery of *Plimpton* in *Devonshire*, with the Cathedral Church of *Exeter*; the Priory of *Merton*, the Hospital of *Kepar*, the Priory of *Osney* near *Oxford*, by *Robert de Oylve* Knight: and the Hospital of *St. Cross* near *Winchester*, by *Henry Bloies* Bishop there: also *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abby of *Merival*; and indeed so many in his time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of *England* to be all Carpenters and Masons, that were able to finish so many great Buildings in so short a time as this Kings Reign.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN this Kings days all the four Elements were guilty of doing much mischief, but chiefly the Water: For King *Henry* returning into *England* after his Conquest of *Normandy*, left his Son *William* with his Sister *Mary*, Countess of *Perche*, *Richard* his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of *Chester* with his Wife *Lucy*, the Kings Niece by his Sister *Adela*, and other Lords and Ladies, and Passengers to the number of 180. to follow after him, who taking shipping (and the best ship the King had) whether by carelessness, or drunkenness of the Sailors were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-board, and out of danger: but hearing the lamentable cries of his Sister, compassion wrought so in him, that he turned about his boat to take her in, which overcharged with the multitude, over-turned, and they all perished: none escaped but only a Sailor, who had been a Butcher, who by swimming all night upon the Mast, came safe to Land. An accident not more grievous than exemplary; for amongst other conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no state is so uncertain as prosperity: no fall so sudden as into adversity: and that the Rule [He that stands, let him take heed he fall not] cannot alwaies be observed, because a man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great mischief was in this Kings daies wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of *Flanders* was drowned: whereupon a great number of *Flemmings* being suitors to King *Henry* for some place to inhabit; he assigned them a part in *Wales* near the Sea, called *Pembrokeshire*, where they have inhabited to this day: the King by this one action, working two good effects, both shewing compassion to distressed strangers, and putting a bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the water had another way to do mischief, as much by defect, as this was by excess; for upon the tenth of *October*, the River of *Medway* many miles together did so fail of water, that in the midst of the Channel, the smallest Vessels could not pass: and the same day also in the *Thames* between the Tower

The Church
of *Salisbury*,
by whom
built.

The Cathed-
ral of *Exe-*
ter when
built.

The Hospital
of *St. Cross*
by whom
founded.

The Kings
Children
drowned.

Pembroke-
shire assigned
to the *Flem-*
mings to in-
habit.

Tower of London, and the Bridge, men waded over on foot for the space of two days: also at another time the River of Trent at Nottingham was dried up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves sometimes when it is to do mischief, specially being assisted by the Air; as in this Kings days, it moved with so great a violence, that many buildings were shaken down, and Malmesbury saith that the house wherein he fate, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time settled again in the proper place. Also in divers places it yielded forth a hideous noise, and cast forth flames at certain risits many dayes together, which neither by water, nor by any other means could be suppressed. But yet the active Element of Fire was busiest of all, for first Chichester with the principal Monastery was burnt down to the ground. From West Cheap in London to Aldgate, a long tract of buildings was consumed with Fire: Worcester also and Rochester, even in the Kings presence; then Winchester, Bath, Gloucester, Lincoln, Peterborough, and other places did also partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to speak of one foreign casualty, because a strange one; in Lombardy this year was an Earthquake that continued forty dayes, and removed a Town from the place where it stood, a great way off. In the thirteenth year of this King, many prodigies were seen; a Pig was farrowed with a face like a Child, a Chicken was hatched with four legs; and the Sun was so deeply eclipsed, that by the reason of the darkness, many stars did plainly appear. In this Kings time Gerard Archbishop of York, a man though learned, yet of many ill parts, sleeping one day in his Garden after dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

Of his Wives and Children.

At his first coming to the Crown, he married Matild or Maude, Sister to Edgar then King of Scotland, and Daughter to Malcolm by Margaret the Sister of Edgar Atheling. This Matild, if she were not a veiled Nun, she was at least brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby grown so averse from Marriage, that when the motion was first made her to marry with King Henry, she utterly refused it, as resolved, though perhaps not vowed to die a Virgin; till at last importuned, and even forced by the Authority of her Brother, she rather yielded than consented, for she did it with so ill a will, that it is said, she prayed, if ever she had issue by the Marriage, that it might not prosper: and indeed it prospered but untowardly, as will be seen in the sequel. But though she made this imprecation before she knew what it was to be a Mother; yet when she came to be a Mother, she shewed herself no less Loving and tender of her Children, than loyal and obsequious to her Husband. And to make amends for this seeming impiety towards her Children, there is a story related of her real piety towards the poor: for a Brother of hers coming one morning to visit her in her Cham-

ber, found her sitting amongst a company of Lazar people, washing and dressing their Ulcers and Sores; and then kissing them after she had done; who wondering at it and saying to her, How could she think the King would like to kiss that mouth, which had kissed such filthy Ulcerous people? she answered, she had a greater King to kiss, who she knew would like her never the worse for it. By this Queen Matild, King Henry, according to some Writers, had four children; but as the received opinion is, only two, a Son named William; and a Daughter called Maude: of whom the Son at fourteen years old had fealty sworn to him by the Nobility of Shrewsbury: at seventeen married the Daughter of Fulke Earl of Anjou: and at eighteen was unfortunately drowned, as hath been shewed. The Daughter lived to be an Emperess, and afterwards a Duchess; but could never come to be a Queen, though born to a Kingdom; as shall be shewed hereafter. She survived her second Husband seventeen years, living a Widow; and at Roan in Normandy died, and was buried there in the Abby of Bec, though there be a Tradition that she was buried at Reading; in the Abbey there beside her Father; but it appears to have been a custom in those dayes, for great personages to have their Monuments erected in divers places. After the death of this Queen Matild, who dyed at Westminster, in the eighteenth year of his Reign, King Henry married Adeliza, the Daughter of Godfrey Duke of Lorraine; who though she were a beautiful and accomplished Lady, yet had he never any issue by her. When she was to be crowned, Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury, who was to do the office, came to King Henry, sitting Crowned in his Chair of State, asking him who had set the Crown upon his head? the King answering, he had now forgotten, it was so long since. Well (said the Archbishop) who soever did it, did me wrong to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will do no office at this Coronation. Then (saith the King) do what you think good. Whereupon the Archbishop took the Crown off from the Kings head, and after at the peoples intreaty, set it on again, and then proceeded to Crown the Queen. By Concubines King Henry had many Children; it is said seven Sons and as many Daughters, of whom some perished in the great Shipwreck: of the rest, two of the Sons, Reynold and Robert, were made Earls: Reynold of Bristol, Robert of Gloucester, and was a great assister of his sister Maude, in her troubles with King Stephen, who after many acts of Valour performed by him, in the twelfth year of King Stephen died, and was buried at Bristol. The Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of England and France, from whom are descended many worthy Families: particularly one of those Daughters by Anne Corbet, was married to Fitz Herbert, Lord Chamberlain to the King: from which Fitz Herbert, our Family (abste invidia verbo) is by Females descended, passing by the names of Cummin, Chenduit, Brimpton, Stokes, Foxcote, Dynebey, and so to Baker and Barrer.

A strange Earth-quake.

Great Fires in many places.

Hundred.

A long Earth-quake.

Monuments for great personages erected in divers places.

An insolent part of Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury.

King Henry takes a wife out of a Nunnery.

Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath been said, in saying he had so many children basely begotten: but if comparison be made between his Brother *Rufus* and him, it may be said, that howsoever they might be equal in looseness of life; yet in that looseness *William Rufus* was the baser, and King *Henry* the more noble; for King *Henry* had certain selected Concubines, to whom he kept himself constant, whereas King *William* took only such as he found: constant to the pleasure, but not to the persons.

His course for establishing the succession in Maud and her Issue.

King Henry causeth his Nobility to swear Allegiance to his Daughter *Maud*.

HE married his only Daughter *Maud*, being but six years old, to the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without Issue, he married her again to *Geoffery Plantagenet* Son to *Fulk* Duke of *Anjou*: not the greatest Prince that was a Suitor for her, but the fittest Prince for King *Henries* turn; for *Anjou* is neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great security to it, if a friend; and as great a danger, if an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now considers how to establish her succession in the Crown of *England*; whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongst them *David* King of *Scots*, and causeth them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her Issue: and as thinking he could never make her succession sure enough, he causeth his Lords the year after again to take the like Oath, and after that a third time also; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tie of Allegiance the stronger: wherein nothing pleased him so much, as that *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* was the first man that took the Oath, because he was known to be, at least known he might be a pretender. But the King should have considered that *Nulla fides Regni*, and therefore no Oath, though never so often iterated, sufficient to warrant Loyalty in persons so deeply interested as *Stephen* was: yet Providence could do no more, and the King was well satisfied with it; especially when he saw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: for this, though it gave him not assurance, yet it gave him assured hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Posterity.

Of Ireland in his time.

Mercherdach King of *Ireland* is much ruled by King *Henry*.

THE Kings of *England* as yet had nothing to do with *Ireland*, the Countrey was governed by its own Kings; and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted: but now began intercourse to be more frequented, and *Mercherdach*, chief King of the *Irish*, bore such awful respect to King *Henry*; that he would do nothing but by his counsel, and with his good liking.

Whom King Henry used as his Vicegerent in his absence.

HE was absent sometimes in *Normandy*, three or four years together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realm to *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, a politick Prelate, and one as fit to be the second in Government, as King *Henry* to be the first.

His Personage and Conditions.

HE was a person tall and strong, broad breasted, his limbs well knit, and fully furnished with flesh, his face well fashioned, his colour clear, his eyes large and fair, his eyebrows large and thick, his hair black and somewhat thin towards his forehead, his countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to mirth. A private man, vilified, and thought to have but little in him, but come to the Crown, never any man shewed more excellent abilities, so true is the saying, *Magistratus indicat virum*. His natural affection in a direct line was strong, in an oblique but weak; for no man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother less. Though a King in act, yet he alwayes acted not a King; but in Battels sometimes the part of a common Souldier, though with more than common valour: as at a Battel in *France*, where he so far hazarded himself, that though he lost not his life, yet he lost his blood. He delighted much in Beasts of Foreign Countries, as in Lions, Leopards, Camels, and such like, for which he inclosed a place at *Woodstock* of purpose to keep them.

Huntington.

King *Henries* valour.

Of his Death and Burial.

A Discontent of mind upon some differences between him and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Anjou*, brought upon him a distemper, which increased by eating against his Physicians advice, of a Lamprey, a meat alwayes pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him, cast him into a seavour, which in few days put a period to his life: So certain it is that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King *Henry* it is said, that he seldom did eat but when he was an hungry, Never did drink but when he was a thirst: yet this but once yielding to his sensual appetite, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abstinence, though some write he took his death by the fall of his Horse. He dyed upon the first of *December* at night, in the year 1135. When he had reigned five and thirty years, lived threescore and seven. His Bowels, Brains, and Eyes, were buried at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he died: the rest of his Body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Ox Hides, and brought over into *England*, and with honourable Exequies buried in the Monastery of *Reading*, which himself had founded. The Physician that took out his Brains, with the intolerable stench shortly after died. In this King *Henry* ended the Line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heirs Males; and then came in the *French* by the title of Heirs General.

King *Henry* forfeiteth of eating of a Lamprey.

1135.

The time of the *Norman* Kings ends.

Men

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time were many; first; *Stephen Harding*, a Benedictine Monk, who was Founder to the *Cistercian Order*. Then *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who besides his activeness in matters of State, writ many great and learned Books. Then

Walter Calene, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a History written in the *British* tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geoffery of Monmouth* to translate; and added forty years of his own time. Also *Florentius* a Monk of *Worcester*, who writ *De rebus Gestis Anglorum*. Also *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who besides other Works, writ the History of his own time, under the two *Williams*, and *Henry the first*.

THE

The REIGN of KING STEPHEN.

Anno. Dom.
1135.

After the decease of King Henry, presently steps upon the Stage of Royalty, Stephen Earl of Boleyn, Son to Stephen Earl of Blois, by Adela, Daughter of King William the Conquerour; and though there were two other before him, Maude the Emperess, and Theobald his elder Brother; She in a substantial right, He in a colourable, yet taking advantage of being *primus Occupans*, the first Invader, (as being quickly here after King Henry's death, where the other staid lingering about other affairs) he solicits all the Orders of the Realm, Bishops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Sovereign: wherein besides his own large promises, what great matters he would do for them all, he had also the assistance of Henry his Brother, Bishop of Winchester, and the Popes Legate, and of Roger Bishop of Salisbury, his great Friend, (two the most powerful Men at that time in the State) who partly by force of Reasons, but more indeed by Force than Reasons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and so upon St. Stephen's day, in Anno 1135, he was Crowned at Westminster, in the presence of but three Bishops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot, by William Archbishop of Canterbury, with great solempity. That which put a scruple in mens minds, and made them averse at first, from King Stephen, was the Oath they had taken to receive King Henry's Daughter Maude to be their Queen, after his decease; but the weight of this scruple was something abated, when it was urged, That no Precedent could be shewed, that ever the Crown had been set upon a Womans head. And Roger Bishop of Salisbury, brought another Reason, Because they had taken that Oath but upon Condition, that the King should not marry her out of the Realm without their consents; and the King's having broken the Condition, was just cause to nullifie their Obligation. To which was added, That the Oath having been exacted by Authority, which is a kind of forced, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more than all these, Hugh Bigot, sometime Steward to King Henry, immediately after his decease came over into England, and took a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, That he was present a little before King Henry's death, when he adopted and chose his Nephew Stephen to be his Successor, because his Daughter Maude had grievously at that time displeased him. But howsoever their breach of Oath was thus palliated, it is certain that many of them, as well Bishops as other Lords, came afterward to an evil end, at least to many calamities before their end.

K. Stephen
is Crowned.

Upon what
reasons the
Oath before
taken to
Maude was
sifted.

What course he took to establish himself in
the Kingdom.

IT is a true saying, *Is rebus optime servatur Imperium, quibus paratur*; and this was Stephen's course, he got the Kingdom by promises, and he established it by performances; He pleased the People with easing them of Taxes and Impositions: He pleased the Clergy with forbearing to keep Bishopricks and Abbeyes vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the Temporal Magistrate; He pleased the Nobility with allowing them to build Castles upon their own Lands; He pleased the Gentry with giving them Liberty to hunt the Kings Deer in their own woods; and besides with advancing many of them in Honours: and for his Brother Theobald, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleased him with a Grant to pay him two thousand Marks a year. And then to strengthen himself abroad no less than at home he married his Son Eustace to Constance a Daughter of Lewis King of France, which alliance alone might be thought a sufficient security against all opposition. And yet one thing more which established him more than these, at least these the more for this, That he had seized upon King Henry's Treasure, which amounted to One hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, which he spent not in vain riot, but employed to his best advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Souldiers out of Britany and Flanders.

He marries
his Son Eustace, to the
King of
France's
Daughter.
King Henry
had left a
hundred
thousand
pounds in
ready money.

Of the Troubles in his Reign.

THere may well be made a Chapter of the Troubles of his Reign, seeing his whole Reign was in a manner but one continued trouble, at least no longer intermission, than as to give him breath against new encounters; till at last, when he grew towards his last, he rather left to be in trouble, than was at quiet, being forced to make his adversary his Heir; and to leave his Crown to him that had fought his life. For he was no sooner set in his Chair of State, but he was presently disquieted and made to rise, by the provocation of David King of Scots, who solicited by some Lords of England, but chiefly by Maude the Emperess (whose right he had sworn to defend) with a mighty Army entered Northumberland, took Carlisle and Newcastle, and was proceeding further, till King Stephen with a greater Army coming against him, yet rather bought his peace than won it; for to recover Newcastle out of his hands, he

An. Reg. 4.
1139.

The King
of Scots in
Maude's
cause, enters
England
with an Army:
but is compounded
with.

was fain to let King *David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for his as being free, did Homage to King *Stephen*.

Upon a bruit
of King *Stephen*'s death
the Lords
possess
themselves
of several
Castles.

No sooner was this trouble over, but he was presently under another; for being slain somewhat ill at ease, it was bruited abroad that he was dead; which so distracted mens minds, that every one thought it wisdom to shift for himself; and the great Lords made a contrary use of Castles, to that which King *Stephen* intended, when he gave liberty to build them, for the King intended them for his own defence against his Enemies, and they made use of them, in their own defence against the King; for now *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* possesseth himself of *Norwich*, *Baldwyn Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Quakerius* of other Castles. In these difficulties King *Stephen*, though he could not in person be in all places at once, yet in care he was, and there most, where was most danger, employing others against the rest. Against *Baldwyn* he went himself, whom, driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Isle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him also from thence, and at last into Exile.

Geoffrey Duke
of *Anjou*
enters into
Normandy,
but is Com-
pounded
withal.

And now *England* afforded him once again to take a little breath, but then *Normandy* presently begins with him afresh: For now *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, in right of *Maud* his Wife enters upon his Towns there, and seeks to get possession of the Countrey; when K. *Stephen* passeth over with an Army, and arrests his proceedings: and after some small defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at last to a pecuniary Composition: He to pay the Duke five thousand Marks a year, and the Duke to relinquish his claim to *Normandy*. This done, he returns into *England*, where new Commotions are attending him. For the Lords in his absence, resenting his breach of promises upon which they had admitted him to the Crown, make use every one of their Castles, and stand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*; Earl *Robert Mauds* Brother, *Bristow*; *William Lovell*, the Castle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Castle of *Ludlow*; *William Moune*, the Castle of *Dunster*; *Robert of Nichol* now called *Lincolne*, the Castle of *Warham*; *Eustace* the Son of *John*, the Castle of *Melton*; *William* the Son of *Alan*, the Castle of *Shrewsbury*; and withall *David* King of *Scots*, never regarding his former agreement, enters *Northumberland* with an Army, committing so great cruelty, in ravishing of Maids, murdering of Infants, slaughtering of Priests, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the Kingdom from the one end to the other was in combustion; that if the King had had as many hands as *Briareus*, there would have been work enough for them all. Yet all this dismay'd not the King, but as having learned this Lesson, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*, grows the more in confidence, the less he was in assurance; and as if danger were the fuel of courage, the more erected in himself, the less he was upheld by others: and so, venturing what his Rebels at home would do in his absence, he

passeth himself in person against *David* King of *Scots*, as being most dangerous, and therefore the first to be repressed: but in finding it hard to draw him to a battel, and impossible without a battel to do any good upon him, he leaves the care of that Quarrel to *Thurstone* Archbishop of *York*, and returns himself home, if it may be called home, where he scarce had a safe place to put his head in. But though many Lords were rebellious against him, yet some there were that stuck firmly to him, by whose assistance and his own industry, partly by inticements, partly by

He goes in
person a-
gainst the
King of
Scots.

inforcements, he reduced most of them to obedience, and all of them to submission. When in the meantime *Thurstone* Archbishop of *York*, and in his sickness, *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, assisted with *William* Earl of *Aumerle*, *William Piperell* of *Nottingham*, and *Hubert de Lacy*, fought a memorable Battel against *David* King of *Scots*, wherein though King *David* himself, and his Son *Henry* performed wonderful Acts of Prowess, yet the *English* got the Victory, with the slaughter of Eleven thousand *Scots* in the Fight, besides many other slain in the flight: where of the *English* none of account were slain, but only a Brother of *Hubert Lacyes*, and some small number of Common Souldiers. This Victory infinitely pleased and comforted King *Stephen*, who not long after to make an absolute suppression of the *Scots*, passeth again with an Army, and inforceeth King *David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Son *Henry* into King *Stephen*'s hands for a pledge; and coming homeward, by the way he besieged *Ludlow*, one of the Rebels nests, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had been taken Prisoner, if King *Stephen* in his own Person had not rescued him.

The rebel
Lords are
reduced to
obedience.

Eleven
thousand
Scots slain,
and but very
few *English*.

King *Stephen*
is good
nature and
valour.

After this, once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters. For now *Maude* the Emperess her self in person comes into play, in whom the Oath before taken was to have its tryal; for till now, though never so really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queen, who came not in place to be received? but now that she came in Person, now was the time of tryal how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that strongly. For *Maude* coming into *England* with *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* her base Brother, was much joyfully received at *Arundel* Castle, by *William de Aubigny*, who had married *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager of the late King *Henry*, and had the said Castle and County assigned for her Dower. King *Stephen* having intelligence hereof, come h to *Arundel* Castle with an Army, and besiegeth it; but either diverted by counsel, or else finding the Castle to be inexpugnable, he left the siege, and suffered the Emperess to pass to *Bristow*. The King hearing, that *Ranulph* Earl of *Chester* Son in Law to *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, had possessed himself of the City of *London*, thither he goeth with an Army, and besiegeth it: thither also came the said Earl of *Chester*, and *Robert* Earl of *Glocester* to raise the siege; at which time a most fierce battel was fought between them upon *Candlemas*-day; wherein as it is memorable what wonders of valour King *Stephen* performed; for when all men about him were either

The Empe-
ress *Maude*
comes now
into *Eng-
land*, and
hath many
adherents.

1141.

King Stephen
from va-
lour.
Is taken pri-
soner and
carried to
Maud.

Maud is re-
ceived of the
Londoners.

either fled or slain; yet he kept the field him-
self alone, no man daring to come near him,
*Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem istum ejus
immanitatem*, saith *Hoveden*: yet overmastered
at last by multitude, he was taken Prisoner, and
brought to *Maud* the Emperess; who sent him
to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of *Bris-
towl*, where he remained till *All bollantide* after.
And now the Emperess having gotten King *Ste-
phen* into her hands, she takes her Journey to
London; received in all places, as she went, peace-
ably, and at *London* joyfully. Where *Queen
Matild* made humble suit unto her, for the li-
berty of King *Stephen* her Husband, and that
he might but be allowed to live a private life;
the *Londoners* also made suit to have the Laws
of King *Edward* restored: but the Emperess not
only rejected both their suits, but returned them
answers in harsh and insulting language: In-
deed most unseasonably; and which gave a stop
to the current of all her fortunes. For *Queen
Matild* finding thereby how high the Emperess
pulses did beat, sent presently to her Son *Eus-
tace*, being then in *Kent*, to raise Forces with all
speed, with whom the *Londoners* as much discon-
tented as she, do afterwards joyn; and *Henry
Bishop of Winchester*, as much discontented as
either of them, fortifies his Castles at *Waltham*
and *Farnham*, and especially *Winchester*, where
he stays himself, attending upon what Coast the
next wind of the Emperess would blow. Of all
these things the Emperess had intelligence, and
thereupon secretly in the night she fled to *Ox-
ford*, sending strait charge, to have King *Ste-
phen* more narrowly watched, more hardly used,
put (as some write) in Fetters, and fed with ve-
ry bare and poor commons; withall she sends
to her Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, to come unto
her with all speed possible, who coming accord-
ingly, they fall into consultation what is first to
be done. The lot falls upon *Winchester*, as being
their greatest Adversary, now, no less in appea-
rance than in power: so *Winchester* they besiege,
which *Queen Matild* hearing, she with her Son
Eustace and the *Londoners*, came presently to the
succour, where a fierce Battel being fought, the
end was, that the party of *Queen Matild* pre-
vailed, and the Emperess to make her escape,
was fain to be laid upon a Horses back in man-
ner of a dead Corps, and so conveyed to *Glo-
cester*; while Earl *Robert* Her Brother disdain-
ing to flie was taken Prisoner, whom *Queen Matild*
caused to be used the more hardly, in retalia-
tion of the hard usage which the Emperess be-
fore had shewed to King *Stephen*. Things stand-
ing on these terms, propositions were made by
the Lords for Pacification; but such were the
high spirits of the Emperess and her Brother
Robert, that no condicions would please them,
unless the Emperess might enjoy the Crown. But
after long debate, whether by agreement be-
tween themselves, or by connivence of the Kee-
pers, both King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* got to
be at liberty. When the first thing King *Stephen*
did, was to look out the Emperess to requite the
kindness she had shewed him in Prison; and
hearing her to be at *Oxford*, he layes siege to
the Town, and brings the Emperess to such
distress that she had no way to free her self but
by flight; and no way to flie but with manifest

She is beaten
by Matild,
King Ste-
phen's Wife;
and her Bro-
ther the
Earl of Glo-
cester taken
prisoner.

K. Stephen
and Earl
Robert both
get to be at
liberty.

1142.

Maud be-
sieged at
Oxford, flie-
th away secretly.

danger: yet she effected it by this device. It
was in the Winter season, when Frost and Snow
covered all the ground over; she therefore clad
her self, and her four servants that were with
her in white clothes, which being of the Colour
of Snow, made her pass the watches without
being discerned, and by this means came safe
to her Friends at *Wallingford*. Yet *Malmesbury*,
who lived at that time, confesseth he could ne-
ver learn certainly by what means she made her
escape. But howsoever she escaped this present
danger; yet it left such an impression of fear
upon her, that she never had after any mind to
appear upon this Stage of War: but left the
prosecution of it to her Son *Henry*, who was
now about sixteen years of age; and being for-
ward of his age and able to bear Arms, was by
his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots* Knighted,
to make him more forward.

It was now the ninth year of King *Stephen's*
Reign, when *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, keeping pos-
session of the City of *Lincoln*, was in the night time
assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving
the Kings Forces to be but small, suddenly issu-
ed forth and repelled the King with the slaugh-
ter of fourscore of his men. Yet two years af-
ter this, the Earl was reconciled to the King,
and came of his own accord to wait upon him,
when perfidiously he was detained by the King,
and not set at liberty, till he had surrendered
into the Kings hands all the Castles that were
in his possession; which though it brought the
King some present benefit, yet it wrought him a
greater future loss; for it lost him his credit
with all men, and no man afterward would trust
his word.

Now was Duke *Henry* come to the age of
Nineteen years, and was in possession of the
Dukedom of *Anjou*, by the death of his Father
Geoffery Plantagenet: and not long after this, he
married *Eleanor*, the Daughter and Heir of *Wil-
liam* Duke of *Guyen*, by whom he had that Du-
chy, and also the Earldom of *Poitou*; *Normandy*
he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples
inclination. So as being possesst now of four great
Principalities, this greatness of Estate adding to
the greatness of his spirit, made him aspire to
recover his right in *England*; and over he comes
bringing with him but small Forces, but pro-
mising himself great, from the people of this
Kingdom. And many indeed resorted to him;
with whom he fell on presently, and besieged
Marleborough: but by the Kings greater Forces
was repelled.

After this, their Armies continued in the field
still; rather watching advantages to be doing,
than doing any thing, sometimes advancing when
no Enemy was near, and then retiring when
the Enemy came; till at last it was like to come
to a set Battel, when suddenly *Eustace* King *Ste-
phen's* only Son unfortunately dyed: Unfortu-
nately for himself, but fortunately for the King-
dom; for now King *Stephen* being left destitute
of issue to succeed, was the more easily drawn
to conditions of Peace, as likewise the Empe-
ress *Maud*, having lately lost her Brother *Robert*
Earl of *Glocester*, and *Miles* Earl of *Hereford*,
(her two best Champions) was no less willing than
he: which being furthered by the Lords of both
sides, was at last concluded upon these condi-
tions,

Henry,
Maud's son,
now sixteen
years of age,
prosecuteth
the War
against King
Stephen.

1144.

King Stephen
discredits
himself.

1152.

Prince He-
ry marries
the Heir of
William
Duke of
Guyen.

1153.

Eustace King
Stephen's son
dyeth.

King Stephen
and Prince
Henry agree.

Prince Hen-
ry thought
by some to
be King Ste-
phen's Son.

1154.

No mention
what became
of Maud at
this time.

tions that Stephen should hold the Kingdom of England during his life, and adopt Duke Henry as his Heir to succeed him. And this agreement thus made, and in a Parliament at Winchester confirmed, Duke Henry ever after accounted King Stephen no less than a Father; and King Stephen, Duke Henry no less than a Son; and well he might, if it be true which some write, that the Emperess, when a Battel was to be fought between King Stephen and her Son, went privily to him, asking him how he could find in his heart to fight against him that was his own Son? Could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her Widow-hood! But this was no matter for the Writers of that time to deliver. It touched too near the Interest of Princes then in being, and Princes must not be touched while they live; nor when they are dead neither, with uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howsoever it was, certain it is, that after this agreement between King Stephen, and Duke Henry, they continued in mutual love and concord, as long after as they lived.

But what became of Maud the Emperess at this time? For that she was alive, and lived many years after this agreement between King Stephen and her Son Henry, all Writers agree; and to say that she consented to the agreement, without any provision made for her self, is to make her too much a woman, a very weak vessel: and to say there might be provision made, though it be not Recorded, is to make all Writers defective in great excess: And besides, being so stirring a woman as she was, that upon a sudden she should be so quiet, as not to deserve to have one word spoken of her in all the long time she lived after, (being no less than twelve or thirteen years) is as strange as the rest. And if she placed her contentment so wholly in her Son, that in regard of him she regarded not her self at all, it deserves at least the *Encomium* of such a motherly love as is very unusual, and not alwayes safe. Whatsoever it was, I must be fain to leave it as a Gordian knot, which no Writer helps me to untie. *Matthew Paris* makes her to live one and thirty years after the death of King Stephen; and makes this her Epitaph.

*Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.*

*Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of
Moneys.*

OF Taxations in his time, there is no mention made, for Taxations indeed, are properly drawn from a body of State when it is entire, whereas the State all this Kings time was altogether in Factions. But what he wanted in Taxations, he supplied with Confiscations, which by reason of the many revoltings of men of all sorts, could not chuse but fill his Coffers, every Rebellion being in nature of a purchase to him; for whatsoever became of the persons, their Lands and Goods were sure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiscations came in but slowly, he had then devices to hasten their pace; for upon light suggestions (not so much ostentimes as just suspicions)

he would call men into question, and seise upon their Goods, as in the case particularly of Robert Bishop of Salisbury; and it may not be unpleasing to hear from what beginning this Bishop grew to such a height of greatness, which was thus. In the time of King William Rufus he was a poor Priest, serving a Cure in a Village near to Caen in Normandy, when the Kings younger Brother Henry chanced to pass that way, and to make some stay in the said Village, who being desirous to hear a Mass, this Roger being Curate, was the man to say it; which he dispatched with such celerity, that the Souldiers (who commonly love not long Masses) commended him for it, telling their Lord, that there could not a fitter Priest be found for men of War than he. Whereupon Henry appointed him to follow him; and when he came to be King, preferred him to many great places, and at last to be Chancellour of England, and Bishop of Salisbury. You have heard his rising, now hear his fall. When King Stephen came to the Crown, he held this man in as great account as his Predecessour King Henry had done, and perhaps in greater; for being a great begger of Suits, the King would say of him, If this man will never give over asking, neither shall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell first through pride into envy, and then through envy into ruine. For King Stephen having given liberty to build Castles, this man did so far exceed all others in magnificence (for he builded the Castles of Salisbury, the Vyes, Sherburn, Malmesbury, and Newark, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of envy put it into the Kings head, that these Castles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of Maud the Emperess. Which so possessed the King, or he would be thought to be so possessed, that taking this for a just cause, he seised them all into his hands, and forty thousand Marks besides, which he had in money; and not contented with this, he took the like course also with Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, only because he was his Nephew, and of his near kindred. Another way he had for gaining of Money, for in the first year of his Reign, having given liberty to hunt in his Forests, he afterwards at Oxford caused many to be impleaded for that liberty: a trick which perhaps he learned from Hunting, first to give men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it. But this is the privilege of Princes, that their leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

Robert Bishop of Salisbury by what means he came to his greatness

By what means he fell

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HE gave licence to the City of Norwich to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which time, they had only a Sergeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37. year of King Henry the Third, they had licence to inclose the Town with Ditches.

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bailiffs.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

UPON the Kings seising into his hands, the Bishop of Salisburies Castles, and Goods, complaint was made, and a Synod was called by

H

the

The King
might not
imprison
Bishops.

the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, to right the Bishop, where the King was cited to appear; who sending to know the cause, answer was made, that it was to answer for his imprisoning of Bishops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Christian King he ought not to do. The King replies by his Lawyer, *Alveric de Vere*, that he had not arrested the Bishop of *Salisbury* as a Bishop, but as his Servant that was to make him accompt of his Employment. To this the Bishop answereth, that he never was Servant or Accomptant to the King: and many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in conclusion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not Excommunicate the King without the Popes privy; so in the end they fell from Authority to submission: and in the Kings Chamber fell down at his feet, beseeching him that he would pity the Church, and not suffer diffension to be between the Kingdom and the Priesthood. And this was no small magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high stomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth year of his Reign, a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, where it was decreed, that whosoever should lay violent hands upon any Clergyman, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself, and from this time forward, Clergy men were exempt from the secular power. In the tenth year of his Reign, by the soliciting of *St. Bernard*, many took upon them the Cross, for a supply to the Holy Land, amongst whom some English Lords also.

Clergy men
exempt from
secular
power.

*Works of piety by him, or by others in
his time.*

HE founded the Abbeyes of *Cogshall* in *Essex*, of *Furneys* in *Lancashire*; of *Hurguilers* and *Feversham* in *Kent*; at *Heigham* in *Kent*, a house of black Nuns; also an house for Nuns at *Carew*. His Queen *Matild* builded the Hospital of *St. Katharines* by the Tower of *London*: A Knight called *Sir William of Mount Fitchet*, founded the Abbey of *Stratford Langthorn*, within four miles of *London*; *William of Tyre* founded *Boxeley Abbey* in *Kent*; *Robert Earl of Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merival* in *Warwickshire*, and in the same Shire; *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, the Abbey of *Non Eaten*. *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* founded the Monastery of *Fontes* in *Yorkshire*. Also by others were founded the Abbeyes of *Tilney*, of *Rieval*, of *Newborough* and *Beeland*, of *Kirkstead* in *Yorkshire*; and divers others in other places: so that more Abbeyes were erected in his dayes, than had been within the space of a hundred years before.

St. Katharines by the
Tower
founded.

Boxeley Abbey in *Kent*
founded.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

NEWBRIGENSIS and also *Huntingdon* reporteth of one *Raynerus*, a wicked Minister of a more wicked Abbot, that crossing the Seas with his Wife, he so with his iniquity overweighed the Ship, that in the midst of the Stream, it was not able to stir; at which the Mariners astonished, cast lots, and the lot fell upon *Ray-*

nerus; and lest this should be thought to happen by chance, they cast the lots again and again, and still the lot fell upon *Raynerus*: whereupon they put him out of the Ship, and presently the Ship as eased of her burthen, sailed away. Certainly a great Judgement of God, and a great Miracle; but yet recorded by one that is no fabulous Author. In this Kings time also, there appeared two Children, a Boy and a Girl, clad in Green, in a stuff unknown, of a strange language, and of a strange diet; whereof the Boy being Baptized, dyed shortly after, but the Girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were, she answered, They were of the Land of *St. Martyn*, where there are Christian Churches erected; but that no Sun did ever rise unto them: but where that Land is, and how she came hither, she her self knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other parts of the World, than those which to us are known: and this story I should not have believed, if it were not testified by so many, and so credible witnesses as it is. In the fifteenth year of this King, the River of *Thames* was so hard frozen, that Horse and Cart passed over upon the Ice. In this Kings time lived *Johannes de Temporibus*, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred sixty and one years. He was one of *Charlemain* the Emperours Guard, and died in the Reign of *Conradus* the third, Anno Dom. 1139.

Newbrigen-
sis.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married by his Uncle King *Henries* means, *Matild*, Daughter and Heir of *Eustace*, Earl of *Boloyne*, a Woman made for the proportion of both fortunes: In Adversity not dejected, in Prosperity not elated. While her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance, as it were a Man; acting his part for him when he was restrained from acting it himself; not looking that fortune should fall into her lap, but industrious to procure it. By this Queen he had only one Son named *Eustace*, a Prince more than of hope, for he lived to the blossoming of much valour, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteen years of age, some say by drowning, and some by a stranger accident. But strange Relations must not alwayes be rejected; for though many of them be forged, yet some no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this kind, which some Writers relate of this Prince, That being at the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, and denied some money he required to have had, he presently in a rage went forth, and set fire on the Corn Fields belonging to the Abbey; but afterwards sitting down to dinner, at the first morsel of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madness, and in that fit dyed. Certainly, the persons of Princes are for more observation than ordinary people: and as they make Examples, so they are sometimes made Examples. This Prince *Eustace* was so beloved of his Father, that he had a purpose to have joyned him King with himself, but that the Pope upon the Bishops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howsoever being dead, he was buried in *Feversham Abbey*, where his Mother

Queen *Ma-*
tilde com-
mendation.

The strange
death of
Eustace.

Mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate issue King Stephen had none, but by a Concubine he had a Son named William, whom he made Earl of Norfolk; which honour was confirmed upon him, by a special Article, in the agreement made between King Stephen and Duke Henry; only a French Chronicle speaks of another Son of his, named Gervase, made Abbot of Westminster, and that he died in the year 1160. and was there buried.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, of great strength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his mind, there was apparent in him a just mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not had both, he could never have held out with such weak friends as he did, against such potent adversaries as he had. And specially it must be confessed, he was of an excellent temper for a Souldier, seeing he never kill'd any enemy in cold blood, as Anthony did Cicero; nor any friend in hot blood, as Alexander did Clitus. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a pattern, the short time between his agreement with Duke Henry and his death. Which seeing he spent in travelling to all parts of the Realm, and seeking to stich up the breaches which the violence of War had made, we may well think that if his life had been continued, he would have given as good proofs of his Justice in Peace, as he had done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a sufficient example in one action of his, which was this: Duke Henry being on a time in some straits for money, sent to his Mother Maud the Empress, desiring her to furnish him, but she answered that she was in as great straits her self, and therefore could not do it: then he sent to his Uncle Earl Robert to furnish him, and he answered he had little enough to serve his own turn, and therefore could not do it: at last he sent to King Stephen, and he though an Adversary and standing in terms of opposition, yet sent presently, and supplied him with it. He was withal a great oppugner of superstition, which made him on a time to ride into Lincoln with his Crown upon his head, only to break the people of a superstitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in such manner, but that some great disaster would fall upon him. One special Virtue may be noted

in him, that he was not noted for any special Vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been silent.

Of his Death and Burial.

AS a Fish cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Destiny of this King, to live out of Trouble. As soon as he came to enjoy quietness, he left to enjoy life. No time left him between his agreement with Duke Henry and his Death, but only so much as might reasonably serve him to take his last leave of all his Friends: For it was but from January to October; and the last friend he took leave of was Theodorick Earl of Flanders, whom he met at Dover, and as soon as he had dismissed him he was suddenly taken with the Iliack Passion and with an old Disease of the Emrods; and died in the Monastery there, the five and twentieth of October, in the year 1154. when he had reigned almost nineteen years, lived nine and forty, and was buried in the Abbey of Faversham, which he had founded.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy-men there was Thurstane, Archbishop of York, and Henry Bishop of Winchester the Kings Brother; also William another Archbishop of York, whom we may find in the Calendar of Saints, as likewise St. Bernard, who lived in this time, though not of this Countrey. And if we may reckon strangers, there lived at this time Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences; Peter Comestor, writer of the Ecclesiastical Story; and Gratian, Compiler of the Canon Law, all three Brothers, and all three Bastards: also Avicen, Averroes, Mesue, and Rabbi Solomon were in this time famous. Of Military men, there was Ranulph Earl of Chester; Reynold Earl of Cornwall, Robert Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bigot Earl of Norfolk: but especially Robert Earl of Gloucester, the Kings base Son, whose praises, if any desire to hear sounded out to the full, let him read William of Malmesbury, who writ the History of these times, of purpose to be his Trumpet. Of the Writers of our Nation, there was this William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntingdon, Simeon Dunelmensis, William Revellensis; and Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph in Wales. Also Hugo Carthusianus, a Burgundian, but made Bishop of Lincoln here in England.

A good temper for a Souldier.

King Stephen's good nature.

A superstitious opinion held of Lincoln.

1154.

Three great Clerks and Bastards.

Robert Earl of Gloucester his praise.

The chief History Writers at this time.

The LIFE and REIGN of KING HENRY THE SECOND.

1155.
King Henry
is Crowned.

A greater
Prince than
any of his
Ancestors.

Born at
Mentz in
Normandy.

Is Educated
at Bristow.

Is sent into
Scotland.

Is carried
into Anjou.

He marries
the Lady
Eleanor the
divorced
Wife of
Lewis King
of France.

KING Stephen being dead, Henry Duke of Anjou, by his Father Geoffry Plantaginet, succeeded him in the Kingdom of England, by agreement, whom he preceded by right as being Son and Heir of Maud, sole Daughter and Heir of King Henry the first, and was Crowned at Westminster, by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, on the seventeenth of December, in the year 1155. and was now a greater Prince than any of his Ancestors had been before. And indeed the Kingdom of England, the Dukedom of Normandy, and the Dukedom of Anjou in his own right, and in the right of his Wife Queen Eleanor, the Duchy of Guyen, and the Earldom of Poitou, being all united in his person, made him a Dominion of a larger extent than any Christian King had at that time.

He was born at Mentz in Normandy, in the year 1132. a great joy to his Father Geoffry, Duke of Anjou, a greater to his Mother Maud the Emperess; but so great to his Grandfather King Henry the first, that it seemed to make amends for his Son William, whom unfortunately he had lost before by Shipwrack. The years of his childhood were spent at home under the care of his Parents. At nine years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle Robert Earl of Gloucester into England, and placed at Bristow, where under the tuition of one Matthew his Schoolmaster, to instruct him in learning, he remained four years; after which time he was sent into Scotland, to his great Uncle David King of Scots, with whom he remained about two years, initiated by him in the principles of State, but chiefly of his own Estate. And being now about fifteen years of age, was by him Knighted; and though scarce ripe for Arms, yet as a fruit gathered before its time, was mellowed under the Discipline of his Uncle Robert one of the best Souldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his absence, sent with great instance to have him sent over to him; for satisfying of whose longing, Earl Robert provided him of passage, and conducted him himself to the Sea side, where he took his last farewell of him. Being come into Anjou, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his presence, not long after died, leaving him in present possession of that Dukedom, being now about nineteen years of age: when shortly after he married Eleanor the late Wife of Lewis King of France, but now divorced. A year or two after, he came again into England

where after some velitations with King Stephen they were at last reconciled, and his succession to the Crown of England, ratified by act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into France, and presently fell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the French King. In the time of which siege, news was brought him of King Stephen's death, which one would have thought should have made him hasten his Journey into England; yet he resolved not to stir till he had won the Castle. Which resolution of his being known to the Defendants, they surrendered the Castle; but yet no sooner, but that it was six weeks after before he came into England, when he was now about the age of three and twenty years.

His first Acts after he came to the Crown.

HE began his Reign as Solomon would have begun it, if he had been in his place. For first he made choice of wise and discreet men to be his Counsellours; then he banished out of the Realm all strangers, and especially Flemings, with whom the Kingdom swarmed: as of whom King Stephen had made use in his Wars, amongst whom was William of Tyres, lately before made Earl of Kent. Castles which by King Stephen's allowance had been built, he caused to be demolished, (of which there were said to be eleven hundred and fifteen) as being rather nurseries of Rebellion to the Subject, than of any safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able men of that profession, to reform abuses of the Laws, which disorder of the Wars had brought in. He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King Stephen against him, as thinking that men once perjured would never be faithful; and to the end he might be the less pressing upon the people with Taxations, he resumed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or usurped, as thinking it better to displease a few than many; and many other things he did, which in a disjoynted State were no less profitable and expedient, than requisite and necessary.

He causeth
Castles to be
demolished.

He reforms
the Laws.

He resumed
Crown-
Lands.

His troubles during his Reign.

HE had no Competitors, nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his troubles at first were not in Capite, strook not at the root, as King Stephen's did: but were only some certain nibblings at inferiour parts, till at last he

The Life and Reign of King HENRY the Second.

His troubles with the Welch soon ended.

1157.
Henry Earl of Essex how punished for letting the Kings Standard fall.

Malcolm King of Scots represented.

King Henry's unkindness to his brother Geoffry.

he brought them himself into his own bowels. For what was the trouble in his first year with the *Welch*; but as an exercise rather to keep him in motion, than that it needed to disquiet his rest? For though they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their own Bucklers, their Woods and Mountainous passages; yet as soon as King *Henry* did but shew his Sword amongst them, they were soon reduced to obedience for the present, and to a greater awfulness for the future. It is true *Henry* Earl of *Essex* that bore the Kings Standard, was so assaulted by the *Welch*, that he let the Standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the *Welch*, and put the *English* in some fear as supposing the King had been slain; but this was soon frustrated to the *Welch*, and punished afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be shorn a Monk, and put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his lands seized into the Kings hand. And what was his trouble with *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, but a work of his own beginning? for if he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his own, *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire*, by the grant of King *Stephen*, and *Northumberland*, by the gift of his Mother *Maud* the Emperess, he might have stayed quietly at home, and needed not at all to have stirred his foot; but he could not endure there should be such parings off from the body of his Kingdom; and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he won not, but took *Northumberland* from him, with the City of *Carlisle*, and the Castles of *Newcastle* and *Bamberg*: and meerly out of gratefulness, in remembrance of the many courtesies done to him before, by *David* King of *Scots*, he left him the County of *Huntington*; but yet with this condition to owe fealty, and to do homage to him for it: And what was his trouble with his Brother *Geoffry*, but a Bird of his own hatching? For his Father *Geoffry* Duke of *Anjou*, had three Sons, *Henry*, *Geoffry* and *William*; and dying, he left his Dukedom of *Anjou* to his eldest son *Henry*, but to hold no longer than till he should come to be King of *England*, and then to deliver it up to his second Son *Geoffry*. And he made his Lords to swear, not to suffer his body to be buried, until his Son *Henry* had taken his Oath to do it. Which Oath *Henry* afterward, in reference to his Fathers body, did take: but as he took it unwillingly, so he willingly brake it, and sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, for a dispensation of his Oath. Which granted, he enters *Anjou* with an Army, and takes from his Brother *Geoffry*, being little able to make resistance, not only the Dukedom of *Anjou*, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of brotherly kindness was content to allow him a Pension of a thousand pounds a year. Which brotherly kindness was so unkindly taken by his Brother *Geoffry*, that it brake his heart; and within a short time after he dyed.

And thus these troubles begun by *Henry* himself, were soon ended; but now a trouble is coming on, begun by *Lewis* King of *France*, and this is like to stick longer by him. For King *Lewis* not having yet digested King *Henries* marriage with his divorced Wife *Eleanor* seeks all opportunities to express his spleen, by

doing him displeasure, and a fit opportunity was now offered. For there fell out a difference between *Raymond* Earl of *St. Giles*, and *Hen.* King of *England*, about the Earldom of *Tholouse*, which *Raymond* possessed, and *Henry* claimed: in this difference, King *Lewis* takes part with *Raymond* as pretending to be the juster side. Hereupon are great Forces provided on both sides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battel: but that by mediation of friends, a peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded between *Henry*, King *Henries* eldest Son, scarce yet seven years of age, and *Margaret*, Daughter of King *Lewis* is not past three, who was delivered to King *Henry* to bring up till fit years for consummation. This was then thought a strong link to hold them in friendship, but it proved afterward a cause to make a greater breach; and indeed when a Son is once matched into a Family, the Father must never look from thence afterward to have a good wish; seeing the Daughter thus matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement of her Husband, and he none, at least, none so well, as by the ruine of his Father: yet this brake not out till some years after. It was now about the sixteenth year of King *Henries* Reign and his Son *Henry* grown to be seventeen years of age, when it came into the Kings mind to have his Son *Henry* crowned King, and Reign with himself in his own time; partly out of indulgence to his Son, but chiefly, as having found by his own experience, that Oaths for succession are commonly eluded: but Oaths for present Allegiance, as being *Verba de presenti*, can have no evasion. And pleasing himself with this conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his purpose, and causeth his Son *Henry* to be crowned King by the hands of *Roger* Archbishop of *York*; and all the Lords to swear Allegiance to him. At the Feast of which solemnity King *Henry* to honour his Son, would needs carry up the first dish to his Table: whereupon the Archbishop *Roger* standing by, and saying merrily to the new King, What an honour is this to you, to have such a waiter at your Table? Why (saith he) what great matter is it for him that was but the Son of a Duke, to do service to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old King hearing, began to repent him now it was too late, of that he had done. For indeed the honour which by Gods commandment, children are to do their Parents, is by such making them their equal, in a manner abolished; at least it gives them stomachs to take more upon them than is fit. But King *Henry* passed it over, and meant to set the best side outward. Notwithstanding this ill success of King *Henry*, yet King *Lewis* of *France* soon after, did the like to his Son *Philip*, and caused him to be crowned King in his own life time, at *Paris*, Anno 1179.

And now King *Lewis* took displeasure that his Daughter was not crowned as well as her Husband; and therefore to satisfy him in that point, King *Henry* sendeth his Son *Henry* and his Wife *Margaret* into *England*, and causeth them both to be crowned by *Walter* Archbishop of *Roan*: and shortly after, the young King *Henry* and his

like to the difference between King Henry and the King of France.

1160.
But pacified by a marriage of their children.

An. R. 16.
1170.

King Henry causeth his son Henry to be crowned King with himself.

The sons insolent speech against his Father.

The young King Henry is incited by his Father-in-law King Lewis to oppose his Father.

Queen Eleanor also.

The young King requires his Father to resign the Kingdom. King Lewis and the Lords of France assist him.

King Lewis his fraud to get Vernail.

his Wife go back to King Lewis her Father, and by him with great joy, and variety of sports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King Lewis partly out of his old spleen to King Henry, and partly to make his Son-in-law more absolute, falls oftentimes into conference with him; and finding his hot spirit to be fit tinder for such fire, tells him, it was a shame he should suffer himself to be made a stale; have the title of a King, and not the Authority; and that as long as he stood in such terms, that which seemed an honour was indeed a disgrace. With which words of King Lewis, the young King Henry was set a float, and from that time forward, stuck not openly to oppose his Father. Whereof his Father having intelligence, sent messengers to King Lewis, desiring him from the King their Master, to be a means to bring his Son to more moderation. But King Lewis hearing the Embassadors name their Master King, with an angry countenance said unto them; What mean you by this to call him King who hath passed his Kingdom over to his Son? and with this answer sent them away. To this evil, another worse was added: That Queen Eleanor his Wife enraged with jealousy of her Husbands Concubines, both incenseth her Son Henry, and perswadeth also two other of her Sons, Richard and Geoffrey, to joyn against their Father; telling them, it would be better for them that their Brother should prevail, who could not chuse but allow them better maintenance, than their Father did. With these perswasions they pass over into Normandy, and joyn with their Brother Henry, who emboldened by their assistance, grows now more insolent than he was before; that when messengers were sent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay down his Arms, and to come lovingly to him, he proudly made answer, that his Father must not look he would lay down his Arms, unless himself first would lay down his authority, and resign the Kingdom. And now Lewis King of France calling together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and with them William King of Scots, Hugh Earl of Chester, Roger Mowbray, Hugh Bigot, and others of his Sons party, they all take their Oaths to assist the young King Henry with all their power, and thereupon all in one day, the French invade Normandy, Aquitaine and Britain; the King of Scots Northumberland; and King Lewis the City of Vernail, which he brought to that distress, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not succoured within three dayes, then to surrender it. King Henry hearing of this agreement, promiseth to succour them by that day. But here King Lewis useth a trick, gets that by fraud, which he could not do by force; for he sends to King Henry, that if he were willing to have a peace with his Sons, he should meet him at a place appointed, at such a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King Henry glad of such an offer, and with that gladness perhaps blinded, and not suspecting any deceit, promised to meet; and coming to the place at the day, which was the day he should have succoured Vernail, he stayed there all day looking for King Lewis coming, who instead of coming, sent word to Vernail, that King Henry was defeated; and therefore their

hope of succour was in vain. Whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be so indeed, because he came not according to his promise, surrendered the Town; which King Lewis finding himself unable to hold, set it on fire, and so departed. But King Henry when he perceived the fraud, followed him with his Army, and took a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the slaughter of many of his men. At the same time also King Henries Forces encountred Hugh Earl of Chester, and Robert Fulger, who had taken Dole in Britain, took them Prisoners, and brought them to King Henry. And about the same time likewise in England Robert Earl of Leicester thinking to surprize Reynold Earl of Cornwall, and Richard Lacy King Henry's Generals, at unawares, was himself by them overthrown, and the Town of Leicester taken, which only the site of the place defended from being battered to the ground. Robert Earl of Leicester being thus defeated, passeth over into France, and being supplied by King Lewis with greater forces than before, is together with Hugh Bigot sent back into England, to draw the Country to Henry the Sons party, who at first assault take Norwich; and then sitting down before Bury, they are in a great Battel, by Richard Lacy, and other of King Henry's Captains, overthrown with the slaughter of ten thousand men, and as many taken prisoners; amongst whom Earl Robert himself. Yet were not Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot so daunted with this overthrow, but that together with David the King of Scots Brother, they gather new Forces, and invade Northumberland and Yorkshire, when Robert Scocce, Ralph Granula, William Vesce, and Bernard Balliol who built Bernard Castle in the Bishoprick of Durham) Knights of those parts assembled together, and fighting a great battel with them, overthrew them, and took the King of Scots Prisoner, with many others. Yet is not Hugh Bigot daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces and takes Norwich; and Robert Ferris, Nottingham. The news whereof, when King Henry the Son heard, he recovered new spirits, and obtaining new assistance from King Lewis, prepares himself afresh for War: which King Henry the Father hearing, returns speedily into England, and to appease St. Thomas Becket's Ghost goes to visit his Tomb, and there asks him forgiveness. This done, he goes into Suffolk, and at Framingham Castle, which belonged to Hugh Bigot, staies with his Army, when suddenly moved, by what instinct no man knows (unless the appeasing of St. Thomas's Ghost did work it,) both Hugh Bigot delivers up his Castle into King Henry's hands, and likewise Robert Mowbray, Robert Ferris, and many other of that party, come voluntarily in, and submit themselves to the Kings mercy. Hereupon King Henry returns to London, about which time he committed his Wife Queen Eleanor to prison, for her Practices against him. In the mean time, K. Lewis understanding that Normandy was but weakly guarded, together with his Son the young King Henry, and Philip Earl of Flanders, he besiegeth Roan, which the Kings Forces valiantly defended, till he came himself in person; and thereupon King Lewis despairing of any good to be done, sends messengers to King

Leicester a strong site.

Hugh Bigot's resolute persisting in assisting young King Henry.

Bernard Castle of whom so called.

1174.

King Henry visits the Tomb of Tho. Becket.

Hugh Bigot and others submit themselves to King Henry.

Queen Eleanor committed to prison.

Henry

Henry for a truce, and appointed a day to meet at Gyfors, where he doubted not to make a reconciliation between his Sons and him; King Henry agreed willingly, but at the meeting nothing was done. It seems it was but one of King Lewis his old tricks to come fairly off.

After this truce made with King Lewis, King Henry hearing that his Son Richard had in the mean time possessed himself of a great part of the Province of Poitou, goes thither with an Army, where Richard at last, after some hesitation, as doubting his Forces, submits himself to his Father, and asks his pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault. And thereupon K. Henry employs him to King Lewis, and his brother Henry, to persuade them to peace; who wearied now with the wars, were easily drawn, and so reconciliation on all parts is made. And to confirm the reconciliation between the two Kings, Henry and Lewis, his Daughter Adela is affianced to King Henry's Son Richard, as Earl of Aquitain; and because the Lady was but young, she was committed to the care of King Henry, till she could be fit for marriage. Upon this King Henry sets Robert Earl of Leicester, and Hugh Earl of Chester, giving hostages and oath for their Allegiance, at liberty; and William also King of Scots, paying a certain Mule, for which he delivered in pawn the strong Castles of Berwick, Roxborough, and Sterling to King Henry, and was fined to lose the County of Huntingdon, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. These things done, the King with his son returns into England, where with all joyfulness they were received.

A reconciliation is made on all parts. Rich. King Henry's second Son affianceth Adela the King of France's Daughter.

It was now the year 1179. when King Lewis began again to grow discontented with King Henry; because his daughter was not yet married to his Son Richard as was agreed: but King Henry making him promise to have them married within a few dayes, gave him satisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing less, for it was thought he kept her for himself, as with whom he had before that time, had unlawful familiarity.

With whom King Henry is thought to have unlawful familiarity.

The year 1184. was memorable for nothing, or for nothing so much as the death of the young King Henry, who died then, being of the age of one and twenty years: whose Widow Margaret returning into France, was afterward married to Bela King of Hungary. Now King Henry's Son Richard, no longer enduring to have his marriage delayed, which his father often promised, but would never suffer to be performed, falls into his old fit of discontentment. Wherein though he cannot perhaps be justified, yet he may justly be excused, for to be kept from a wife at that time of his age, for which a Wife was most proper; and especially having been affianced so long before, which could not chuse but make his appetite the sharper; must needs be; if not a just cause, at least a strong provocation to make him do as he did. Howsoever from this fit of discontentment, he falls into a relapse of a Rebellion, and infecting with it his Brother John, and a great part of his Father's Adherents, they all take part with Philip, (now after the decease of Lewis) King of France, who willing to make use of their assistance, before

Richard discontented with the delay of his marriage: and draws in his brother John.

the stream of filial awfulness should return into the natural Channel, takes them along with him and besiegeth the City of Mentz, in which King Henry at that time was himself in person. Who apprehending the danger, and then repenting the mischief of falling into his enemies hands, gets him secretly out of the City, leaving it to defend it self, till he should return with greater forces; for hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into so great a distraction of mind, that it made him break out into these blasphemous words; I shall never hereafter love God any more, that hath suffered a City so dear unto me, to be taken from me: but he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those words. Indeed Mentz was the City in which he was born, That to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his birthright taken from him. And to say the truth, after he had lost this City, he scarce seemed to be alive; not only because he shortly after died: but because the state of Majesty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forsook him, for now he was fain to beg peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him; now he was glad to yield to conditions, which no force before could have wrested from him. It is memorable, and worth observing, that when these two Kings had meeting between Turwyn and Arras, for reconciliation of differences, there suddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light just between them, with so terrible a crack, that it forced them for that time, to break off their conference; and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of thunder happened again, which so amazed King Henry, that he had fallen off his horse, if he had not been supported by those about him. Which could be nothing but drops let fall of the Divine anger, and manifest presages of his future disasters. And thus this great Princes troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at last in so great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of desolation, notwithstanding all his greatness; forsaken of his friends, forsaken of his Wife, forsaken of his children; and (if he were not himself, when he blasphemed for the loss of Mentz) forsaken of himself; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all greatness.

Mentz taken by the King of France.

A blasphemous speech of K. Henry.

A strange accident.

King Henry forsaken of his good fortune.

Of his Acquest in Ireland.

Robert Fitz-Stephen was the first of all English men after the Conquest that entered Ireland, the first day of May, in the year 1170. with 390. men: and there took Wexford, in the behalf of Dervutius, Son of Mercherdach, called Mac Murg, King of Leymster. In September following, Richard Earl of Chepstow, surnamed Strong-bow, sailed into Ireland with twelve hundred men, where he took Waterford and Dublin; and married Eve the Daughter of Dervutius, as he was promised. From these beginnings, King Henry being then at rest from all Hostile Arms, both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the Kingdom of Ireland, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the French; and therefore purposing with himself by

Was first of all English men entered Ireland.

Ireland submits itself to King Henry.

by all means to subdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter season saileth thither, taking Shipping at *Pembroke*, and landing near to *Waterford*. Where entering into consultation what course was fittest to be taken in the enterprise, suddenly of their own accord the Princes of the Countrey came in, and submitted themselves unto him, only *Rodoric* King of *Connacht* stood out; who being the greatest, thought to make himself the only King of that Nation. But King *Henry* forbearing him for the present, who kept himself in the fastness of *Boggs* and *Woods*, and was not to be followed in the winter season, takes his journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Countrey; and there calling the Princes and Bishops of the Nation together, requires their consent to have him and his heirs to be their King; which they affirming they could not do without the Popes authority, to whom, at their first conversion to the Christian Religion, they had submitted themselves, the King sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, an *English* man, requiring his assent, which upon divers good considerations he granted; and hereupon the King built him a stately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without blood possessed himself of the Kingdom, the Spring following he returns joyfully into *England*. About four years after *Rodoric* also sends his Chancellour to King *Henry*, to offer his submission, with a tribute to be paid of

The Pope confirms their submission. King *Henry* builds a stately Palace in *Dublin*.

He sends his son *John* Governour into *Ireland*.

every ten beasts, one sufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth year of his reign, he sent his Son *John* to be the Governour there.

His Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

Taxations in his time, were chiefly once; when he took *Escuage* of *English* men, towards his wars in *France*, which amounted to 12400 pounds: but confiscations were many because many *Rebellions*, and every *Rebellion* was as good as a *Mine*. Also vacancies of *Bishopricks* and *Abbeys*, kept in his hands sometimes many at once; no time without some. He resumed also all Lands which had either been sold or given from the Crown by his Predecessors: but a principal cause that made him plentiful in money, was his *Parfimony*; as when he was enjoined for a *Penance*, to build three *Abbeys*, he performed it, by changing *Secular* Priests into *Regular* Canons, only to spare cost: And it was not the least cause of alienating his Sons from him, that he allowed them not maintenance answerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but *Parfimony* while he lived, which brought it to pass, that when he died, there were found in his Coffers, nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

He keeps *Abbeys* vacant in his hands.

He resumes *Crown-Lands*. His *Parfimony*.

He left behind him nine hundred thousand pounds in money.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the beginning of his reign, he refined and reformed the Laws of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his people than they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into six several *Circuits*, appointing in every *Circuit* three *Judges*, who twice every year should ride together, to hear and determine Causes between man and man: as at this

Judges circuits appointed.

day, though altered in the number of the *Judges*, and in the *Shires* of *Circuit*. In this Kings dayes the number of *Jews* all *England* over was great: yet, wheresoever they dwelt, they might not bury any of the dead any where but in *London*; which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies oftentimes from far remote places, the King gave them liberty of burial in several places where they lived. It was in this Kings dayes also ordained, that *Clergy* men offending in hunting the Kings *Deer*, should be punishable by the *Civil* Magistrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatsoever they committed. Though it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was first brought in by this King, that the *Lyons* should be kept in the *Tower of London*. Also this King made a Statute, concerning *Armour* and *Weapons*; that every man that held a *Knights-Fee*, should be bound to have a pair of *Curasses*, an *Helmet*, with *Shield* and *Spear*; and that every man of the *Laity* having *Goods* and *Revenues* to the value of sixteen Marks, should have one pair of *Curasses*, an *Helmet*, a *Spear* and a *Shield*; and every man worth ten Marks should have an *Harbergeon*, a *Steel Cap*, and a *Spear*.

Jews wheresoever dwelling might bury no where but in *London*, till this King gave them liberty. *Clergy* men punishable by the *Civil* Magistrate.

Lyons ordained to be kept in the *Tower*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THIS Kings reign is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince; and though it may be thought no equal match, yet in this example we shall find it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to speak of the Contention, it is fit to say something of the Man, and of the Quarrel. The man was *Thomas Becket* born in *London*, his Father one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an outlandish woman, of the Countrey of *Syria*. His first rising was under *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who taking a liking to him, (as one saith, no man knew for what) made him first *Archdeacon* of *Canterbury*, and then used means to have him be the Princes Tutor; after that to be Chancellour of *England*; and after the decease of the said *Theobald*, was himself made Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his place. One memorable thing he did at his coming to be Archbishop, he surrendered his place being Chancellour; as not thinking it fit to sit at the Helm of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the contention, between the King and him. The difference was, the King would have it ordained that *Clergy* men who were malefactors, should be tryed before the *Secular* Magistrate as *Lay-men* were: This *Becket* opposed, saying it was against the Liberty of the Church, and therefore against the honour of God. Many Bishops stood with the King, some few with *Becket*, the Contention grew long, and with the length still hotter till at last *Becket* was content to assent to the Ordinance with this clause, *Salvo Ordine suo*. The King liked not the clause, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an absolute assent, without any clause of Reservation. At last, after many debates and demurs, the Archbishop yields to this also, and subscribes the Ordinance, and set his hand unto it: But going

Thos. Becket his parentage and rising.

The contention between the King and him.

going homewards, it is said, his Cross-bearer and some other about him, blamed him for that he had done. But whether moved with their words, or otherwise upon second thoughts, the next day when they met again, he openly repented his former deed, retracts his subscription, and sends to the Pope for absolution of his fault; which the Pope not only granted, but encouraged him to persist in the course he had begun. It may be thought a fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that one time during this contention, certain fellows cut off the Archbishop's Horses tail; after which fact, all their children were born with tails like Horses: and that this continued long in the Posterity, though now long since ceased, and perhaps their families too. But King Henry finding there was no prevailing with Becket by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him; and first makes use of Authority upon his Temporalities; and withal a censure was spoken to be intended against his person. Which Becket understanding, thought it his best course to flee the Realm, and thereupon passing under the name of *Dereman*, he passeth over Sea, and there, two years by the Pope, and five by the King of France, was maintained as it were of Alms: in which misery, nothing vexed him so much, as that King Henry sent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into banishment after him. And now King Henry finding that Becket stood much upon his Legantine Power, sent messengers to the Pope, desiring him to take that power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbishop of York; but the Pope answered he would not do so, but was content the King himself should be his Legate; and sent him Letters to that purpose, which King Henry took in such scorn, that he threw away the Letters, and sent them presently back to him again. This dignity of Legaship, for the diligent service of *Theobald* Archbishop of Canterbury, was by a special Decree of Pope Innocent the second, to remain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; so that they were intituled *Legati nati*, Legats born.

In this mean time, the King of France prevailed with King Henry to afford Becket a conference, hoping to bring them to some Agreement; where being together, King Henry alleged before the King of France, that he required nothing of Becket, but his assent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grand-father King Henry the first's time, all the Bishops of the Realm, and the Archbishop of Canterbury that then was, did give their Assent: yet this moved not Becket at all, but he continued his former Tenet; it was against the honour of God, and therefore desired to be excused. See now (saith King Henry) the perverseness of this man, all that agrees not with his own humour, is presently against the honour of God. While these things were thus a working, Becket had gotten him more friends at Rome, and by their means prevailed with the Pope, to give him power to interdict some Bishops in England that had done him wrong; and the Pope spared not to threaten Excommunication to King Henry himself, if he restored not Becket to his dignity. But whether awed with threatnings, or won by the King of France's importunity;

or else perhaps relenting in himself, he was contented at last that Becket should return home and enjoy his Bishoprick. Who being come to Canterbury, the Bishops whom he had interdicted for Crowning the young King Henry, (which he said was his right to have done) made humble suit unto him, to be released of the censure. Which, when the Archbishop would not grant, but with certain cautions and exceptions, the Bishops discontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard measure that was offered them by the Archbishop: where at the King being much moved, Shall I never (saith he) be at quiet for this Priest? If I had any about me that loved me, they would find some way or other to rid me of this trouble. Whereupon four Knights standing by, that heard the King make this complaint, namely *Reynold Fitz-urse*, or *Bereson*, *Hugh Mervill*, *William Tracy*, and *Richard Britton*, thinking they should do an acceptable service to the King, went shortly after into England; and going to Canterbury, found the Archbishop then at Church, when upon the steps there, they struck him upon the head with their Swords and slew him the thirtieth day of December, in the year 1172. Afterward with much ado, by King Henry's means they were pardoned by the Pope, only enjoined Penance to go on Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, as some write: but others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three years after they all dyed miserably. You have heard his persecution, and (as some would have it called) his Martyrdom: now hear the honours that have been done him, and the visitations to his Tomb. And first King Henry himself coming to Canterbury, as soon as he came within sight of Becket's Church, lighting off his Horse, and putting off his hose and shoes, he went barefoot to his Tomb; and for a further penance suffered himself to be beaten with Rods by every Monk of the Cloister. A few years after, King Lewis of France comes into England of purpose to visit the Shrine of *St. Thomas*; where having paid his Vows, he makes Oblations with many rich Presents. The like many Princes since that time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have been done at his Tomb, which yet may be unbeliev'd without unbelief, and with Faith enough. It is worth observing, how some dayes are to some men more fortunate than other dayes; as *Matthew Paris* writes of this Becket, that Tuesday was observed to be a fortunate day to him; for upon Tuesday he was born: upon a Tuesday he was banished; upon a Tuesday he was recalled from Banishment: upon a Tuesday he suffered Martyrdom; upon a Tuesday fifty years after his death, his body with great solemnity was translated.

Another difference in this Kings dayes, was between the two Archbishops of England, about the jurisdiction of Canterbury over York, which being referred to the Pope, he gave judgement on *Canterburies* side. Also in this Kings dayes there was a Schism in the Church of Rome, two Popes up at once, of whom *Alexander* the third was one; which schism continued the space of almost 20 years. Also in this Kings dayes, one *Nicholas Breakspear*, born at *St. Albans*, or

Becket returns home.

The Bishops complain of Becket to the King.

Becket is slain.

His murderers how punished.

The honours done to Becket's Tomb.

Contention betwixt the two Archbishops.

Two Popes at once.

Children born with Horses tails; and the cause.

Becket flees the Realm.

The Pope offers to make King Henry his Legat.

King Henry complains of Becket to the King of France.

A bondman comes to be Pope, called Adrian the fourth.

Choaked with a Fly.

Heraclius the Patriarch of Jerusalem his insolent speech to King Henry.

The patience of Hereticks.

Peterpence imposed upon Ireland.

The Stone-bridge in London.

as others write, at *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he so profited in Learning, that the Pope made him first Bishop of *Alba*, and afterward Cardinal, and sent him Legate to the *Norwayes*, where he reduced that Nation from Paganism to Christianity, and returning back to *Rome* was chosen Pope by the name of *Adrian* the Fourth, and dyed, being choaked with a Fly in his drink. In his dayes also *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, came to King *Henry*, desiring aid for the *Holy Land*, but not so much of money as of men; and not so much of men neither, as of a good General, as himself was: to whom King *Henry* answered, that though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not suffer him. With which answer the Patriarch moved, said, Think not Great King, that Pretences will excuse you before God; but take this from me, that as you forsake Gods cause now, so he hereafter will forsake you in your greatest need. But (saith the King) if I should be absent out of my Kingdom, my own Sons would be ready to rise up against me in my absence; to which the Patriarch replied, No marvel, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they shall; and so departed. Also in this Kings dayes there came into *England*, thirty *Germans*, Men and Women, calling themselves Publicans, who denied Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lords Supper, with other Articles: who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot Iron in the forehead, and be whipped; which punishment they took patiently, their Captain (called *Gerard*) going before them singing, *Blessed are ye when men hate you*. After they were whipped, they were thrust out of doors in the Winter, where they died with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conquest of *Ireland*, imposed the tribute of *Peter pence* upon that Kingdom, namely, that every house in *Ireland* should yearly pay a peny to *St. Peter*. In this Kings time, was held by Pope *Alexander* the third, the General Council of *Lateran* consisting of 310 Bishops; where many Ordinances were made for the peace of the Church. Also in the 33 year of his Reign *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Turks*.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

His King founded the Church of *Bristow*, which King *Henry* the eighth afterward erected into a Cathedral. He also founded the Priories of *Dover*, of *Stonely*, of *Basinwork*, and the Castle of *Rudlan*; and began the Stone-bridge over the *Thames* at *London*. He caused also the Castle of *Warwick* to be builded. *Maud* the Emperess, his Mother, founded the Abby of *Bordesly*. In his time also *Hugh Mortimer* founded *Wigmore* Abbey: *Rich. Lucy* the Kings Chief Justice laid the Foundation of the Conventual Church, in the honour of *St. Thomas*, in a place which is called *Westwood*, otherwise *Lesnes*, in the Territory of *Rocheſter* in the new Parish of *Southfleet*. He also builded the Castle of *Anger* in *Essex*.

Robert Harding a Burgeſs of *Bristow*, to whom *K. Henry* gave the Barony of *Barkley*, builded the Monastery of *St. Augustines* in *Bristow*. In the tenth of his reign, *London Bridge* was new made of Timber, by *Peter* of *Cole-Church* a Priest. *Robert de Boſcu* Earl of *Leiceſter*, founded the Monastery of *Gorenden*, of Monks; and of *Leiceſter*, called *St. Mary de Pratis*, of Canons Regular; and his Wife *Amicia*, Daughter of *Ralph Montford*, founded *Eaton*, of Nuns. In the two and twentieth year of his reign after the foundation of *St. Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*, the Stone Bridge over the *Thames* at *London*, began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave a thousand Marks. *Aldred* Bishop of *Worceſter* founded a Monastery at *Gloceſter* of Benedictine Monks.

London Bridge new made of Timber.

Casualties that happened in his time.

IN the eleventh year of this Kings reign, on the six and twentieth day of *January*, was so great an Earth-quake in *Ely*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, that it overthrew them that stood upon their feet, and made the Bells to ring in the Steeples: In the seventeenth year of his reign, there was seen at *St. Oſyths* in *Essex*, a Dragon of marvellous bigness, which by moving burned houses; and the whole City of *Canterbury* was the same year almost burnt. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Church of *Norwich* with the houses thereto belonging was burnt, and the Monks dispersed. At *Andover*, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slain with Thunder. Likewise one Clerk and his brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth year, a showre of blood rained in the Isle of *Wight* two hours together. In the four and twentieth year, the City of *York* was burnt; and on *Christmas* day, in the Territory of *Derlington*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, the Earth lifted up her self in manner of an high Tower, and so remained unmoveable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noise that it frightened the Inhabitants thereabouts, and the Earth swallowing it up, made there a deep pit, which is seen at this day; for a Testimony whereof *Leyland* saith, he saw the Pits there, commonly called *Hell-kettles*. Also in the same year, on the tenth day of *April*, the Church of *St. Andrews* in *Rocheſter* was consumed with fire. In the eight and twentieth year of his reign, *Barnwell* with the Priory, near unto *Cambridge*, was burnt. In the thirtieth year, the Abbey of *Glaſtenbury* was burnt, with the Church of *St. Julian*. In the year 1180. a great Earth-quake threw down many buildings, amongst which the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln* was rent in pieces the five and twentieth of *April*: and on the twentieth of *October*, the Cathedral Church of *Chicheſter*, and all the whole City was burnt. This year also, near unto *Orford* in *Suffolk*, certain Fishers took in their Nets a Fish, having the shape of a man in all points, which Fish was kept by *Bartholomew de Glandevile* in the Castle of *Orford* six moneths and more; he spake not a word; all manner of meats he did gladly eat, but most greedily raw Fish, when he had pressed out the juice; oftentimes he was brought to the Church, but never shewed any sign

A great Earthquake.

A showre of blood.

Hell-kettles in the County of *Durham* made by an Earthquake.

A Fish taken in the shape of a man.

sign of adoration: at length, being not well looked to, he stole to the Sea, and never was seen after. In the year 1188, on the twentieth of September, the Town of *Beverley* with the Church of *St. John* there was burnt. And in this Kings time the bones of King *Arthur*, and his Wife *Guynevoir*, were found in the Vale of *Avolan*, under an hollow Oak, fifteen foot under ground: the hair of the said *Guynevoir* being then whole and of fresh colour; but as soon as it was touched, it fell to powder, as *Fabian* relateth.

The bones of King Arthur found.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Eleanor* Daughter and heir of *William* Duke of *Guien*, late Wife of *Lewis* the seventh King of *France*, but then divorced; but for what cause divorced, is diversly related. Some say King *Lewis* carried her with him into the Holy Land, where she carried her self not very holily, but led a licentious life; and which is the worst kind of licentiousness, in carnal familiarity with a *Turk*. Which King *Lewis* though knowing, yet dissembled, till coming home, he then waved that cause, as which he could not bring without disgrace to himself, and made use of their nearness in blood, as being Cousins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cause sufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke *Henry* marries her, with whom it was never known, but she led a modest and sober life, a sufficient proof, that the former report was but a slander. By this Queen *Eleanor* he had five Sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry*, and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maud* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor* married to *Alphonso* the Eighth of that name, King of *Castile*; and *Jane* or *Jone* married to *William* K. of *Sicily*. Of his Sons, *William* died young. *Henry* born the second year of his reign, was Crowned King with his Father, in the eighteenth year, and died the nine and twentieth year, and was buried at *Roan*; married to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no issue. *Richard* born at *Oxford* (in the Kings Palace there called *Beau-mont*) in the fourth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Geoffry* born the fifth year of his Fathers reign, married *Constance* Daughter and Heir of *Conan*, Earl of Little *Britain*, in the fourteenth year, and in the two and thirtieth year died; leaving by his Wife *Constance*, two Daughters, and a Posthumus Son named *Arthur*. *John* his youngest, called *John* without Land, because he had no Land assigned him in his Fathers time; born the twelfth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded his brother *Richard* in the Kingdom. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous than the rest; and one of these two more famous than the other; and this was *Rosamund*, Daughter of *Walter*, Lord *Clifford*, whom he kept at *Woodstock*, in lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could find the way in; yet Queen *Eleanor* did, being guided by a thread: so much is the eye of

A strange licentiousness of Queen Eleanor.

John without land.

Rosamund one of his Concubines.

jealousie quicker in finding out, than the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to *Rosamund* when she came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that *Rosamund* lived but a short time after; and lies buried in the Nunnery of *Godstow* near to *Oxford*. By this *Rosamund* King *Henry* had two Sons, *William* called *Long-sword*; who was Earl of *Salisbury* in right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of that Countrey, and had by her much issue, whose posterity continued a long time: And a second Son named *Geoffry*, who was first bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterward Archbishop of *York*, and after five years banishment in his Brother King *John*'s time, died in the year 1213. The other famous Concubine of this King *Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blewet* a Knight; by whom he had a Son named *Morgan*, who was Provost of *Beverley*, and being to be elected Bishop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a dispensation, because being a Bastard he was else incapable: But the Pope refusing to grant it, unless he would pass as the Son of *Blewet*, he absolutely answered, he would for no cause in the world deny his Father; and chose rather to lose the Dignity of the place, than of his Blood, as being the Son; though but the base Son of a King.

The Wife of Blewet another of his Concubines.

An honour to descend from a King though born base.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was somewhat red of face, and broad breasted; short of body, and therewithal fat, which made him use much exercise and little meat. He was commonly called *Henry* Short-mantle, because he was the first that brought the use of short Cloaks out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning endowments of mind, he was of spirit in the highest degree Generous, which made him often say, that all the World sufficed not to a courageous heart. He had the Reputation of a wise Prince all the Christian World over; which made *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, and *Garfias* King of *Navarre* refer a difference that was between them, to his Arbitrement; who so judiciously determined the cause that he gave contentment to both parties; a harder matter than to cut cloth even by a thread. His custome was to be alwayes in action; for which cause, if he had no real Wars, he would have feigned; and would transport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britain*, and go with them himself, whereby he was alwayes prepared of an Army: and made it a Schooling to his Souldiers, and to himself an Exercise. To his children he was both indulgent and hard; for out of indulgence he caused his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King in his own time: and out of hardness he caused his younger Sons to Rebel against him. He was rather Superstitious than not Religious; which he shewed more by his carriage toward *Becket* being dead than while he lived. His Incontinency was not so much that he used other women besides his Wife, but the affianced wife of his own Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his Wife *Q. Eleanor*, and to take the said *Adela* to be his wife. Yet generally to speak of him, he was an excellent Prince; and if in some particulars he were defective, it must be considered he was a man.

Why called Shortmantle.

Alwayes in action.

To his children both hard and indulgent.

His incontinency.

Of his Death and Burial.

1189. **H**E was not well at ease before, but when the King of France sent him a list of those that had conspired against him, and that he found the first man in the List to be his Son John, he then fell suddenly into a fit of fainting, which so increased upon him, that within four dayes after he ended his life. So strong a Corrosive is grief of mind, when it meets with a body weakened before with sickness. He died in Normandy, in the year 1189. when he had lived threescore and one years; reigned near five and thirty: and was buried at Fount-Everard in France; the manner of whose burial was thus. He was cloathed in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Boots of Gold upon his legs, Gilt Spurs at his heels, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his side, and his face uncovered and all bare. As he was carried to be buried, his Son Richard in great haste ran to see him, who no sooner was come near the body, but suddenly at his Nostrils he fell a bleeding afresh; which though it were in Prince Richard no good sign of Innocency, yet his breaking presently into bitter tears upon the seeing it, was a good sign of Re-

His body
falls a bleed-
ing at his Son
Richard's
coming near
his Corps.

pentance. It may not be unseasonable to speak in this place of a thing which all Writers speak of, that in the Family of the Earls of Anjou, of whom this King Henry came, there was once a Princess a great enchantress, who being on a time enforced to take the blessed Eucharist, she suddenly flew out at the Church window, and was never seen after. From this Woman these later Earls of Anjou were descended, which perhaps made the Patriarch Heraclius say of this King Henry's children, that from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this story out of their Writings:

His Ance-
stress an En-
chantress.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy men, there was Theobald Arch-
bishop of Canterbury, Hugh Bishop of Lin-
coln, Richard Bishop of Winchester, Geoffry of
Ely, Robert of Bathe, Aldred of Worcester, all
learned men, and of great integrity of life. Of
Military men, there was Robert Earl of Leicester,
Reynold Earl of Cornwall, Hugh Bigot, Robert
Ferrys, Richard Lacy, Roger Monbray, Ralph
Fulger, Ranulph Granula, William Vescei, and
Raynard Baylioll; men of great achievements
in War, and of no less abilities in Peace.

The

The LIFE and REIGN of
KING RICHARD
 THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.

Anno. Dom.
 1189.
 King Rich-
 ard Crown-
 ed.

Hoveden.

The manner
 of his Coro-
 nation.

KING Richard the first of that name, after his Fathers Funeral, went to *Roan*, where he settled the State of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Baldwin*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third day of *September* in the year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholding to Writers than any of his Predecessors; for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where and by whom they were Crowned: but of this Prince they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all Circumstances, which perhaps is not unfit to do, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Trier*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy Water, and Censers carried before them, came to fetch him at the door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar, with a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy, went four Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Geoffry de Lucy*, bearing the Cap of maintenance, and *John Marshal* next to him, bearing a massie pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William Marshal*, Earl of *Striguil*, alias *Pembroke*, who bare the Royal Scepter, in the top whereof was set a Cross of Gold; and *William de Patrick*, Earl of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the Top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Huntington*; *John* the Kings Brother, Earl of *Mortaigne*; and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand with the Scabbards richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of *Mortaigne* went in the middle betwixt the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Checker Table, upon the which were set the Kings Scutcheons of Arms; and then followed *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crown of Gold; a great height before the King, who followed, having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Bathe* on the left, over whom a Canopy was born: and in this order he came into the Church at *Westminster*, where be-

fore the high Altar, in the presence of the Clergy and the people, laying his hand upon the Holy Evangelists, and the reliques of certain Saints, he took a solemn Oath that he should observe Peace, honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Ministers, all the dayes of his life; also that he should exercise upright Justice to the people committed to his charge; and that he should abrogate and disannul all evil Laws, and wrongful Customes, if any were to be found in the precinct of his Realm; and maintain those that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his Garments from his middle upwards, but only his Shirt, which was open on the shoulders that he might be anointed. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* anointed him in three places, on the head, on the shoulder, and on the right arm, with Prayers in such cases accustomed. After this, he covered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royal Garment, and his uppermost Robe, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, with which he should beat down the enemies of the Church, which done, two Earls put his Shooes upon his feet, and having his Mantle put on him, the Archbishop forbid him on the behalf of Almighty God, to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform; whereunto the King made answer, that by Gods Grace he would perform them. Then the King took the Crown beside the Altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the Kings head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hand, and the Rod-Royal in his left hand; and thus being Crowned, he was brought back by the Bishops and Barons, with the Cross and Candlesticks, and three Swords, passing forth before him unto his Seat. When the Bishop that sang the Mass, came to the Offertory, the two Bishops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him back again. The Mass ended, he was brought with solemn Procession into his Chamber; and this was the manner of this Kings Coronation. But at this solemnity there fell out a very disastrous accident. For this Prince not favouring the Jews, as his Father had done, had given a strict charge, that no Jew should be admitted to be a Spectator of the solemnity; yet certain Jews, as though it had been the Crowning of King *Herod*, would needs be pressing in: and being put back by Officers set of purpose, it grew to be a brabble, and from words to blows,

His Oath at
 the Coronation.

so as many Jews were hurt, and some slain : and thereupon a rumour was suddenly spread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the Jews destroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what rifling there was of Jews houses, and what cutting of their throats ; and though the King signified by publick Declaration, that he was highly displeased with that which was done : yet there was no staying the multitude till the next day ; so often it falls out, that great solemnities are waited on with great disasters, or rather indeed, as being connatural, they can hardly be asunder.

Of his first Acts after he was Crowned.

He sets his Mother Queen Eleanor at liberty.

His bounty to his Brother John.

He refused his affianced Lady Adela, and why.

He marries Berengaria the daughter of the King of Navarre.

He makes great provision of money for his journey to the Holy Land.

He makes the Bishop of Durham an Earl for money.

He sells Berwick to the King of Scots.

HE began with his Mother Queen Eleanor whom upon her Husbands displeasure, having been kept in prison sixteen years, he not only set at liberty, but set in as great authority, as if she had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratifies was his Brother John, to whom he made appear how much the bounty of a Brother was better than the hardness of a Father ; for he conferred upon him in England, the Earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Darby, and Leicester ; and by the marriage of Isabel, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of Gloucester, he had that Earldom also, as likewise the Castles of Marleborough, and Lutgarfal, the Honours of Wallingford, Titchil, and Eye, to the value of 4000. Marks a year : an estate so great, as was able to put a very moderate mind into the humour of aspiring, of which Princes should have a care. Concerning his affianced Lady Adela, it may be thought strange, that having desired her so infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her : but the cause was known, and in every mans mouth ; that she was now but his Fathers leavings : yet he would not send her home but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the loss of her Virginity ; though this was somewhat hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleasure, that the Son should afterwards pay all the Charges. But by this at least he made a quiet way for his Marriage now concluded, and shortly after to be consummated in Sicily with Berengaria the Daughter of Garfias King of Navarre. And now his mind is wholly set upon his long intended Voyage to the Holy Land ; for which he thinks not the treasure left by his Father to be sufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds : but forecasting with himself the great charge it must needs be, to carry an Army so long a journey, he seeks to enlarge his provision of money by all the means he can devise. Not long before, Hugh Pudsey had been advanced to the Bishoprick of Durham ; and now for a great sum of money he sold him the Earldom : and then said merrily among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning man, that of an old Bishop can make a young Earl ? From the Londoners he drained also great sums of money, and made them recompence in Franchises and Liberties which they had not before. He made also great sales ; to the King of Scots he sold the Castles of Berwick and Roxborough, for ten thousand pounds :

to Godfrey de Lucie, Bishop of Winchester, the Mannors of Weregrave and Mentz : to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, the Mannor of Midhal for one thousand Marks of Silver : to the Bishop of Durham, the Mannor of Sadborough ; and when it was marvelled that he would part with such things, he answered, that in this case he would sell his City of London, if he could find a Chapman. But the worst way of all was, that pretending to have lost his Signet, he made a new one ; and made Proclamation, that who-soever would safely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new : whereby he raised great sums of money to himself, but greater of discontentment in his Subjects. By these, and such like means, he quickly furnished himself with money ; and now it remained only to consider, to whose care he should commit the Government of the Kingdom in his absence : and after deliberation he made choice for the North parts, of Hugh Bishop of Durham ; joyning in Commission with him, Hugh Baldulph, and William Brunel ; and for the South parts he appoints William Longshampe Bishop of Ely, and Chancellor of England, and for his greater strength, causeth the Pope to make him Legat of all England and Scotland ; and for Normandy and Aquitain, Robert Earl of Leicester ; all men eminent for prudence and uprightness, and which is most of all, for loyalty : and indeed to make a man fit for such employment, all these virtues must concur. As for his Brother John, he knew well his aspiring mind, and therefore would have tied him to live in Normandy, and not to come into England till his return, but that their Mother Queen Eleanor interceded, and passed her word for him ; and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew Arthur, the Son of his Brother Geoffry Duke of Brittain to be his Successour, if himself should fail. And now, *Undique convenere, vocat jam carbasus aurat*, every man is ready to take Shipping, and no stay now but for a Wind ; only some say that King Richard before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and swearing them to be true, gave to every of them a blue Riband to be known by ; from whence the first occasion of the Order of the Garter is thought to begin.

He leaves William Longshampe Bishop of Ely, Governor of the Kingdom.

He appoints his Nephew Arthur to be his Successour if himself should fail.

From whence the order of the Garter is thought to have begun.

Of his Journey into the Holy Land.

King Richard having prepared an Army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse ; and having appointed to meet Philip King of France in Sicily, at the later end of June, in the year 1190. sets forward himself by Land to Marseilles, and there staves till his Ships should come about : but his Navy being driven by tempest to other parts, and the King weary of long staying, after six weeks, he hireth Shipping for himself and his company, and passeth forward to Messana in Sicily, where arrived also the King of France, and not long after, his own Navy. In this Island the King William, now lately dead, had married Jane, King Richard's Sister, from whom Tancred the present King withheld her Dower ; and therefore though he shewed King Richard fair countenance : yet he dealt secretly with

1190.

King Richard takes the City of Messina in Sicily.

with the *Messanians* to use all means to get him gone: whereupon the *Messanians* taking a small occasion, set suddenly upon the *English*, and thrust them out of their Town. With which King *Richard* justly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himself to revenge the affront; when *Tancred* sending to him to signify that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much against his liking, so pacified him, that for the present he remained satisfied: but understanding afterward, that the *Messanians* did but wait their opportunity till the Spring, when King *Richard* should be going, he resenting their intention, stays not their leisure, but assaulting the Town with Fire and Sword, in one dayes labour takes it; and had made great slaughter in it, if King *Richard* had not been moved to compassion with the *Messanians* tears, but chiefly with *K. Tancred's* offers, both to pay his Sister *Jane* her Dowry, and to marry his Daughter to King *Richard's* Nephew, *Arthur*, Duke of *Britain*, and to give a good part of the portion in hand. But King *Philip* was not well pleased with these conditions, yet he breaks not out to open dissension, till more fuel was afterward cast upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King *Philip* sails with his Army to *Ptolemais* (otherwise called *Acon*) which the Christians had long besieged, and with them he joyns; while King *Richard* taking his Sister *Jane* and *Berengaria* the young Daughter of the King of *Navarre* with him, in 190. Ships, and 50. Gallies, puts to Sea for the *Holy Land*: but is by Tempest cast upon the Coast of *Cyprus*, where the Islanders seeking to hinder his landing, he sets upon them with his Forces; and invading the Island, easily subdues, and brings it under his Subjection. And the King of the Countrey being taken Prisoner, and intreating King *Richard* not to put him in bonds of Iron, King *Richard* gives him his word, and keeps it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Island he solemnized his marriage with *Berengaria*, and then leaving *Richard de Canville*, and *Rob. de Thurnham*, his Lieutenants in *Cyprus*, he passeth on to *Ptolemais*, which City was defended by *Saladine*, and had been besieged now two years: when the Enemy seeing and fearing the encrease of the Christian Forces, propounds Conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in *August*, the year 1192.

He subdues the Island of Cyprus.

Here he marries Berengaria.

1192.
The first offence between King Richard and Leopold D. of Austria.

Joppa a City built before the Flood.

At the taking of this Town there fell out an accident seeming an honour to King *Richard* for the present, but proving a disgrace, at least a great trouble and charge to him afterward; For *Leopold D. of Austria* had first set up his colours upon the wall, which King *Richard* caused to be thrown down, and his own to be set up: but this was no place to stand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till some time after. When *Ptolemais* was taken, *Saladine* fearing the Christians further proceeding, dismantles all the best Towns that were near it; as *Porphyria*, *Cesarea*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*: but of *Joppa*, *K. Richard* takes a care, and placeth in it a Colony of Christians. For *Joppa* is a City of *Palestine*, that was built before the Flood, and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience. And now the *K. of France*, though valiant enough himself, yet thinking his own great acts to be obscured by

greater of *K. Richard's*, he began, besides his old hating him, now to envy him. For indeed Emulation when it is in Vertue, makes the stronger knot of love and affection; but when it is in Glory, it makes a separation, and turns into the passion of envy and malice. And so did it with *K. Philip*, who pretending the air of the Countrey did not agree with his body; but was indeed because the air of King *Richard's* Glory did not agree with his mind, obtained King *Richard's* consent to return home, swearing first solemnly not to molest his Territories in his absence. But this fell out for the present enterprise most unseasonably: For the departure of the King of *France*, though it diminished not much the strength, (for he left *Odo Duke of Burgundy* in his place) yet it diminished much the shew of assistance. And indeed *Saladine*, who was at this time in terms of surrendring *Jerusalem*, when he saw the King of *France* departed, as knowing there must needs be a conclusion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the rest would follow soon after; and thereupon stayed his hands, and grew more confident than he was before. At this time *Guy of Lusignan* was possessor of the City of *Tyre*, and with it of the right of the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*: with him King *Richard* makes an exchange, that *Guy* should have the Island of *Cyprus*, which King *Richard* had won, and King *Richard* should have the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, to which *Guy* had a right; and upon this title the Kings of *England* were stiled Kings of *Jerusalem* a long time after; as likewise the posterity of the said *Guy* hath by this exchange held the Kingdom of *Cyprus* to this day. Now was King *Richard* more hot upon taking *Jerusalem* than ever before, and had certainly taken it, but that by ill counsel diverted, because the Winter drew on, and indeed by the drawing back of *Odo Duke of Burgundy*, who envied that King *Richard* should have the honour of taking it, he removed for that season to *Ascalon*; after which time, the Enemy growing stronger, and the Christians weaker, all opportunity of taking it is utterly lost, and they could never come to the like again. And shortly after King *Richard* was advertised of the King of *France* his invading *Normandy*, contrary to his Oath at his departure; which forced King *Richard*, much to his grief, to conclude a peace with *Saladine*, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Christians; and himself presently to return home. And so sending his wife *Berengaria*, and his sister *Jane*, with a great part of his Army into *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*, he passeth himself with some few in his company, by the way of *Thrace* and was by Tempest brought into *Dalmatia*; from whence being to pass through *Germany*, and particularly through Duke *Leopold's* Countrey of *Austria*, he remembring the old grudge, changed his apparel, and travelling sometimes afoot, and sometimes on horseback, he used all means possible to keep himself from being known. But destiny is not to be avoided, for as soon as he came to *Vienna*, partly by his tongue, and partly by his expences, it was presently found he was an *English* man, and withal some great man; and by and by a rumour was spread, that it was *Richard King of England*; who finding himself

The Kings of England from whence stiled Kings of Jerusalem.

The King of France invading K. Richards Territories in his absence makes him return.

He returns home through Germany.

Is taken prisoner by Duke Leopold.

to be discovered, and no means possible to escape, he puts off his disguise, putting on his Princely apparel, and avows himself. Which Duke Leopold understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended: but King Richard refusing to yield himself to any, but to the Duke himself: the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: whereof as soon as Henry the Emperour heard, he sent with great instance to Duke Leopold to send King Richard over to him, under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withall that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperour, he sent him over to him; who soon after put him into a prison he had, called *Trivallis*, into which no man was ever known to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him, but *in terrorem*, to draw the better Ransome from him. That with which King Richard was charged, beside the wrong done to Leopold, in throwing down his Colours at *Ptolemais*; was the death of *Conrade* Duke of Tyre, whom they pretended King Richard had murdered. Wherein though King Richard made his innocency appear by the testimony of *Limboldus*, who confessed himself to have been the author of the Marquesse's death; yet the pretence served to detain him in prison: and in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid. Which being a hundred thousand pounds, fourscore thousand was paid in hand, whereof two parts to the Emperour, a third part to Duke Leopold; and for the rest hostages given to the number of fifty, of whom the Bishop of *Roan* was one: though the Hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest; for Henry the Emperour dying shortly after, his Successour had the conscience not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly exacted. And indeed the accidents that befel both the Emperour and the Duke Leopold, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done, for the Emperour shortly after died, and the Duke Leopold in a Tilting for solemnity of his Birth-day, fell off his Horse, and so broke his Leg, that to save his life, he was fain to have his Leg cut off. And now after fifteen months imprisonment, K. Richard is released, and returns into *England* four years elder than he went out; and thus ended his Journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted; that going one day a Hawking about *Joppa*, finding himself weary, he laid him down upon the ground to sleep, when suddenly certain Turks came upon him to take him: but he awakened with their noise, riseth up, gets a horseback, and drawing out his Sword, assaults the Turks, who feigning to flie, drew the King into an ambush where many Turks lay, who had certainly taken him if they had known his person, but one of the Kings Servants, called *William de Patrelis*, crying out in the *Saracen* tongue, that he was the King, they presently lay hold upon him, and let the King escape.

Is imprisoned in *Trivallis* by the Emperour.

He is ransomed.

His valour.

A faithful servant.

Troubles in his Dominions in his absence.

King Richard at his going out of *England*, had so well settled the Government of the Kingdom, that it might well have kept it in good order during all the time of his absence; but disorders are weeds which no foresight can hinder from growing, having so many hands to water them: where occasions of distaste are no sooner offered than taken: and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be seen. For King Richard had left in chief place of Authority, *William Longshampe*, Bishop of *Ely*; a man who so carried himself, that although the things he did were justifiable, yet the pride with which he did them was unsufferable; seldom riding abroad without five hundred, some say a thousand in his train; not for safety, but for state: and though there were other left in Authority besides himself; yet his power was so predominant, that he made of them but ciphers, and ruled all as he list himself. This insolency of governing was soon distasteful by many, and especially by John the Kings Brother, who counting the greatness of his birth an equal match at least with any substitute greatness, affronted the Bishop in the managing of affairs in such sort, that while some adhered to the one, and some to the other, the Kingdom in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder; till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at least fearing that he was so, but rather indeed deposed from his Authority by the Kings Letters, and the Archbishop of *Roan* put in his place, thought it best for him to flie the Realm. Whereupon for his greater safety, disguising himself in womans apparel, and carrying a Web of Cloth under his arm, he sought in this manner to take shipping and pass the Sea: But being discovered and known, the women in revenge of the abuse done their cloaths, in making them his instruments of fraud, fell upon him, and so beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him for ever after. This disgrace made him glad to get into *Normandy*, his native Countrey, where to little purpose he wooed King Richard, and Queen *Eleanor* for reparation. But this was but a sport in comparison of the mischiefs done in *Normandy* by Philip King of *France*; for first he invades *Normandy*, where he takes many Towns and amongst others *Gisors*, and draws the Kings Brother John to combine with him, promising to assist him in winning the Kingdom of *England*, and to have his Sister *Adela*, whom King Richard had repudiated, to be his Wife: with which promise Duke John had been ensnared, if his Mother Queen *Eleanor* had not dissuaded him. But in *England* Duke John took upon him as King, perswading the people that his Brother King Richard was not living; and indeed it was easie to remove, they knowing him to be a prisoner, to the affirming him to be dead: but such was the faithfulness of the Archbishop of *Roan*, and other the Princes of the Realm to King Richard, that they opposed Duke John and frustrated all his practices; and the Bishop of *Ely* had told him plainly, that though King Richard were dead, yet the succession in the Kingdom.

Longshampe's proud carriage.

Which the Lord & his opposeth.

Longshampe seeks to flie the Realm in disguise.

Is discovered and beaten by the women.

The Duke John takes upon him as King.

Kingdom belonged not to him, but to *Arthur* D. of *Britain*, Son of *Geoffrey* his Elder Brother. And in these terms King *Richard* found his State when he returned from the Holy-Land.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy-Land.

King Richard at his return deprived his Brother John of all his possessions.

Is new Crowned.

His strange haste to relieve Vernoil.

Recon filed to his Brother John.

1195.
A Truce between the two Kings.

Robin Hood and little John.

AT his coming home from the Holy Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and people thanks for their faithfulness to him in his absence, and then for their readiness in supplying him for his Ransom. But as for his Brother *John* in whom ungratefulness seemed to strive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him, he deprived him of all those great possessions he had given him: some add he had to make found certain pieces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of *Marleborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortrefs at *Saint Michaels Mount* in *Cornwal*; but chiefly the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tichil*, which stood so firmly for *D. John*, that they were not reduced to obedience without some blood, and much expence. But his greatest trouble was with *Philip* King of *France*, in whom was so ingrafted a spleen against King *Richard*, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some ill. Now therefore King *Richard* to make it appear he had not left the Holy War for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at *Winchester*, (when the King of *Scots* bore one of the three Swords before him) lest the people through his long absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred Ships into *Normandy*; but it was withal, upon this occasion: sitting one day at dinner in his little Hall (as it was called) news was brought him, that King *Philip* had besieged *Vernoil*, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath he would not turn his face till he were revenged. Whereupon he caused the wall right before him to be presently beaten down, that so he might pass forward without turning his face; and thus in haste he goes to *Vernoil*, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of *France* made as great haste to be gone, not without some loss, and more disgrace. Here his brother *John* submits himself to him, and with great shew of penitence intreats his pardon, which he readily granted; saying only, I wish you may as well remember your fault, as I shall forget it. The King of *France* having left *Vernoil*, enters *Turonie*; and near to *Vindocinum* pitcheth his Tents: thither King *Richard* follows him, and with his coming so affrighted him, that leaving Bag and Baggage, Munition, Tents, and Treasure to a marvellous value, he got him gone, and glad he was so rid of King *Richard*. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a year, which each of them longed till it was expired: as having no pleasure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, though not to the King; yet to the Kingdom. For *Robin Hood*, accompanied with one little *John*, and a hundred stout fellows more, molested all passengers upon the High-way: of some it is said, that he was of noble blood, as least made noble, no less than

an Earl, for some deserving services: but having wasted his estate in riotous courses, very penury forced him to take this course. In which yet it may be said he was honestly dishonest; for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, spared the poor, and only made prey of the rich; till the King setting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in *Yorkshire* called *Birkleys*; and desiring there to be let to blood, was betrayed, and bled to death. Such another trouble, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the Jews; and first at the Town of *Linne* in *Norfolk*, upon this occasion: A Jew being turned Christian, was persecuted by those of his Nation, and assaulted in the street; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by was thither also followed, and the Church assailed: which the people of the Town seeing, in succour of the new Christian, they fell upon the Jews, of whom they slew a great number, and after pillaged their houses. By this Example the like assaults were made upon the Jews at *Stamford*, and after that at *Lincoln*, and lastly at *York*, where infinite number of Jews were massacred; and some of them blocked up in the Castle, cut the throats of their Wives and Children, and cast them over the Walls upon the Christians heads, and then burnt both the Castle and themselves. Neither could this sedition be stayed, till the King sent his Chancellour the Bishop of *Ely*; with force of Arms, to punish the offenders. His last trouble was a punishment of covetousness; for one *Guydomer* having found a great Treasure in the Kings Dominions; and for fear of King *Richard*, flying to a Town of the King of *France* for his safeguard, was pursued by the King: but the Town denied him entrance, and he thereupon going about the Walls to find the fittest place for assaulting it, one *Bertram de Gerdon*, or as others call him *Peter Basile*, shot at him with a Cross-Bow, and hit him on the Arm, of which wound he died within four dayes after, and so ended all his Troubles.

King Richard is wounded and dies 1199.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any Kings Reign; but of wayes to draw money from the Subject never more. It is true, the first money raised for his Journey, was all out of his own Estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but then at his coming back, he resumed the Lands into his hands again, without paying back the money he had received. This if it may not have the name, yet certainly it had the venome of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seal, and then enjoining them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; though it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the money raised for his Ransom, was not so properly a Taxation as a Contribution: or if a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his absence, by the Subjects themselves. And indeed no Taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the Subject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise money for his Ransom, there was imposed upon

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every

every Knights Fee 20 s. of all Lay-mens Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their Goods. Also the Chalice and Treasure of all Churches were taken to make up the sum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Ploughland through *England*, he would have two shillings, and of the Monks Cisteaux, all their Wool of that year. And one more great than this, and was this year imposed towards his Wars in *Normandy*, that every Hide of Land, as much as to say, every hundred Acres of Land, should pay 5 s. which computed without deductions, will rise to a sum that will seem incredible.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

Sheriffs and
Major of
London first
ordained.

His Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of *London*; for where before his time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Major, as now it is. And to give the first of these Magistrates the honour to be remembered the names of the Sheriffs were *Henry Cornhil*, and *Richard Reyner*; and the name of the first Lord Major was *Henry Fitz-Alwyn*, who continued Major during his life, which was four and twenty years. But *Fabian* who was himself a Sheriff of *London*; and by that means most likely to know the truth, affirmeth, that the Officers ordained now by King *Richard*, were but only two Bayliffs: and that there was no Major nor Sheriff of *London* till the Tenth year of King *John*; and therefore at that year I will begin their Catalogue. But howsoever, now began the City first to receive the form and state of a Common wealth, and to be divided into Fellowships and Corporations, as at this day they are: And this Franchise was granted in the year 1189. the first year of King *Richard* the first. He made also divers Ordinances concerning the measures of Corn, and Wine, and Cloth; and that no Cloth should any where be dyed of any other colour than black, but only in principal Towns and Cities. Also he ordained Jufts and Tournaments to be holden for the exercise of his Gentry in Arms.

Paris, fol.
191.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his time, no contestation with the Pope, no alterations amongst the Bishops, no difference between the Clergy and the Laity, or the Clergy amongst themselves: they also seemed to be asleep, till they were afterwards awakened, in the time of the succeeding King. But abroad in his time, there was an addition of three Orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Augustine* Friars, called Friars Mendicants, begun by *William* of *Paris*; then the Orders of Friars Minors begun by *St. Francis*; and lastly, the Orders of Friars Preachers begun by *St. Dominick*, though not confirmed till the first year of Pope *Honorius*.

New Orders
of Friars.

Works of Piety in his time.

Works of Piety are for the most part works of Plenty. Penury may inwardly have

good wishes, but outwardly it can express but little. And indeed all parts of the Kingdom, all sorts of people were drawn so dry, by the two great occasions of his Journey and his Ransome, and afterward by other Taxations; that the richest men had enough to do to maintain themselves, without being at the charge to make provision for others. All works of Piety were now for the service of the *Holy Land*; and therefore it may well pass, if not for a work of Devotion, at least worthy to be remembered, that *William* Bishop of *Ely* builded the outer Wall of the Tower of *London*, and caused a deep ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* should have surrounded it, though it could not be effected. Only *Hubert Walter* who at one time was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Popes Legate, Lord Chancellour, Lord Chief Justice, and the immediate Governour under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, founded a Monastery at *West Durham* in *Norfolk*, where he was born; begun another at *Wolverhampton*; and finished a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

Of his Wife and Children.

IN his Infancy he was contracted to a Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelone*, after that affianced to *Adela*, or *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria*, Daughter of *Garstias* K. of *Navarre*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicily*, from whence passing into *Cyprus*, their marriage was there solemnized. Afterward going forward to the *Holy Land*, he carried her and his Sister *Jane* Queen of *Sicily* along with him, where they remained till his return home, and then sent them to pass to *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*: but that ever she came into *England*, no mention is made, neither what became of her after she parted from King *Richard* at the *Holy Land*. But Children certainly he had none, either by his Wife, or by any Concubine, unless we reckon as a Priest in *Normandy* did, who told K. *Richard* he had three Daughters; and the King marvelling who they should be, seeing he knew of none he had; Yes (saith the Priest) you have three Daughters, Pride, Covetousness, and Lechery. Which the King taking merrily, called to the company about him, and said, I am told by a Priest here, that I have three Daughters; and I desire you to be witnesses how I would have them bestowed: My daughter Pride upon the Templars and Hospitalers; my daughter Covetousness, upon the Monks of the *Cisterrian* Order; and my daughter Lechery, upon the Clergy.

Uncertain
what became
of *Berengaria*
K. *Richard*'s
Wife.

K. *Richard*'s
metaphori-
cal daugh-
ters how
disposed.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his time the Town of *Mawling* in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, was consumed with fire. And in his time the bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britain* were found at *Glastenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which stood two Pillars, in which Letters were written but could not be read. Upon the Sepulchre was a Cross of Lead, whereon was written, Here lyeth the Noble K. of *Britain*, *Arthur*. Also in this Kings dayes for three or four years together, there reigned so

K. *Arthur*'s
Sepulchre
found.

Agreat
death.

so great a dearth, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 18 shillings 8 pence, and then followed so great a Mortality of men, that scarce the living sufficed to bury the dead.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, and well proportioned, fair, and comely of face, of hair bright abourn, of long arms, and nimble in all his joynts, his thighs and legs of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his Body. To speak of his moral parts, his Vices for the most part were but only upon suspicion: Incontinency in him much spoken of, nothing proved. But his Virtues were apparent, for in all his actions he shewed himself Valiant, (from whence he had the appellation or surname of *Cœur de Lion*) Wife, Liberal, Merciful, Just, and which is most of all, Religious. A Prince born for the good of Christendom, if a Bar in his Nativity had not hindred it. The remorse for his undutifulness towards his Father, was living in him till he died; for at his death he remembred it with bewailing, and desired to be buried as near him as might be; perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might ask him forgiveness in another world.

Of his Death and Burial.

HE died of a wound with an Arrow in his arm, shot at him by one *Bertrad*, or *Peter Basile*, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as other say, ill handled by an unskilful Chirurgion, in four dayes brought him to his end. But his Charity deserves to have it remembred, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he caused the party that had wounded him to be brought before him: who being asked what moved him to do his Fact? answered, That King *Richard* had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own hand, and therefore he would do if it were to do again.

Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have censured him to some terrible punishment; when contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him, but gave a special charge he should be set at liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt; commanding besides to give him a hundred shillings for his pains. An act that well shewed he had been at the *Holy Land*, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But *Polychronicon* saith, That after King *Richard* was dead, the Duke of *Brabant* who was then present, caused the said *Bertrad* to be slayed quick, and then to be hanged. He died the sixth day of April, in 1199. when he had lived 44. years, reigned nine, and about nine months, and had his Body buried at *Font-Everard*, by his Father: his Heart at *Roan*, in remembrance of the hearty love that City had alwayes born him, and his Bowels at *Chalons*, for a disgrace of their unfaithfulness: others say at *Carlisle* in *England*.

Men of Note in his time.

IN his time were famous, *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who followed King *Richard* into the *Holy Land*, and dyed there; *Hubert* that succeeded him; *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *William* Bishop of *Ely*, a man equally famous and infamous; also *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley*, a great Mathematician; *John de Herham*, and *Richard de Herham*, two notable Historians; *Gulielmus Stephanides*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the praise of Archbishop *Becket*; also one *Richard Divisiensis*, *Nicholas Walkington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martial men, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; *Ranulph de Fulgers*; two of the *Bar-dolphs*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*, *Mar-shal*, *Brunel* and *Mandevil*, with two *Roberts*, *Rofs*, and *Sevevile*.

K. Richard
why called
Cœur de Lion.

K. Richard's
charitable
mind at his
death.

1199.

The REIGN of KING JOHN.

1199.

KING *Richard* being dead, the right of Succession remained in *Arthur*, Son of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, elder Brother to *Earl John*; but *John* as thinking the Title of *Arthur* but a Criticism in State, and not for every ones Capacity, at least in common sense not so plain as his own, who was the Son of a King, and Brother to a King, ascends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no Competitor: Only *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* went before, and made an Oration in his behalf, wherein seeking to do him a courtesie, he did him indeed a wrong; for waving his right of succession, he insisted wholly upon their right of Election, whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, so they might cast him out; of which error when he was told, he said, He did it of purpose to make King *John* the more careful of his Government, by making him sensible upon what an unsure ground his Regality stood. King *John* resented it, but seeing it to serve his turn for the present, he took it not ill, as knowing that his turn once served, he could afterward be his own carver of what Title he pleased; and so upon Ascension day in the year 1199. he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, with more solemnity than joy: many presaging by their countenances and more in their minds, That all would not long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral circumstances *Earl John* had the advantage of his Nephew *Arthur*; for he was a man of years fit to govern, *Arthur* but a Child, not thirteen years old; he a Native, at least alwayes bred up in the Kingdom, *Arthur* a Foreigner, and had never been here; he well known both to the Nobility and People, *Arthur* a stranger to both, as one they had never seen. And besides these moral advantages, he had now added one from the Politicks, that he had gotten possession, (of more force in the practical part than all the former) and withall a greater than all these, if it be true which some write, That his Brother King *Richard* had assigned him his Successour after his decease. But yet knowing the Title at last would come to be tried in a Court, where the Sword must be Judge, he employeth all his endeavours to get this Judge to be his Friend, and by all means possible to strengthen himself with Arms; and thereupon going to *Chinon* and *Roan*, he seizeth upon the Treasure which his Brother had left in those parts, and with it gets Friends and Souldiers, the Armour of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himself would have done him no good, if he had not had the help of able Assistants, who yet assisted him no less for their own ends than for his. And these

King *John* is Crowned.

Why preferred before his Nephew *Arthur*.

were chiefly his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who knew if her Grand-son *Arthur* should be King, that then his Mother *Constantia* would rule all, at least during his Minority; and thereby herself be put from the stage of all Authority: and the Archbishop *Hubert*, who also knew that if *Arthur* should come to reign, that then the *Anjouin* and *French* should have all the best Offices, and the *English* wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King *William* the Conquerour. And yet a greater Friend than both these; for coming to *Roan*, he used means, that *Walter* the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church with great pomp girt him with the Ducal Sword of *Normandy*, and Crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roses, he taking his Oath for faithful Administration in that Dukedom, and they their Oath for being Loyal Subjects.

Of his Troubles in Contestation with his Nephew *Arthur*.

THough King *John* had entered upon *Normandy*, and made that Province sure unto him; yet the Province of *Anjou* stood firm for *Arthur*, in observance of their love to his Father their former Prince; which also King *John* soon after invading, reduceth by force of Arms to his obedience. And now *Constantia* the Mother of Prince *Arthur*, finding King *John* too powerful an adversary, and no likelihood for her party, to be able long to stand out against him without further assistance, conceives it her best way to have recourse to the King of *France*, and thereupon commits her Son *Arthur* to his tuition; who seemed to receive him with the tenderness of a Father, and promiseth to assist him with his uttermost Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in *France* and *England*. Here we may observe upon what hinge the affections of the Kings of *France* were used to turn. For in King *Henry* the Second's time, King *Lewis* of *France* was so great a Friend to his Son *Richard*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when *Richard* was King, then *Philip* King of *France* was so great a Friend to *John*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Brother: And now that *John* is come to be King, he is presently grown so great a Friend of *Arthurs*, that by all means he will help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt if *Arthur* should ever have come to be King, he would have been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him; by which it appears, that it was not the persons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were alwayes jealous of their growing too great. And indeed this ballancing of

Constantia Prince *Arthur's* mother imploreth aid of the King of *France*.

The King of
Scot doth
homage to
King John.

of States keeps Princes' affections alwayes in suspense, and never suffers the Glass of their Love or Hate, to make a true Reflection. About this time William King of Scots came to London to visit King John, and there did homage to him for his Kingdom of Scotland, though some say, but only for the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland: but being required aid against the French, he excused himself, saying, He could not do it without consent of his Kingdom, and so returned home.

And now Philip King of France having undertaken the protection of the young Prince Arthur, with a mighty Army enters Normandy, takes many of the best Towns, and pursuing his Victories, enters the Province of Anjou also, and recovers it from King John, which he the year before had gotten from Prince Arthur. Upon this, King John makes a Journey into Normandy, accusing King Philip for breaking the Truce, which he had formerly made with King Richard for five years. But when he should come to make his Accusation good by Arms, he falleth to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty dayes: with which new Truce, Baldwin Earl of Flanders, who had professed himself of that side, was not well pleased, and thereupon cometh to King John to Roan, and entering a new League with him, they there consult how to proceed, when the fifty dayes should be expired. This Consultation the King of France understood; and thereupon both sides prepare for War, but at the end of the Truce, both sides seemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace: and in conclusion, King John more desirous of Peace than he was for his Honour, agreed to these Conditions, That his Niece Blanch, Daughter of Alphonsus King of Castile, by his Sister Eleanor, should marry with Lewis King Philip's Son, who should have with her in Dower, besides Thirty thousand Marks in Money, all those Cities, except only Angiers, which the French before that time had taken, which were many and very great. And this Peace thus made, he returns into England with great joy, but was not with the like joy received of the English Lords, who counted themselves dishonoured, in the dishonourable conditions he had made; and Baldwin Earl of Flanders also, when he saw the poor spirit of King John, to descend to such base conditions, left his party, and entering League with the King of France, disposed himself for the Holy War.

But King John having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of ease, which agreed much better with his nature than War, sets his mind wholly upon pleasures; and for maintaining his pleasures, upon seeking after profit, which he pursues by all manner of injustice, under the name of Prerogative: and with such violence, that when his Brother Geoffry Archbishop of York, in the dutifulness of a Counsellor, advised him not to take such unlawful courses, he most unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a years work for all the Archbishops friends to pacifie his anger. In the neck of this injustice, he commits another, he procures a divorce from his Wife Avis, the Daughter of Robert Earl of Gloucester, only for being of kin to him in the

third degree; and by advice of the King of France, marries Isabel Daughter and Heir of the Earl of Angoulesme, Affianced before to Hugh le Brun Earl of March: and shortly after brings her with him into England, where he and she together, are both Crowned at Canterbury. And here the Earls and Barons of the Realm, being all summoned to attend the King into France at Whitsuntide following, they all by a general consent sent him word, That unless he would restore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no service out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in pressing their demands at this time than before, no Writers of these times do sufficiently deliver: only some of them speak scatteringly of certain oppressions (besides the general grievance for Exactions) lately offered to some of the Lords; one to the Earl of Chester, whom he would have banished, only for advising him to leave his cruelty and incontinency. Another, a pursuit in Love to a Daughter of Robert Fitz-Water, called Maud the Fair, who not consenting to the Kings lust, a messenger was sent to give her poyson in a potted Egg, whereof she died: And a third, offered to William de Brawse and his Lady, for a rash word spoken; for when the King sent to have de Brawse's Son delivered him for a pledge, the Lady answered, We shall do well indeed to commit our Son to his keeping, who kept so well his own Nephew Prince Arthur. This rash word cost de Brawse his Countrey, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being famished to death in Prison. For, though these directly were but particular grievances, yet reflecting they were general, what one suffered, all might; but whether any of these, or all of these together, were Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Lords at this time, or whatsoever was the true cause, this was plainly the effect, that unless the King would restore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithstanding this refusal of his Lords, he passeth over with his Queen into Normandy; and from thence to Paris, where the King of France receives them with all complements of Love and Amity. But now Hugh Earl of March, resenting the injury done him by King John, in taking away his affianced Wife, joyns with Prince Arthur; and the King of France also, for all his fair shew of amity lately made, joyns with them, as having some time before married his youngest Daughter to Prince Arthur, and these with their Forces joyned, invade first the Turones, and then the Anjouins, of which Province, Queen Eleanor, the Kings Mother was left Regent: who thereupon betakes her self to Mirabel the strongest Town of those parts, and sends to her Son King John, acquainting him with the danger she was in, and requiring his speedy succour. When in the mean time Prince Arthur takes the City, and in it his Grandmother Queen Eleanor, whom he used with greater reverence and respect than she expected. But King John at the hearing hereof, was so moved, calling the French King ungrateful and perfidious for succouring Prince Arthur, contrary to his League, that studying presently the art of revenge, he fell upon a stratagem,

marries Isabel affianced to Hugh le Brun.

The Lord's refuse to do the King service out of the Kingdom.

King John's unjust carriage for being denied his suit in love.

1200.
The two Kings of England and France agree upon a peace.

The English Lords are discontented with the conditions of peace.

King John divorceth his Wife Avis, and

Hugh de Brun and the King of France joyn against King John in assisting Prince Arthur.

1202.

King John
by his cele-
brity surpris-
eth his ene-
mies.

Prince Ar-
thur is taken
prisoner, and
soon after
died.

regem, of all other the most prudent against an Enemy. For a Surprise in War is like an Apoplexy in the body, which strikes without giving warning for defence. And this Strategem at this time King John put in practice; for travelling night and day with indefatigable labour, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and setting upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution than a battel: and they who remained unslain were taken prisoners, amongst whom Prince Arthur himself, who committed presently to the custody of Robert de Veypont in Roan, lived not long after. Whether it were, that attempting to make escape, he fell down from the Walls of his Prison, and was drowned in the River Seyne, as some say: or whether it were that through anguish of mind he fell sick and dyed, as others say: or whether indeed he were made away by King John, as the common fame went, Certain it is, that he survived his imprisonment but a very few dayes. But though he were gone, yet his Sister Eleanor, a preceding Competitor to King John, was still remaining; Her therefore, at this time also King John seised upon, and commits her in safe custody to Bristow Castle, where after she had lived long, she died.

Of his Troubles after the Death of his Nephew Arthur.

Prince Ar-
thurs Mo-
ther accu-
seth King
John of
murdering
her Son to
the King of
France.

King John
is celest.

All Norman-
d is lost by
King John.

King John being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he should have ended all his troubles: but like a Hydra's head, they rather multiplied upon him. For they who had been so ready to assist Prince Arthur in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And first, Constance his Mother comes to King Philip, with open exclamations against K. John, accusing him with the murder of her Son, and with all the instance of Tears and Intreaties, solicits him to revenge it. Hereupon King Philip summons King John to appear at a day; and because he appeared not according to the tenure of his Homage, it was decreed against him, that he had forfeited all the property of his Estate in France: and thereupon King Philip with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Towns of principal consequence, while K. John lived idle at Roan, no more regarding it, than if it had not at all concerned him. And when some of his Lords seemed to marvel what he meant, to suffer the French to rob him of such good Cities; You say true indeed (saith he) for it is but robbery; and within a few dayes you shall see, I will make him restore them back with usury. In this slighting humour he returns into England, where he looks not after the levying of Souldiers, or the raising of an Army, as this case required, but continues his old course for raising of money, accusing sometimes one of his Lords, sometimes another, as if it were their fault that he had lost these Towns in France. And upon these accusations made many of them pay great sums of money, which brought him not only into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the King of France understanding his unworthy courses, proceeds more violently in his invasions than before, getting Falais, Damfront, and all the good Towns of Normandy, but only

Roan. And at last, though Roan was a Town strongly fortified with Walls, and more strongly with the faithful hearts of the Inhabitants; yet finding no hope of succour from King John, it was forced for want of Victuals to submit itself to the King of France. Whose Example all the other Cities followed, and so all Normandy returned to the subjection of the French, after three hundred and sixteen years that Rollo the Dane had first possessed it.

It was now the year 1205. and the sixth of King John's reign, about which time, the two props of his Estate, or rather indeed, the two bridles of his intemperancy dyed, his Mother Queen Eleanor, whose vertues had oftentimes qualified the vices of her Son; and Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who repented him at his death of nothing more, than that he had been an Instrument of bringing him to the Crown.

And now K. John being a substantive of himself, hath a device in his head to make his Subjects as willing to give him money as he was to have it. For knowing the great discontentment they all had for their losses in France, he gives it out, that he would presently raise an Army for recovery of those losses, if he might have money to go about it: whereupon, never was money given with more alacrity. And as soon as he had it, he instantly went to Portsmouth, and there took Shipping before it was possible for his Lords and others to be in readiness to accompany him; and sailing forward some certain leagues into the Sea, upon a sudden he returns back again, and then laies the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him: and for this backwardness of theirs, imposed afterwards great Fines upon them, by which means he got money no less by pretence of his not going, than he had done before by pretence of his going. About this time died Geoffery Fitz-Peter Justiciar of England, who while he lived kept the King in some awe; in so much, as hearing he was dead, he swore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of England, and with great rejoycing said to some Lords about him: Now when this man comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop Hubert, whom certainly he shall find there. But Philip King of France, intending to leave the English nothing on that side the Sea, invaded Chinon, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captain Roger Lacy, which had given a period to King Philips Victories, had not Guido, the husband of Constantia Prince Arthur's Mother, revolted to King John. Who with his assistance once again levies an Army, besiegeth Mount Auban, a Castle thought impregnable; and within fifteen dayes takes it, which Charles the Great could not get with his seven years siege: where so great a number of French Lords were taken prisoners, that King John sent a Catalogue of their names into England, for a memorial of so great a Victory. After this, he taketh the strong Town of Angiers, and utterly desaceth it; for which afterward he was sorry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give battel, intercession was made by friends of both sides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two years, and King John returned into England.

1205.

King John
device to
get money
of his Sub-
jects.

King John
glad of
Geoffery
Fitz-Peters
death.

King John
assisted un-
expectedly.

He was born
at Angiers in
France.

A peace be-
tween the
two Kings.

King

King John
passeth into
Ireland and
reduceth it
to obedience.

He subdueth
the Welsh
rebels and
takes 28.
pledges of
them.
Upon their
rebellious
again he
hangs up
all their
pledges.

1214.

King John's
Army de-
feated by
the French,
and thereup-
on a Truce.
The Lords
require their
ancient Li-
berties.

They deliver
him a copy
of their de-
mands.

The King
refuseth to
grant them.

King John being returned, performs no less worthy Acts at home, than he had done in France; for first he invades the Borders of Scotland, and brings Alexander King of Scots to do him homage; and then understanding many of the Irish to be revolted, he passed over to Dublin, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing John Bishop of Norwich Governor there, he returns into England: where passing through Wales, he subdueth certain Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty Children of the best Families for pledges of their future loyalty; but not long after, hearing they grew mutinous and rebelled again, he was so incensed, that he would not go to dinner, till he had seen those twenty eight Children to be all hanged before his face. So inconsiderate a thing is the desire of revenge, that it makes no difference between innocency and guiltiness; though indeed a thing oftentimes must be done for example, which considered in it self, would be forborn.

It was now the year 1214. and the fourteenth of King John's reign, when he going to Angiers, strongly repairs it, and the Province of Poitou revolted to him: which Lewis King Philip's Son understanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uses much severity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes prisoners, Reynolt Earl of Boloigne, and William Earl of Salisbury, with many other of King John's Captains, and defeated his whole Army. Whereof when King John was certified he grew in a manner desperate, and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of France, and returns into England: where he finds a worse business ready to entertain him. For the Lords of the Realm having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties; and finding nothing but delusions, endure no longer to be abused: but meeting at St. Edmundsbury, they there confer how they may find a remedy to redress this evil, and at last concluded to go to the King themselves in person, and make their demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in King Henry the first's time. Whereupon coming to the King after Christmas, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands, he gives them this fair Answer, that within a few dayes he would give them satisfaction; and causeth the Bishops of Canterbury and Ely, with William Marshal, Earl of Gloucester, to pass their words for him that it should be performed. But the King meaning nothing less than to do as he said, falls presently a levying of Souldiers, which the Lords understanding, they all did the like; and going to the Bishop of Canterbury, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and required the King's Answer: But the Bishop shewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a satisfactory Answer, he swore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdom; and that he would dye before he would yield to any such demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to trust to) fall to besiege Northampton, and after that, Bedford, which is yielded to them; and withal they are sent to by the Londoners to signify their readiness to joyn with them. At this time the King was at Windsor providing an Army, but hearing

the Londoners were joyned with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud: and thereupon sends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to Windsor, he would grant their demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a military manner, (for they durst not trust his word) the King saluted them all kindly, and promised to give them satisfaction in all they demanded; and so in a Meadow between Windsor and Stanes, called Running Mead, he freely consented to confirm their former Liberties: and was content some grave personages should be chosen to see it performed. But the next day, when it should be done, he gets him gone to Southampton; and from thence to the Isle of Wight; where advising with his Council, what in this case was fittest to be done; It was concluded he should send to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the mean time lived skulking up and down in corners, that no man might know where to find him: or which is worse (as some write) roving about and practising Piracy. And now the Lords begin to suspect fraud, when shortly after the Kings messengers who were Walter and John, Bishops of Worcester and Norwich, return with the Popes Decree; which was that the King's grant to the Lords should be void. With this Decree, the King after three months that he had stayed in the Isle of Wight, coming back to Windsor, acquaints the Lords; but they accusing the Messengers for false informing the Pope, and the Pope also for making a Decree without hearing both sides, betake them to Arms, and swear by the holy Altar to be revenged for this ludification and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing moved with the Popes Decree, sends again unto him, to acquaint him with it; who mightily incensed to have his Decree so slighted, adjudgeth them all to be held as enemies of Religion: and gives power to Peter Bishop of Winchester, and to the Abbot of Reading to Excommunicate them. In the mean time the King had sent the Bishop of Worcester, Chancelour of England, and others with his Seal, to hire Souldiers from the parts beyond the Seas; who returning shortly after, bringeth along with him out of Poitou and Gascony, Savery de Malcon, Geoffry and Oliver Boteville, Brothers; and under their conduct so great a rabble, that with these Forces, within half a year the King had gotten all the Castles of the Barons, to the borders of Scotland. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his Brother William Earl of Salisbury, and others to set upon London; and with the other part he goes himself into Yorkshire, where most of the Lords had possession, which in most cruel manner he destroyed with fire and Sword. The Lords being thus on all sides distressed, resolved upon a course, neither honourable nor safe; yet such as necessity made seem both: they send to Philip King of France, requiring him to send over his Son Lewis to their aid, and promising they would submit themselves to be governed by him, and take him for their Sovereign. To this motion of the Lords, King Philip was as forward as themselves; which King John understanding,

The King
promiseth to
grant his
Lords their
demands

He sends to
the Pope for
help.

The Lords
take Arms

King John
with the aid
of strangers
gets all the
Barons Ca-
stles.

The Lords
send for the
K. of France
his Son Lewis
to come and
be their
King.

sends

1216.

Prin. e
Lewis com-
eth is o
England,
and is recei-
ved by the
Lords: And
by the City
of London.

sends again to the Pope, requiring him to use his authority to stay the King of *France* from coming. But King *Philip*, though much regarding the request of the Pope; yet nothing so much as the conquest of *England*, with all speed provides an Army: and with a fleet of six hundred sail, sends over his son *Lewis*: who passing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*, whither many of the Lords and others resort unto him; and giving Oaths of Allegiance, joyn themselves with him. King *John* at that time was at *Dover*, but not daring to stay there for fear of the enemy, he commits the Castle to *Hubert Burgh*, and goeth himself to *Canterbury* and from thence to *Winchester* in the manner of a flight: which Prince *Lewis* understanding, went straight to *London*, and by a plausible Oration makes that City sure unto him: and thither came to him the King of *Scots* with an Army of choice Souldiers, as also the Earls, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, with many others. And now Prince *Lewis* passeth all the Countrey over without resistance, but not without infinite outrages committed by his Souldiers, which was not in him to hinder: and then coming to *Norwich*, he takes that City easily, but *Dover* cost him a longer siege, as being defended by the valiant and loyal Captain *Hubert Burgh*. In this mean while King *John* finding his enemies employed in these difficult sieges, sends about and gathers a rabble of all raskal people to him; and with them runneth over all the Countrey, spoiling and killing in most barbarous manner. And now was the Kingdom made the Stage of all the miseries of rapine and cruelty, two Armies in it on foot at once, each of them seeking to prey upon the other, and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King coming to *Walpoole* in *Norfolk*, where the Washes were to be passed over, he sendeth one to search where the Foord was passable, and there himself with some few passed over; but the multitude, with all the carriages, passing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned: with which disaster, the King through anguish of mind fell into a Fever, whereof within a few dayes he died. And here was an end of all the troubles of this King: In whom it is observable, that loving his ease so well as he did, he should run voluntarily into such troubles, especially at home, upon so small occasions as he did; but it should seem there is no greater hindrance to men for accomplishing their will, than their own wilfulness.

King John
through an-
guish of
mind falls
sick and di-
eth.

Of his Taxations.

TO speak of his Taxations, it may not unproperly be said that it was but one continued Taxation all his reign through; yet to divide it into two parts: his first was the Taxation of three shillings upon every Plough-land through the Kingdom, to pay the thirty thousand Marks, for his Neece *Blanches* Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he seizeth upon all the Temporalities of his Brother *Geoffrey* Archbishop of *York* for opposing it; and for a continuation, he makes a progress shortly after, into all the North-parts, where he exacts great Fines of offenders in his Forests. Very

shortly after, solicited by the Popes Legat, he grants a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all his Subjects Revenues for one year, to succour the *Holy Land*. Shortly after this, he chargeth his Earls and Barons with the losses he sustained in *France*; and thereupon Fines them to pay the seventh part of all their Goods: neither spared he the Church, or the Commons in this Imposition. Before this year is ended, another Levy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Marks and a half of every Knights Fee, for Military aid; neither are the Clergy exempted from paying their part. And before another year is out another Imposition is laid of the thirteenth part of all moveables and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned among his Taxations, that when the Monks of *Canterbury* had displeased him about the Election of their Archbishop, he seized upon all their Goods, and converted them to his own use: and presently after this, upon the like displeasure he deposes many Bishopricks, Abbeyes and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, and confiscates all their Revenues. To these may be added, that he took eleven thousand Marks of Silver, of the King of *Scots*, for granting him Peace. Add to these also great sums of money exacted and gathered from the *Jews*, among whom there was one that would not be ransomed, till the King caused every day one of his great teeth to be pulled out by the space of seven dayes; and then he was content to give the King ten thousand Marks of silver that no more might be pulled out, for he had but one left. Add to these, that at his return out of *Ireland*, he summoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him; of whom he extorted for their redemption the sum of an hundred thousand pounds sterling. Add lastly to these that at his return out of *Wales*, he exacts of every Knight that attended him not in that expedition, two Marks.

A Jews
teeth pulled
out.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE was the first that appointed the Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and other Cities, endowing them also with their greatest Franchises. The first that caused sterling money to be here coined. The first that ordained the honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earls. The first that settled the rates and measures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such other necessities of Commerce. The first that planted *English* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*. The first that enlarged the Royal style with the Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that Kingdom, and fastened *Wales* to the Crown of *England*.

Sterling
money when
first.

English
Laws when
first planted
in Ireland.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFTER the death of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Monks of that Covent secretly in the night, elected one *Reginald* their Sub-prior to succeed him; and caused him to go to *Rome* for Confirmation: but afterward doubting how the King would take it, being done without his knowledge, they crave leave of the

the

Contention
between the
Pope and
the King
about electi-
on of a Bi-
shop.

The King
surrenders
his Crown
to the Pope.

Peter the
Hermites
prediction
of no King
to be in En-
gland by a
certain day.

The King-
dom Inter-
dicted six
years toge-
ther.

the King to chuse a fit man, the King is content to allow them the election; but requires himself to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he specially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of these two elections should stand good, after many allegations of both sides, the Pope to shew himself indifferent to both, disallows them both, and nominates a third man, one *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal of *St. Chrysogone*, an English man born, and a man of great Learning. The Monks admit him, but the King opposeth it. And now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: but he that used the Spiritual Sword, proved so much the better Fencer, that he disarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the first Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatened the King to Excommunicate him, and to interdict the Kingdom; so the King threatened the Pope to nullifie his authority, and to banish the Clergy men out of the Realm. In the second Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatened, (for he interdicted the Kingdom:) So the King performed as much as he had spoken, (for he drove the Monks out of their Cloisters) yet at last when *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate came into *England*, and made appear to the King in what great danger he stood; First, of the King of *France*, by Invasion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other help but reconciliation with the Pope; he so touched him to the quick, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to asking forgiveness. So as taking off the Crown from his head, he laid it down at *Pandulphus* feet, to be disposed of, as the Pope should please. And *Pandulphus* stuck not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four dayes in his hands before he restored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of the See of *Rome*, at the annual Tribute of a Thousand Marks. And all those three or four dayes, in which *Pandulphus* kept the Crown, it might be truly said the Kingdom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that *Peter* an Hermite in a Prophetical Rapture had given out some time before, that by *Ascension* day, there should be no King of *England*. Which though in some sort it was true, yet because in some sort it was not true; and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own interpretation, it cost the poor Hermit and his Son their lives, and they remain as a pillar of Salt, to make men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*, and of playing the Criticks in matters of State.

But by this means the Kingdom was released of the Interdiction, which had continued six years, three months, and fourteen dayes: During all which time, there was no publick exercise of Religion; no Churches open, no Ecclesiastical Sacraments administred, but only to them that are in danger of death, and baptism to children; all that died were buried like Dogs in Ditches and corners, but only such as had purchased or procured licence from the Pope.

In this Kings reign, Saint *Dominick* continued his Preaching ten years together against the *Albigenses*; so called because they began first in the City of *Alba*. Also in his time Saint *Francis* renounced the World; and when a Priest to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he cast it away, and entered into a vow of perpetual poverty. Also in this Kings time, was held the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocent* the third, in which was established the Popes power over Princes, and in matters of Faith, Auricular Confession, and Transubstantiation.

Auricular
confession
and Trans-
substantia-
tion were
first.

Of his Irreligion.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, though very Unchristian, that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then taking an overthrow in *France*, in great anger he cryed out, That nothing had prospered with him since the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another speech of his, which though spoken merrily, was in good earnest very irreligious, that being on a time a hunting, at the opening of a fat Buck, he said; See how this Deer hath prospered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare swear he never heard Mass. It is sufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be true which some write) that being in some distress, he sent *Thomas Hardington*, and *Ralph Fitz-Nichols*, Knights, in Embassage to *Mirammulim* King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, with offer of his Kingdom to him, upon condition he would come and aid him; and that if he prevailed, he would himself become a Mahometan, and renounce the Christian Faith. Though some there be that say, All these were but false criminations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not these things of him: yet to suffer his Kingdom to stand interdicted so many years together, upon so small occasion as he did, was certainly no good sign of Religion in him. Yet one act he did, wherein he shewed a respect to Religion, by the honour he did to a Religious man. For *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*, lying very sick, he not only went to visit him; but being dead was one of the three Kings, (the other two were *William* King of *Scotland*, and the King of *South-Wales*) that carried his Herse upon their shoulders, till they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbishops and Bishops to carry it into the Quire.

M. Paris
fol. 243.

King John
helps to
carry Hugh
Bishop of
Lincoln to
burying.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

YET did this King leave more Works of Piety behind him, than all his Subjects that were in his time. For he founded the Abbey of *Bowley* in the New Forest in *Hampshire*: Also an Abbey of black Monks in the City of *Winchester*, and the Monastery of *Farindon*, and the Monastery of *Hales-Owen* in *Shropshire*: he re-edified *Godstow* and *Wroxel*, and enlarged the Chapel of *Knarborough*. Now for his Subjects, only *Richard* Prior of *Bermondsey* builded an House against the Wall of the said House of *Bermondsey*, called *Almary* or Hospital of *Converts* and *Children*, in honour of *St. Thomas*.

L

In

The Stone
bridge of
London fi-
nished.

In this Kings time *St. Mary Overies* in *South-wark* was begun to be builded, and the *Stone Bridge* over the *Thames*, was by the Merchants of *London* finished. Also *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Monastery at *West Derham* in *Norfolk*, which upon the dissolution came to the Family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this day.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

The Com-
mon Council
of London,
when first
ordained.

From the First year of the Reign of King *Richard* the First, the City of *London* had been governed by two *Bayliffs*; but the King in his Tenth year taking displeasure against them for denying his *Purveyers* *Wheat*, caused them to be imprisoned, till 35 of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what small store the City had, how the *Commons* were ready to make insurrection about it, he was then satisfied; and moreover at their suit, granted them to have a *Mayor* and two *Sheriffs* to be yearly chosen nine dayes before *Michaelmas*; which Order hath continued, though with some alteration in the time of their Election, to this day. Also in this Kings time, five and thirty of the most substantial Citizens of *London*, were chosen out, and called the Council of the City. He caused the *Laws* of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and money to be coyned there according to the weight of *English* money.

Of his Wives and Children.

King *John* lived to have three Wives. His first was *Alice* Daughter of *Hubert* Earl of *Morson*, who left him a Widower without issue. His second was *Avice* Daughter and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, by whom no issue neither; divorced from her by reason of Consanguinity in the third degree. His third Wife was *Isabel* Daughter and Heir of *Aymer* Earl of *Angoulesm*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*. By this Wife he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Jone*, *Eleanor*, and *Isabel*: *Henry* succeeded him in the Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwal*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had Issue *Henry* and *John*, that dyed without issue; also *Edward* Earl of *Cornwal*, and others. *Jone* his eldest Daughter married to *Alexander* the Second, King of *Scots*, dyed without issue. *Eleanor* the second Daughter (married to *Simon* Earl of *Leicester*) had issue, *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almarick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* slain without issue. *Simon* Earl of *Bigorre*, and ancestour to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscany*, and of the Earls of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Richard*, remaining privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *Wellesbourn*, was ancestour of the *Wellesbourns* in *England*. *Eleanor*, born in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales*, to Prince *Lewis ap Griffith*. *Isabel*, his youngest Daughter, married to the Emperour *Frederick* the second, had issue, *Henry*, appointed to be K. of *Sicily*, and *Margaret*

The Family
of the
Wellesbourn,
from whence
descended.

Wife of *Albert* Lantgrave of *Thurin*. She dyed in Childbed, after she had been Emperess six years. He had also two natural Sons, *Geoffry* Fitz-Roy, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Castle) and had issue by her, of whom some Families of good account are descended. Also one base Daughter named *Jone*, married to *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, and something fat, of a sowe and angry countenance; and concerning his conditions, it may be said, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his ease, yet his Fortune was to be ever in action. He won more of his enemies by surprizes than by battels, which shews that he had more of Lightning in him than of Thunder. He was never so true of his word as when he threatened, because he meant alwayes as cruelly as he spake, not alwayes as graciously; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, must have looked upon his promises. He was neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity: For prosperity made him insolent, and adversity dejected; a mean fortune would have suited best with him. He was all that he was by Fits; Sometimes doing nothing without deliberation, and sometimes doing all upon a sudden: Sometimes very Religious, and sometimes scarce a Christian. His unsatiableness of money was not so much, as that no man knew what he did with it; gotten with much noise, but spent in silence. He was but intemperate in his best temper, but when distempered with sickness most of all, as appeared at his last; when being in a Fever, he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of sweet Ale. If we look upon his works, we must needs think him a worthy Prince; but if upon his Actions, nothing less: For his works of Piety were very many, as hath been shewed before; but as for his actions, he neither came to the Crown by Justice, nor held it with Honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good parts in him, and especially having his Royal Posterity continued to this day, we can do no less but honour his memory.

King John's
intempe-
rance.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

ONE Casualty we might count disastrous, if it had not had relation to our selves: for *Hugh de Bones* coming to aid King *John* with Threescore thousand out of *Britain* and *Flanders*, by misfortune at Sea were all drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the people he had brought with him to inhabit. In this Kings time were great Thunders and Lightnings, and showers with hail-stones as big as Goose-Eggs. Fishes of strange shape were taken in *England*, armed with helmets and shields, and were like unto armed Knights, saving that they were far greater in proportion. About *Maidstone* in *Kent* a certain Monster was found stricken with the Lightning, which Monster had a head like an

Hail-stones
as big as
Goose-eggs.

A strange
Monster.

As,

As, a belly like a man, and all other parts far differing from any other creature. Also in *Suffolk* was taken a Fish in form like to a man, and was kept six months upon Land with raw flesh and fish; and then, for that they could have no speech of it, they cast it into the Sea again.

Of his Death and Burial.

When Prince *Lewis* of *France* was come into *England*, and was received by the Lords and by the *Londoners*, King *John* with an Army went into the *North-parts*; and coming to *Walpool*, where he was to pass over the *Washes*, he sent one to search where the water was passable, and there himself with some few passed over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treasure passing without order they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which disaster, and perhaps distempered in his body before, he fell into a Fever, and was let blood; but keeping an ill diet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking sweet Ale, he fell into a looseness, and grew presently so weak, that there was much ado to get him to *Newark*, where soon after he dyed. Though indeed it be diversly related; *Caxton* saith, he was poisoned at *Swinesheads* Abbey by a Monk of that Covent; the manner and cause this. The King being there, and hearing it spoken how cheap Corn was, should say, He would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be sold for a shilling. At this speech the Monk took such indignation, that he went and put the poyson of a Toad into a Cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him there was such a cup of Wine as he had never drank in all his life: and therewithal took the assay of it himself, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himself presently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him, that he was fallen down dead; Then (saith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others say the poyson was given him in a dish of Pears. But the Physician that dis-bowelled his body found no sign of poyson in it, and therefore not likely to be true. But howsoever the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he dyed, on the 19 day of *October*, in the year 1216. when he had reigned seventeen years and six months; lived one and fifty. He was buried, his bowels at *Croxton* Abbey, his body at *Worcester*, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monks Cowl, which the superstition of that time accounted sacred, and a defensative against all evil spirits.

Of the Prices of things in his time.

Neither is this unfit to be recorded in Chronicles, to the end comparison may be made between the time past and the present: as in the time of King *Henry* the Second, a Quarter of Wheat was sold for twelve pence, a Quarter of Beans or Oats for a groat. Neither is the price of silver itself much less altered; for an ounce of silver was then valued at twenty pence, which is now valued at least at five shillings. Whereof Philosophers must tell the reason; for

seeing scarcity makes things dear, why should not plenty make them cheap?

Of Men of special Note in his time.

IN Military matters there were many famous Men in his time; as *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fitcher*; with many others; but chiefly two, whose acts make them specially memorable: the one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom King *John* had left Governour of *Dover-Castle*; of whom it is related, that when the Prince *Lewis* of *France* came to take the Town, and found it difficult to be taken by force, he sent to *Hubert*, whose Brother *Thomas* he had taken Prisoner a little before; that unless he would surrender the Castle, he should presently see his Brother *Thomas* be put to death with exquisite torments before his eyes: but this threatening moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his own loyalty, than his Brothers life. Then Prince *Lewis* sent again, offering him a great sum of money; but neither did this move, but he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his Castle. The other was *Robert Fitz-Water*, of whom it is related, That King *John* being with an Army in *France*, one of his Knights in a great bravery, would needs make a challenge to any of the *French* Camp, that durst encounter him in a Combat; when presently comes forth this *Rob. Fitz-Water*, and in the encounter threw Horse and Man down to the ground: whereof when King *John* heard, By Gods tooth (saith he) he were a King indeed that had such a Champion; whereupon some that stood by, said to him, He is, Sir, a servant of your own, it is *Robert Fitz-Water*, whom you have banished. Whereupon his Sentence of banishment was presently reversed; and the King received him, as he well deserved, into special favour. In matter of Literature also also there lived many famous men in this Kings Reign; as *Geoffrey Vineaufe*, *Simon Fraxinus*, alias *Ash*, *Adam Dorensis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* surnamed the Wise, *Richard Canonius*, *William Peregrine*, *Alane Tewksbury*, *Gervasius Dorobernensis*, *John Hanwil*, *Nigel Worker*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Benet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monk of *Newburg*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervasius Tilburienis*, *Gyraldus Cambrensis*, *Johannes Devonius*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legly*, *Mauricius Morganius*, *John de Fordeham*, *William Leicester*, *Joceline Brakeland*, *Roger of Crowland*, *Hugh White*, alias *Candidus*, who wrote an History, intituled, *Historia Petroburgensis*; *John de Saint Omer*, *Adam Barking*, *John Gray*, an Historiographer, and Bishop of *Norwich*, *Walter* of *Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*, and lastly *Simon Thurway*, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his Blasphemies against *Moses* and *Christ*, became at last so utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a letter of the Book. One yet remains that must not be forgotten, *Hugo Carthusianus* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whose Miracles, as *Matthew Paris* writes, made him famous in those dayes: and the Works he hath left behind him, famous in these.

Hubert Burgh, a most loyal Servant to King *John*.

Robert Fitz-Water his valour.

Simon Thurway of a great Scholar becomes an Idiot.

King *John* thought by some to be poisoned.

A Monks Cowl of great vertue.

In his tenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was first Major.
Peter Duke, Thomas Neal, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Peter le Josue, William Blounde, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Adam Whitley, Stephen le Grass, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
John Fitz-Peter, John Garland, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Randolph Eyland, Constantine Josue, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Martin Fitz-Alice, Peter Bate, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Major.
Solomon Basing, Hugh Basing, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
William Hardel was Major.
John Travers, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.

The

The LIFE and REIGN of KING HENRY THE THIRD.

*Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done
in his Minority.*

An. Dom.
1216.

KING John being dead, his eldest Son Henry was next to succeed: who being but Nine years old, though he were capable of having his Right; yet he was scarce capable of understanding his right; especially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdom had sworn Allegiance. But those Lords who had been constant to the Father, notwithstanding his faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether innocent, and whose gracious aspect gave no small hope of a better disposition. Amongst all which Lords, there was none so eminent in worthiness, none so near him in Alliance, as William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who had married his Aunt; and he drawing the rest of the Lords together, with a solemn Oration, in behalf of the young Prince, so confirmed them, and so ordered the matter, that on the twenty eighth day of October, in the year 1216. he was Crowned at Gloucester, by Peter Bishop of Winchester, and Joceline Bishop of Bath, in the presence of Guallo the Popes Legate, and many Lords and Bishops. Where besides the Oath usually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear reverence and honour to God, and to his holy Church, and to do right and justice to all his people, he did homage besides to the Church of Rome, and to Pope Innocent, for his Kingdom of England and Ireland; and took his Oath for the true payment of the Thousand Marks which his Father had granted to the Church of Rome. This done, William Earl of Pembroke, by a general consent was assigned Protector of the Realm during the Kings minority. In which place the first thing he did, was to give notice of the new Kings Coronation to all the Countries round about; and to proclaim pardon to all offenders that within a time limited should come and submit themselves to him. In the mean time Prince Lewis of France, who at his hearing of King John's death, thought himself then sure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he should need to fear no more opposition; now that he hears of the new Kings Crowning, and that so solemnly, and with so unanimous a consent, he begins to think himself in worse case than before: and to grow jealous of the English Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already

grown in their minds, which of the two obligations should be the greater; either that of their Oath to Prince Lewis: or that of their Allegiance to King Henry. They could not but think it extream ungratefulness to forsake Prince Lewis, whom they had themselves invited to come; and they could not but think it extream undutifulness to stand out in opposition against King Henry their natural Sovereign. And that which added no small weight to this scale, was a discovery lately made by the Viscount Melon a French Lord, at the time of his death, who confessed, as a matter of conscience, That Prince Lewis had vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the English Nobility, and to admit none but French to any place of Dignity. Neither was it perhaps the least cause that moved many to leave the party of Prince Lewis, that Guallo the Popes Legat had threatened to Excommunicate him, and as many as should adhere unto him. But whether any of these Reasons, or any other were their motives, certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal, the Earls of Arundel, Warren, Salisbury, and William the eldest Son of the Protector, shrunk from Prince Lewis, and went to King Henry, as thinking no obligation so great as Allegiance: And many again continued constant to Prince Lewis, as thinking no obligation so great as an Oath. And now Prince Lewis, to cast the dice of fortune, before his Enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, should gather to a head, and draw more Forces together, staying himself at London, sent his Lieutenants with an Army of Twenty thousand, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with small opposition: but coming to Lincoln, where though they had the Town itself, yet the Castle stood out, and had been defended by a Noble Lady a whole year before, they found such resistance, that their proceedings was there arrested. For thither came presently William the Protector, with his Son William, the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Chester; the Earls of Salisbury, Ferrers, and Albemarle, William de Albinet, William de Cantilup, Falcaius, Thomas Bassett, Rob. Vipont, Brent de Lisle, Geoffry Lacy, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King; who with wonderful violence assault the City. At which time it was propounded by the French, to sally forth and give them Battel, but conceiving their Army to be greater than indeed it was (for the English had set double Ensigns to every Company, which made

The Lords doubt to whom they would adhere.]

Many Lords shrink from Prince Lewis.

King Henry is crowned.

a shew

The chief
men that
adhered to
Prince Lewis
are taken
prisoners.

Lewis Fair.

1217.

Prince Lewis
supplies de-
feated at Sea.

Prince Lewis
is compoun-
ded with to
depart the
Realm.

Prince Lewis
departs.

Some Lords
paid out
still.

a shew of twice as many as they were) they forbear that course, and kept themselves within the Town: by which means being cooped up, and straitened in place, so as they could not make use of their Forces, as otherwise they might, they were in conclusion all defeated; and all the principal men of the English that had adhered to Prince Lewis were taken prisoners: as namely, Saer, Earl of Winchester, Henry de Bohun Earl of Hereford, Gilbert de Gaunt, lately made Earl of Lincoln by Prince Lewis; Robert Fitz-Water, Richard Mount-Fitchet, William Mowbray, William Beauchamp, William Maudet, Oliver Harcourt, Roger de Cressy, William Colville, William de Ros, Robert de Ropesley, Ralph Chenduit, Barons; besides four hundred Knights, or men at Arms. Only the Earl of Perch their General, being compassed about, and willed to render himself, swore he would never become a prisoner to any English: and thereupon was run through the sight of his Helmet into the Brains, and instantly died. This was a main blow to Prince Lewis, and the last of his Battels in England; and because the City was very rich in Merchandise, the English in derision called it Lewis Fair. But Prince Lewis was not yet discouraged, for he had sent to King Philip his Father to send him new supplies out of France; and new supplies were indeed sent: but Hubert de Burgh, Governour of Dover, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few escaped. And now this blow at Sea was so much greater than that at Land; that where that made him only doubt, this made him despair, at least made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by composition. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that Prince Lewis should have fifteen thousand Marks for the charges he had been at, and abjure his claim to any interest in the Kingdom; and withal to work his Father for restitution of such Provinces in France as appertained to this Crown: and that when himself should be King, he should resign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, King Henry takes his Oath; and from him the Legate Guallo, and the Protector, to restore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjects all their Rights and Priviledges, for which the discord began between the late King and his People. After this Prince Lewis is honourably attended to Dover, and departs out of England about Michaelmas, above two years after his first arrival.

And now the Kingdom is come to unity within itself, one King and one People; and for a year or two there was but little to be done, only some few there were, whom the corruption of the times had engendred, and who being born in a storm, could not live in a calm; of whom the principal were the Earl of Albemarle, Robert de Vipount, Fowke de Brent, Brian de Lisle, and Hugh de Baliol. Who bustling about, got possession of Castles: with what intention all men knew, but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine: for being but a handful of men to the Body of the Realm, they were easily suppressed; and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or else punished for not acknowledging them. It was

now the fourth year of King Henry's Reign; at which time William Earl of Pembroke, Protector of the Realm died, and was buried in the new Temple at London, in whose place came the Bishop of Winchester. And now was the King the second time Crowned, and had granted him by Parliament for Escuage, two Marks of Silver, of every Knights Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, and recovery of his Transmarine Dominions which is now designed: and Malleon de Saveroy, the Poictovin, with William Long-Sword, Earl of Salisbury, sent over to try the affections of that People, whom they find for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown: but the King of France being required peaceably to deliver them, made answer, That having gotten them by the Sword, by the Sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to some years of understanding, was in a Parliament holden at London, put in mind by the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Oath he had taken for the confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom, which though opposed by some (and especially by William Brewer, and Hubert de Burgh, whom the King had now made his chief Justiciar) as having been an Act of constraint: yet the King then again ratified, and twelve Knights or other Legal men of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were, which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and that they should return them by a certain day: and here the King by Parliament resumeth into his hands such Alienations as had been made by his Ancestors of any Crown Land. The next year after, another Parliament is held at Westminster, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Moveables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the recovery of those parts in France, withheld from the Crown by Lewis, now King, contrary to his Oath and Promise made here in England at his departure; which though it concerned the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom, and the Estates of most of the Nobility; yet would it be yielded to, but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the same words and form as King John had granted them in the two Charters before: and twelve Knights are chosen in every Shire to dispart the old Forests from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; and two years they were accordingly enjoyed.

Of his Acts after he came to be of Age.

IT was now the Tenth year of King Henry's Reign, and being about Nineteen years of age, he claimed to take the government of the Kingdom into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protector; and now will presently appear the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counsel, and a Prince that will do all of himself, and take no advice. For thirteen years he was ruled by a Protector, all passed as it were in a calm, without noise or clamour; but as soon as he took upon him the Government himself, there grew presently storms and tumults; no quietness either to the Subject

An. Reg. 4.
1220.

The Pro-
tector dieth.
In his place
the Bishop
of Winchester
is chosen.
King Henry
is the second
time crown-
ed.

King Henry
confirms the
Liberties of
the King-
dom.

He resumeth
crown Land.

An. Reg. 9.
1225.

He confirms
the two
Charters
granted by
King John,
Magna Char-
ta, and
Charia Fo-
restra.

An. Reg. 10.
1226.

He takes the
Government
upon himself.

or

or to himself : nothing but grievances all the long time of his Reign. For at the Parliament now holden at *Oxford*, as soon as he was Crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nonage; and therefore he not bound to observe it: and then not using any longer the Seal which the Protector had used, he makes a new, and causeth Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seal should come and have them signed by his new Seal; by which course he drew much money from many: and this was the first grievance.

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkhamstead* Castle, to one *Walleran a Dutchman*, which Castle belonged to his Brother *Richard of Cornwall*; but when Earl *Richard* required to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chief Justice, and the Kings chief Counsellour, to commit him to prison; which the Earl understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he finds *William* Earl Marshal his vowed Friend, with whom he hastens to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earls of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, That unless he restore the Castle to his Brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at *Oxford*, they would seek to recover them by the Sword. Hereupon King *Henry* to pacifie his Brother, not only renders the Castle to him, but gives him besides all that his Mother had in Dower; and also great possessions which the Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Boleign* lately deceased, had in *England*: but to the Petition of the Lords he made a Dilatory answer: and this was another grievance.

Not long after King *Henry* is perswaded by *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, to make a Journey into *France*, for recovery of his right there: but the Earl perswaded it for ends of his own, which to have discovered, had been no way to compass them: He must therefore lay some colours upon his work; and it was colour enough that the action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King *Henry*, and their great averseness from King *Lewis*. Upon these colours King *Henry* undertaking the action, raiseth great sums of money from the Clergy, and from the *Londoners*, for redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the Goods of the *Jews*: but when he returned home a year after, without having done any thing but spent his Treasure and his time; and that which was more worth than both these, the lives of many Noble-men and others; this was another grievance.

And now King *Henry* bringing many *Poitevins* over with him, who had served him in his Wars, he was to reward them here; which he could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Britton* Treasurer of his Chamber to account, and grievously fines him for defrauding him in his

Office. Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh*, Chief Justiciar, and his chief Counsellor, called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office; who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for sanctuary: from whence when the King commanded him to be drawn out by violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to Sanctuary, upon pain of Excommunication: but the King commanding him to be kept from sustenance, hunger at last enforced him to render himself to the Kings mercy: all his goods which were very great, confiscate. Also *Walter* Bishop of *Carlisle* is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight, from his place of Marshal of the Kings House; and all the chief Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed as distrusted; and only strangers preferred to their rooms. Of which course, *Peter de Rupibus a Poitevin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the Kings special Favourite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance.

Nine years had thus passed, with divers grievances in his Government, and being now about eight or nine and twenty years old, a Consultation was had for a fit Wife for him. There was propounded a Sister of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, but it was not thought fit the King should marry the younger Sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his own choosing, and marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*; by which match he neither had portion by his Wife, nor strength of alliance by Friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by distance; only he had by her a number of poor kindred, who to his great cost lay hanging upon him: yet was the Marriage solemnized with as great charges as if he had been to have Mountains with her: and this was another grievance.

And now is the score of these grievances called upon to be paid; for the Lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves slighted, and only strangers advanced, as *Foulk de Brent*, who held the Earldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to danger, and their estates to ruine; for which no remedy could be, but only the Kings confirming their Charter of Liberties: wherein it is strange to observe upon what different grounds the King and the Lords went. It seems the King thought that to confirm that Charter, were to make himself to be less than a King; and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better than slaves: and as the King could endure no diminution, so the Lords could endure no slavery; but the King might keep his own with sitting still, the Lords could not recover their own but by motion. And seeing their strength must be in their number, by commotion, hereupon they confederate together; and of this confederacy, *Richard*, now Earl Marshal, upon the death of his Brother *William*, is chief; who repair to the King, and boldly shew him his error, and require satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently

He annuls the charters which he granted before.

He makes a new Seal.

The Lords confederate against King Henry, and why.

King Henry makes a Journey into France, but without success.

He displaceth many of his great Officers.

Poitevins placed in their rooms.

An. Reg. 19.
1235.

King Henry marries to more charge than benefit.

The Lords confederate again for their Charters.

The Lords
summoned
to a Parlia-
ment, refuse
to come.

They threat-
en to chuse
a new King.

The Lords
proclaimed
Out-laws,
and their
Estates
seised on.

Earl Mar-
shal, by a
train drawn
in o're a
is there by
treachery
slain.

The Bishops
threaten to
excommuni-
cate the
King.

The King
calls home
the Lords,
and removes
Arragons.

sently over for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come. After this a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, whither likewise they refuse to come, unless the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poictovins* from the Court: and more than this, they send him word, that unless he did this, they would expel both himself and his evil Councillours out of the Land, and create a new King. Upon this threatening, Pledges are required of the Nobility for securing their Allegiance, and Writs are sent out to all who held by Knights-service to repair to the King at *Glocester* by a certain day; which the Earl Marshal and his associates refusing, the King without the judgement of his Court and their Peers, causeth them to be proclaimed Out-Laws, seiseth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poictovins*; and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wheresoever in the Kingdom. But now of these confederate Lords the Bishop of *Winchester* won the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a thousand Marks; and the King had so pleased his Brother the Earl of *Cornwal*, that he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaped out of Prison, and joyns with them; taking intermutual Oaths, that no one without other should make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himself in person into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Glocester*, implores new Forces of strangers, but all without success. At last a Frier is employed to perswade the Earl Marshal to submit himself to the King, but all in vain; till at length a train is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his state there, being seised upon by the King; where by treachery circumvented he lost his life, *Militia flos temporum modernorum*, saith *Matth. Paris*. Yet the King disavows the sending of any such Commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof; and layes the fault upon his Officers. An easie way for Princes, never to be found in any fault.

After two years affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops admonish the King by his Fathers example, to be at unity with his people, and to remove from him strangers, and to govern the Kingdom by Natives of the Realm, and by the Laws: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiastical censure, both against his Councillours and himself. The King seeing no way to subsist but by temporizing, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*; restores them to their places and possessions; removes all strangers from about him; and calls his new officers to account. Hereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave* take Sanctuary; but afterward by mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberty, dearly paying for their two years greatness. After this a Parliament is again called, which the King would have to be kept in the Tower, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of more freedom is appointed; in which Parliament, order is taken for removing all Sheriffs from their places, upon complaint of cor-

ruption: and here the King displaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellour, the great Seal, which he refuseth to deliver, as having received it by the Common-Council of the Kingdom: and now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, are received again into grace, by which may appear the vicissitude of fortune in Princes favours. After this, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the thirteenth part of all the moveables as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly opposed, the King promiseth by Oath, never more to injure the Nobility, so they would but relieve him at that present. After four dayes Consultation, the King promising to use only the Counsel of his natural Subjects, and protesting against the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable observation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, a Subsidy is granted him; but so, that four Knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the same, either to some Abbey or Castle, where it may be safely kept; that if the King fail in performance of his Grants, it may be restored to the Countrey from whence it was collected. And now the King to make a shew of true reconciliation for his part, suddenly causes the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers* with *John Fitz-Geoffry* to be sworn his Councillours: yet was neither of the points either for removing of strangers, or for disposing the money observed afterward by the King; for the money he made bold to take at his pleasure: and for strangers they were so far from removing, that they were drawn nearer to him. For now *William Valentine*, Uncle to the Queen, is grown the most inward man with him, and nothing done but by his counsel; also the Earl of *Provence*, the young Queens Father, a poor Prince, had a good share of the money that was collected: and *Simon de Mountford*, a French man born, is entertained by the King, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Eleanor* the Kings Sister, Widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, the great Marshal, and is made Earl of *Leicester*, by right of his Mother *Avice*, Daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leicester*. Which courses so incense the Nobility, that it put them out into a new commotion; and *Richard* the Kings Brother becomes one of the party, whom the other Lords make their spokesman to the King, to aggravate his breach of promise, and to acquaint him with all the disorders of the Kingdom; with whose remonstrance the King is so moved, that after he had tryed the *Londoners*, and found them also to partake with the Lords, he calls a Parliament at *London*, whither the Lords came armed for their own safety. Where after long debating the King taking his Oath to refer the matter to certain grave men of the Kingdom, Articles are drawn, sealed, and publicly set up to the view of all, with the Seals of the Legate, and divers great men: but before it came to be effected, the Earl of *Cornwal*, by the working of *Simon Mountford*, hath his edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords see-

The Chan-
cellour
refuseth to
deliver the
Seal.

Anno. Dom.
1237.
An. Reg. 21.

The King
grants their
Liberties,
and there-
upon hath
a Subsidy
granted, but
with condi-
tions.

But the con-
ditions not
performed.

The Lords
thereupon
confederate
again.

They come
Armed to
the Parlia-
ment.

ing

ing, they also grew cold, and so for that time it rested, and no more was done in it. About this time, a certain fanatic fellow had got into the Kings Chamber in the night, having a naked knife in his hand, with a resolved purpose to kill him: but finding him not there, (for the King lay that night with the Queen) he then went looking about to find him out: but being taken, and confessing who were his accomplices, he was afterward drawn in pieces with wild Horses. So provident a care hath God to protect his Anointed.

An. Reg. 22. 1238.
The King opposeth the Lords.

And now is the Kings turn to play his part in using his Authority, which he fails not to do to the uttermost; for upon a small occasion he causeth the Gates of Gilbert now Earl of Pembroke (the third son of William the great Marshal) to be shut against him at Winchester: whereupon the Earl retires into the North. Also Simon Norman, Master of the Kings Seal, and his greatest Favourite, is thrown out with disgrace, and his Brother Geoffry a Knight Templar, is put out of the Council; both of them for not yielding to pass a Grant from the King made unto Thomas Earl of Flanders, the Queens Uncle, of four pence upon every sack of Wool. And now that load enough is laid upon those of the Laity,

The Pope sends over 300 Romans to have the first Benefices vacant.

The King once again makes a Journey into France.

He comes to the Parliament to demand a Subsidy, but is denied.

He returns out of France without success.

comes a new load to be laid upon the Clergy. For the Pope nothing dainty to make use of the Power he had in the King, sends over three hundred Romans, requiring to have the first Benefices that should be vacant, bestowed upon them: which seemed so unreasonable a request, and to the Clergy of England so damageable, that it made Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury to give over all, and betake himself to a voluntary exile in the Abbey of Pontinnac in France; yet to shew his respect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Marks before his departure. And to lay more weight upon the Clergy, great sums are also required of them for maintenance of the Popes War against the Emperour; which though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good reasons of their oppositions both to the King and the Legate: yet by promises or threatnings, they were won or forced to yield unto it. And now comes the Earl of March, and once again solicits the King to make another journey into France; which being yielded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, and aid presently was demanded towards it: but this demand was not only opposed, but all the Kings Taxations and Aids before granted, were now repealed; and thereupon an absolute denial to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himself in person; earnestly, and indeed, humbly craving their aid for this once: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow to the contrary; and the King is driven to get what he could of particular men, of whom partly by gift, and partly by loan, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty Barrels of Sterling money. This expedition had no better success than the former; for after a whole years stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of France, and return home. At his return he put the Jews to another redemption, and the Londoners to another exaction; and to help on his charge, his Wifes

Mother, the Countess of Provence, comes now to visit him, who bringing her Daughter Zanchin with her, a marriage is solemnized between her and Richard Earl of Cornwall, whose Wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her return; is presented with many rich gifts, having besides received an annual pension of four thousand Marks out of England, for five years past, in consideration of a pact made, that King Henry after her decease should have the Earldom of Provence: but shortly after her return; she disappoints him of that; and bestows it upon her youngest Daughter Beatrix, married to Charles the French Kings Brother, who was after King of Naples and Sicilie; so as this Countess lived to see all her four Daughters Queens: Richard Earl of Cornwall, coming after to be elected King of the Romans. Upon these profusions, a consultation is had for new supplies, and no way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is again assembled at Westminster, whither the King comes again himself in person, urging his necessities; yet nothing would be granted without the assurance of reformation and due execution of the Laws. And here they desire to have it ordained, That four of the most grave and discreet Peers should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdom, and sworn of the Kings Council, both to see Justice administered, and the Treasure issued, and these or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chief Justiciar, and the Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the general voices of the States assembled, or else be one of the number of those four. Besides they propound, That there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the Jews; and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these things were in debating, comes one Martin, a new Legat from the Pope, with a larger Commission than ever any before, to exact upon the State; but at the same time, Letters coming from the Emperour Frederick, to entreat that the Pope might have no more supplies out of England, the Popes Mandate is rejected, and his Agent Martin disgracefully sent home. This business took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament, but only an Aid granted to the King for the marriage of his Daughter to Alexander King of Scots, Twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and that with much ado, and repetition of his former Aids.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an Aid upon a design he had upon Wales, and to pay his debts; which were urged to be so great, that he could not appear out of his Chamber for the infinite clamour of such, to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax and other necessaries of his house; but they all to his face, refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courses are taken, an ancient Quarrel is found out against the City of London, for which they are commanded to pay fifteen thousand Marks; and Passelerve the Clerk is employed, with others, in a most peremptory Commission, to enquire of all such Lands as had been inforested; and either

The King again in person demands a Subsidy, but is denied, without granting the Lords demands.

That the Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor should be chosen by the Parliament.

The Popes Legate for money rejected.

Aid to marry the Kings daughter granted.

The King sheweth his necessity and requires relief, but is denied.

Hereupon he raiseth money by violent courses.

to fine the occupiers thereof at their pleasure, or else to take it from them and sell the same to others; wherein such rigour was used, that multitudes of people were undone. But now to shew the King the estate of his Kingdom, and the oppression of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the Romans and Italians had in England; which were found to be annually sixty thousand Marks; being more than the yearly Revenues of the Crown. Which so moved the King, that he caused the same to be notified, with all other exactions, to the General Council now assembled at *Lions*. And this (with the ill usage of his Agent *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, that he is said to have uttered these words, It is time to make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these petty Kings; for the Dragon once appeased, or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soon be trodden down. But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of England, and despising the Kings message (who he said began to *Fredrize*) it was absolutely here ordained under great penalty, That no contribution of money should be given to the Pope by any Subject of England: And the King for a time assents unto it. But being of an irresolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, he soon gave over what he undertook, so as the Pope continued his former rapine; and though he had promised never to send any more Legates into England, yet sent he other Ministers under the title of Clerks, that had as great power as Legats, and effected as much.

The King assents that no more contribution be given to the Pope. But soon revokes.

And now for the other part of the State, new occasions also of complaint were offered. *Peter of Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, comes into England, bringing with him certain Maids to be married to young Noblemen of this Countrey, the Kings Wards, of whom *Edmund* Earl of *Lincoln* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another; and the same year three of the Kings Brothers by the Mother, *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clark*, are sent over to be provided of Estates in England. Also *Thomas of Savoy* (sometimes Earl of *Flanders*, by right of his Wife) comes with his Sister *Beatrix*, Countess of *Provence*, the Queens Mother, who are again feasted, and gifted; for whom the King is taxed the next Parliament in *Candlemas* Term, and besides sharply reprehended for his breach of promise, having Vowed and Declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kind: also for his violent taking up of Provision of Wax, Silk, Robes, and especially of Wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, and many other grievances they complain of. All which the King Patiently hears, in hope to obtain his desire; but yet nothing is effected: and the Parliament being prorogued till *Midsummer* following, and the King growing more obdurate than before, it afterward brake up in discontent. But the Parliament not supplying him, he is advised to furnish his wants with sale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crown, being told, that though they were sold, yet they would revert again unto him; and having with great loss received money for them, he asks who had bought them: answer is made, the City of *London*. That City (said he) is an inexhaustible

The King furnisheth his wants with sale of his Plate and Jewels.

Gulph, If *Octavins* Treasure were to be sold, they surely would buy it. In his two and fortieth year, a Parliament was held, which by some was called, *Insanum Parliamentum*, the mad Parliament; for that, at this Parliament to which the Lords came with great Retinues of armed men, many things were enacted contrary to the Kings pleasure, and his Royal Prerogative.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Fair to be kept at *Westminster*, forbidding under great penalty, all exercise of Merchandize within *London*, for fifteen dayes, and all other Fairs in England; and namely that of *Ely*: but this Novelty came to nothing; the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulness of the weather, brought more affliction than benefit to the Traders. That *Christmas* also he requires New-years-Gifts of the *Londoners*, and shortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiously deprecatory to aid him with money; and thereby gets of them Twenty thousand pounds, for which the next year after he craves pardon of them. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all Provisions for his house, yet he lessens his house-keeping in no honourable manner. And then seeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every Nobleman apart, declaring his poverty; and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of Thirty thousand pounds to those of *Burdeaux*, and his *Gascoyns* (who otherwise would not have suffered him to depart home) at his last being in *France*: but failing herein of Temporal Lords, he addresseth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he finds as little relief; by much importunity and his own presence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramsay* a hundred pound, but the Abbot of *Burrough* had the face to deny him, though the King told him, It was more Alms to give money to him, than to a Beggar that went from door to door. The Abbot of *Saint Albans* yet was more kind, and gave him Threescore Marks. To such lowness did the necessity of this indigent King (through his profusion) bring him. The Jews ever exposed to his will, feel the weight of these his wants. One *Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeems himself for seven hundred Marks, and *Aaron* another Jew protests, the King had since his last being in *France* taken from him at times, Thirty thousand Marks of Silver, besides two hundred Marks of Gold given to the Queen.

He tries to get money of particular men. But fails in it.

The Jews most of all taxed.

But now the Lords assemble again at *London*, and press him with his promise made unto them, That the chief Justiciar, Chancellour and Treasurer, should be appointed by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by the absence of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, (which was thought to be done of purpose) they return frustrate of their desire. And now the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, the King sends presently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his Brother *Athelmar*; and because he would not be denied, he goes thither himself in person, and there enters the Chapter-house as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the Presidents Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Justice and Peace have kissed each other*; and thereupon useth these words: To me and other Kings

The King preacheth to have his Brother *Athelmar* chosen Bishop of *Winchester*.

King, who are to govern the People, belongs the rigour of Judgement and Justice; to you who are men of Quiet and Religion, Peace and Tranquillity; and this day I hear you have (for your own good) been favourable to my request, with many such like words; whereby the Monks finding the earnestness of his desire, held it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected: but with this reservation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after follows the memorable Case of Sir *Henry de Bathe*, a Justiciar of the Kingdom, and a special Counsellour to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Estate, and is said, in one Circuit to have gotten Two hundred pound Land *per annum*. He is accused by Sir *Philip Darcy* of falshood in the Kings Court; and the King is so incensed against him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, That whosoever had any Action or Complaint against *Henry de Bathe*, should come and be heard. One of his Justiciars accused him of acquitting a Malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing *Hen. de Bathe's* Friends to be many and strong, breaks out into a rage, protesting, That whosoever would kill *Henry de Bathe*, should be acquitted for the deed. But afterward by intercession of the Earl of *Cornwal*, and the Bishop of *London*, the King becomes pacified, and Sir *Henry* is released, paying Two thousand Marks; and after is restored to his former place and favour. The King keeping his *Christmas* at *York*, the Marriage is solemnized between *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; to the Feast of which solemnity it is said the Archbishop gave six hundred fat Oxen, which were all spent at one Meal: and besides, the Feast cost him four thousand Marks.

Henry de Bathe chief Justice fined for corruption. Yet afterward restored to his place.

A bountiful Feast.

King Henry undertakes the Cross.

About this time the Pope solicits King *Henry* to undertake the Cross, and so doth *Alphonfus* King of *Castile*, offering to accompany him in Person, to rescue the King of *France*, who was now held Prisoner by the *Souldan*; and because a Ransome collected for him in *France* was by tempest cast away at Sea, the Captive King offers to restore *Normandy* to the King of *England*, so he would come to his rescue. Upon this solicitation of the Pope, and the grant of a tenth of the Clergy and Laity for three years to come, the King undertakes the Cross; rather it seems, to get the money, than with any purpose to perform the Journey: which had it been collected (saith *Paris*) would have amounted to six hundred thousand pounds, to the utter impoverishing of the Kingdom. And now the King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Westminster*, and there causeth the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester* to declare his intentions, and to exhort the people to undertake the Cross and attend him: but few are moved by their persuasions, only three Knights of small note, whom thereupon the King in open view, imbraceth, kisseth, and calls his Brethren, checking the *Londoners* as ignoble Mercenaries; and there himself takes his Oath for performing it, and to set forth upon *Midsummer* day next. In taking his Oath, he layes his right hand on his breast, according to the manner of a Priest; and after on the Book, and kist it as a Lay-man. About this Tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by

the People) a Parliament is called at *London*, where the Bishops are first dealt withal, (as being a work of piety) and they absolutely refuse it; then the Temporal Lords are set upon, and they answer as the Bishops, which put the King into so great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as if he had been mad. Then he falls to perswade them apart, sending first for the Bishop of *Ely*, and deals with him in all kind manner, recounting the many favours he had done him. The Bishop replies, dissuading him from the Journey by Example of the King of *France*; and to that purpose useth many good reasons: which the King hearing, in great passion commanded his Servants to thrust him out of door, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest, and thereupon falls upon his former violent courses. And first the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a Thousand Marks; and the *Gascoyners* being upon revolt, unless speedy succour be sent them, general Musters are made, and commandment given, That whosoever could dispend Thirteen pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a horseman. This occasions another Parliament, wherein it seems, the State began wisely to consider, that all their oppositions did no good, the Kings turn must be served one way or other. Therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the usual way, than force him to those extravagant courses which he took; but yet so, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Laws and Liberties, might once again be solemnly confirmed. And after fifteen dayes consultation, to satisfy the Kings desire for his holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Marks of every Knights Fee by the Laity; and thereupon those often confirmed Charters are again ratified: and that in the most solemn and ceremonial manner, that State and Religion could possibly devise. The King with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Bishops in their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, assemble to hear the terrible sentence of Excommunication against the infringers of the same. And at the lighting of those Candles the King having received one in his hand, gives it to the Prelate that stood by, saying, It becomes not me, being no Priest, to hold this Candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony; and withal laid his hand spread upon his Breast all the time the sentence was read; which was thus pronounced, *Authoritate Dei Omnipotentis, &c.* Which done, he causeth the Charter of King *John* his Father, granted by his free consent, to be openly read. In the end, having thrown away their Candles, which lay smoking on the ground, they cryed out, So let them who incur this Sentence, be extinct, and have no better favour than these snuffs: and the King with a loud voice said, As God help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Anointed, inviolably observe all these things: and therewithal the Bells rung out, and the people shouted for joy.

Yet was not all so quieted by this Grant, but that there were grievances still, whereof the first falls upon his Brother *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*: for the King having seven and twenty

M 2

years

But can get no money.

Thereupon falls again to violent courses.

For preventing whereof the Parliament grants him a Subsidy.

But upon condition to confirm their Charters.

Which are confirmed with the greatest solemnity that could be devised.

years before given him the Province of *Gascoine*, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother, and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to imprison him; but he escaping out of *Burdeaux*, comes over into *England*. The King to win the Nobility of *Gascoine* to turn to him, promiseth them Thirty thousand Marks, which they accept, so as he bindeth himself by Oath and Charter to perform it. This distress of theirs the King takes in ill part, and thereupon sends *Simon Mountford* Earl of *Leicester*, a stern man, to be their Governour, who with his insolent Government, so discontents them, that after three years suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, with other great men, to complain of his Insolencies. Whereupon *Mountford* is sent for, and because the Lords took part with him, the King takes part with the *Gascoiners*, which *Mountford* took so ill, that he upbraids the King with breaking his promise: To whom the King in great rage replied, That no promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traitor. At which word *Mountford* riseth up, protesting that he lyed; and were he not protected by his Royal Dignity, he would make him repent those words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King, is *Mountford* sent over again into *Gascoine*, though with a more limited Authority; and shortly after the King with a Fleet of Three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon composeth all differences in the Countrey.

Mountford giveth King *Henry* the lye to his face.

Yet soon reconciled.

King *Henry's* eldest Son *Edward* marries *Eleanor* the King of *Spain's* Sister.

The Kings eldest Son immediately Prince of *Wales* from this time.

King *Henry* spent seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds in his Journeys to *France*.

But now the King of *Spain* pretends a Title to *Aquitane*; and to take him off, King *Henry* sends to treat of a Marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*: which being accepted by the King of *Spain*, the Marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince, and quits his claim to *Aquitane* for him and his Successours for ever: and King *Henry* invests the Prince and Wife in it, and gives unto him besides, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristol*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*: and from hence it came that ever after this, the Kings eldest Son was immediately upon his birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*. After this King *Henry* prepares to return home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those parts, the sum of seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds; more than all the Lands if they had been sold, were worth: which when the King was told, he is desired there might be no words made of it for his credit. And now being to return, he is desirous, with the King of *France's* leave to pass through *France*: and coming to *Paris* with a Thousand Horse, where he stayed eight dayes, is there most royally feasted by the King of *France*; and he as royally feasts the King of *France* again. But it is the *Londoners* and the *Jews*, that are like to pay for all. For coming home about *Christmas*, when the *Londoners* presented him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in plate, it was so slighted, and so ill taken, that a hole was presently found in their coat, for an escape of a Prisoner, which cost them Three thousand Marks: Yet was not this

enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the *Jews*, and then lets them out to Farm, to his Brother *Richard*, for a great sum of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

The King lets the *Jews* out to Farm.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least Three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs be the heavier to him, because he had diminished his own means, by the allowance of Fifteen thousand Marks *per annum* to his Son the Prince. The only hope is in the Parliament, but a Parliament being called, they fall presently upon their old grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charter, and renewing their claim, to have the chief Justiciar, the Chancellour, and Treasurer, to be chosen by themselves: so nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being Prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the tenour of *Magna Charta*. And now while the King was using means to wind himself out of debt, there happened occasions to put him further in; for now *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queens Brother, being at War with the City of *Thurin*, must be supplied with money towards it, by the King of *England*. Now the Elect Bishop of *Toledo*, the K. of *Spain's* Brother, comes into *England*, and must be sumptuously Feasted, and have great gifts presented him. Now *Eleanor* the Princes Wife, arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and must all be entertained at the Kings charge, and have no small Presents given them at their departure. Now comes *Rustandus* from the Pope, with power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Popes use and the Kings, and to absolve him from his Oath of the Holy War, so he would come to destroy *Manfred*, Son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed upon him, besides a rich Prebend in *York*: but the Pope by too much seeking his profit, loseth credit and all; for the Clergy slight him, and will give him nothing: and when he would have borrowed of the Earl of *Cornwal* five hundred Marks, the Earl answered, He liked not to lend his money to one, upon whom he could not distrust. But King *Henry's* greatest charge was his purchasing a Kingdom for his Son *Edmund*; for now comes the Bishop of *Bononia* from the Pope, with a Ring of Investiture to Prince *Edmund*, in the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, which he pretends to be at his disposing: and King *Henry* takes it in so good earnest, that after this he calls his Son *Edmund* by no other name than King of *Sicilie*. But all this was done by the Pope, but to angle away King *Henry's* money, as indeed upon this hope he had drawn the King into the engagement of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks. For to draw the King on, it was given out, That the Pope had defeated all *Manfred's* Forces, and was thereby in possession of the Kingdom; when the truth was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Popes Forces, and was thereby himself established in the Kingdom.

The Earl of *Cornwal* likes not to lend the Pope money, and why. The Pope promiseth to make the Kings younger Son King of *Sicilie*.

The year 1257. the King keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where new grievances arise. The Merchants of *Gascoine*, having their Wines taken from them by the Kings Officers without satisfaction,

satisfaction, complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his Father; and his Father having been informed before-hand by his Officers, that their clamour was unjust, as relying upon the Princes favour, he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these words; See! now my Blood, and my Bowels impugn me: but afterwards pacified, he gives order the Injuries should be redressed. And now the Princes followers themselves come to be a grievance, who relying upon their Master, commit many outrages, and spoil and wrong men at their pleasure; and the Prince himself is not altogether free, of whom it is said, that meeting a young man travelling by the way, he caused one of his ears to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out. And many such pranks plaid by him and his followers in *Wales*, made the *Welch* break out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no money to be had towards the doing it. And now the King falls to shifts, he comes into the Chequer himself, and there laies penalties upon Sheriffs, that return not their moneys in due time; then he falls upon measures of Wine and Ale, upon Bushels and Weights, and something he gets; but *London* is his best Chequer, and every year commonly, he hath one quarrel or other to the *Londoners*, and they are sure to pay. And now falls out an accident, seeming of great honour, but certainly of no profit to the Kingdom. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal* the Kings Brother is elected King of the *Romans*; for although *Alphonfus* King of *Spain*, the great Mathematician were his Competitor, yet Earl *Richard's* money wrought more than his Learning, and the Archbishop of *Colen* comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is at *Aquisgrane*. This Earl of *Cornwal* is reported able to dispend a hundred Marks a day, for ten years, besides his Revenues in *England*. But now a man that payes dear for an Office, looks that his Office should pay him again: so Earl *Richard* having given infinitely to compass his advancement, looked to help himself again by the place; and this, and the desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent courses that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into *England*, a poorer King than he went out an Earl.

Acts done in the Contention between the King and his Barons.

NOW King *Henry* very proud to have his younger Son a King as well as his Brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his Son *Edmund* clad in *Sicilie* habit; and tells the Parliament, That for advancing this Son of his to the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, he had bound himself under a covenant of losing his Kingdom, in the sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks: and hoped they would not think much to aid him with money for so great an advancement. But the Parliament stood firm to their usual condition of *Magna Charta*; so as that might be confirmed they were content to give Two and fifty thousand Marks: but this gave the King no satisfaction. The year

after, another Parliament is holden at *London*, wherein upon the Kings pressing them again for means to pay his debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such purpose; and give their reasons, and withall repeat their own grievances, his breach of promise, the insolency of his Brothers, and especially *William de Valence*, who had given the lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and no right done him in it; and many such things. Which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by ill counsel been seduced; but promiseth by his Oath which he took on the Tomb of *St. Edward*, to reform all those errors. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this business, as being divided between a desire to satisfy the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withal the variable-ness of the Kings nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to *St. Barnabies* day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In which mean time the Earls, *Glocester*, *Leicester*, *Hereford*, the Marshal, *Bigot*, *Spencer*, and other great Men, confederate, and provide by Arms to effect their desire; and here is the foundation laid of those bloody Wars that ensued between King *Henry*, and his Barons.

And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbot of *Westminster* to put his Seal, and that of his Covent to a Deed Obligatory, as a surety for two hundred Marks, making account, that by his example, others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty servant *Simon Passeleve*, being imployed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons, to perswade them, That the King was Lord of all they had; They only answered, They acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, not to destroy the same; and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no less want than his Father, is driven to mortgage his Town of *Stamford*, *Braham*, and many other things, to *William de Valence*, a *Poistovin*, whereby appeared the disorder of the time, when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, whither the Lords come attended with large Trains; and here they begin with the expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellour, and Treasurer may be ordained by publick choice; and that the Twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom may be confirmed, Twelve by the election of the Lords, and Twelve by the King: some write there were but Twelve in all, and were called, The *Douze Peers*, the Twelve Peers, who ruled all things at their pleasure without controlment. The King, seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, swears solemnly again to the confirmation of them; and causeth the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords left not here, the Kings Brethren, the *Poistovins*, and other strangers must presently be removed: and this also, though with some little opposition, was at last concluded: and thereupon the Kings Brethren and their followers are despoiled of all their fortunes, and exiled by proscription under the

Disorders committed by the Prince and his followers.

The Earl of *Cornwal* is chosen King of the *Romans*.

The Earl of *Cornwal*'s great estate.

He returns into *England* in a poor estate.

King *Henry* can get no money of the Parliament to make his son *Edmund* a King.

The Lords confederate again.

King *Henry* useth shifts to get money.

The Liberty of the Subject.

The Lords require that the Chief Justice, the Chancellour and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

The King and Prince swear unto it.

The *Poistovins* are removed.

the Kings own hand directed to the Earls of *Hereford* and *Surrey*. But now sickness and mortality happening to many great ones, it is imputed to poysons, supposed to have been prepared by those strangers proscribed. The Earl of *Glocester* in a sickness suddenly lost his hair, his teeth, his nails; and his Brother hardly escaped death: which made many to suspect their nearest servants, and their Cooks. *Walter Scoyny* the Earls Steward, is strictly examined, committed to Prison, and afterward without confession, is upon presumptions only, executed at *Winchester*. *Elias* a converted Jew, is said to have confessed, That in his house the poyson was concocted; but it was when he was a Jew, and not a Christian. Every man that had received any wrong by those strangers, now put up their complaints, and are heard. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poitovin*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his Goods confiscated. *William Bussey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and most reproachfully used. *Richard Grey*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover Castle*, is sent to intercept whatsoever the *Poitovins* conveyed that way out of *England*: and much Treasure of theirs, and of the Elect of *Winchester* is by him taken, besides great sums committed to the new Temple are found out, and seized for the King.

And now the chief Justiciar *Hugh Bigot*, Brother to the Earl Marshal (chosen this last Parliament by publick voice) procures that four Knights in every Shire should enquire of the oppressions of the poor, done by great Men: and certifye the same, that redress might be made. Also order was taken against corrupting of Justice: when yet notwithstanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that time, how the Lords were themselves but as *totidem tyranni*, enforcing the services of the Kings Tenants that dwelt near them. But to make their cause the more popular, it was rumoured that the King stood upon it, that his necessity might be supplied out of the Estates of his people, whether they would or no: which the King hearing, sends forth Proclamation, declaring how certain malicious persons had falsely and seditiously reported, That he meant unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and subvert the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and by these false suggestions averted the hearts of his people from him: and therefore desires them not to give credit to such perturbers; for that he was ready to defend all Right, and Customes due unto them: and that they might rest of this secured, he caused his Letters to be made Patents. But now *Montford*, *Glocester*, and *Spencer*, inforce the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where they get the authority of the Twenty four to be estated wholly upon themselves, and they alone to dispose of the custody of the Castles, and other busineses of the Kingdom: and here they bind the King to lose their Legal obedience whensoever he infringed this Charter.

At this time intelligence was given to the Lords, That *Richard* King of the *Romans* had a purpose to come into *England*, and the Lords suspecting he would come with power to aid

the King his Brother, take order for guarding the Ports, with intent to hinder his landing: but finding his Train to be but small, for he was accompanied only with his Queen, two German Earls and eight Knights, upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land, but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himself to enter into *Dover Castle*. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earl of *Glocester* standing forth in the midst, calls out the Earl, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*; who in reverent manner coming forth, taking his Oath in these words; *Hear all men, that I Richard, Earl of Cornwall, do here swear upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of England, and be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and disturbers of the same; and this Oath will inviolably observe, under pain of losing all the Land I have in England: So help me God.* But though this Earl came home both weak and poor, yet upon his return the King takes heart, and seeks all means to vindicate his power, and first sends Messengers secretly to *Rome*, to be absolved from his enforced Oath. And to have the more assurance from the King of *France*, he makes an absolute resignation of all his Right to the Duchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Tourene* and *Main*; in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him Three hundred thousand pounds (some say Crowns) of *Anjovin* money, and grants him to enjoy all *Guyen*, beyond the River of *Garonne*, all the Countrey of *Xaintoigne* to the River of *Charente*, the Countrey of *Limousin* and *Quercie*, for him and his Successours, doing their homage to the Crown of *France*, as Duke of *Aquitain*.

And now was the King of *France* made Arbitrator of the difference between King *Henry* and his Barons, who gives sentence against the Barons concerning the Provisions of *Oxford*; but of their side concerning King *John's* Charter: by which nice distinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it: (for those Provisions as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his sentence draw many away from the party of the Barons, amongst whom was *Henry* son to the Earl of *Cornwal*, *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de Leisbourn*, *Haimo L'estranger*, and many others. But the Earl of *Leicester*, notwithstanding this revolt, recovers the Town and Castle of *Glocester*, constrains the Citizens to pay a thousand pound for their redemption, goes with an Army to *Worcester*, possesseth himself of the Castle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and comes about to the Isle of *Ely*, subdues the same, and grows exceeding powerful. The King doubting his approach to *London*, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon these conditions; That all the Castles of the King should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Provisions of *Oxford* should inviolably be kept; All strangers by a certain time should avoid the Kingdom, except only such as were licensed to stay. The Prince had fortified *Windfor Castle*; but *Leicester* coming to besiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which

Swears to assist the Lords.

King Henry sends to Rome to be absolved of his oath.

He resigns his right in *Normandy* for a sum of money.

The King of France is made Arbitrator of the difference between the King and his Barons.

The Earl of Leicester takes many Castles. The King concludes a Peace with his Barons.

The Lords themselves tyrannize.

The liberty of the Subject.

Four and twenty chosen to be Governours of the Kingdom; but *Montford* and *Glocester* get all the authority to themselves.

Richard King of the *Romans* returning.

which is refused, and the Castle is rendred to him.

Many Lords return to the King for peace, but are denied.

The King at this time, to win time, convokes another Parliament at London, wherein he won many Lords to take his part; as namely the Prince Richard his Brother, Henry his Son, William Valence, with the rest of his Brothers lately returned; and with them the King marcheth to Oxford, whither divers Lords of Scotland repair to him, as John Commin, John Baliol, Lords of Galloway, Robert Bruce, and others: also many Barons of the North, Clifford, Piercy, Basset, and others. From Oxford he goes to Northampton, where he took prisoners, Simon Montfort the younger, with fourteen other principal Men; thence to Nottingham, making spoils of such possessions as pertained to the Barons in those parts. And now the Kings side grows strong, which the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester seeing, they write to the King, protesting their Loyalty; and how they opposed only such as were enemies to him and the Kingdom, and had belyed them. The King returns answer, That themselves were the perturbors of him and his State, and sought his and the Kingdoms destruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewise, and the Earl of Cornwall send Letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and send the Bishops of London and Worcester, with offer of Thirty thousand Marks to the King, for the damages done in these Wars, so as the Statutes of Oxford may be observed; but this offer is not accepted. The Earl seeing no remedy, but it must be put to a day, takes his time to be earlier ready than was expected; and supplies his want of strength with policy, placing on the one side of a Hill near Lewis, where the Battel was fought, certain Ensigns without men, in such sort, as they might seem afar off to be squadrons of Succours to second those he brought to the encounter: whom he caused all to wear white Crosses, both for their own notice, and the signification of his cause, which he would have to be thought for Justice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earl of Cornwall, and his Son Henry, the Earls of Arundel and Hereford, with all the Scottish Lords, are taken prisoners; and of the English, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets: only the Earl Warren, William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, the Kings Brother, with Hugh Bigot Earl Marshal, save themselves by flight: five thousand (some say twenty thousand) are slain in the battel. A year and half is Simon Montfort in possession of his prisoner, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles in the Kingdom.

The Earl of Leicester's Stratagem.

The Earl of Leicester takes the King, the Prince, and divers other Lords prisoners.

Variance between the Earls of Leicester, and Gloucester.

Gloucester joyns with the Prince.

And now comes Erinny's and sets debate between the two great Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, about their Dividend. Leicester is taxed to do more for his own particular than the common good; his Sons also presuming upon his greatness, grew insolent: whereupon Gloucester discontented, forsakes that side, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of Hereford, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another Battel. The revolt of this Earl being great in it self, was greater by its example; for now many others revolted likewise; and the Earl of Leicester, seeing

the improvement of the Princes Forces, who was now with his Army about Worcester, though he saw his own disadvantage, yet imbatels in a Plain near Evesham to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of the Princes Army, said to those about him, These men come bravely on, they learn it not of themselves, but of me. And seeing himself likely to be beset, and overlaid with multitude, he advised his friends Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset, and others to shift for themselves; which when they refused to do, Then (saith he) let us commend our Souls to God, for our Bodies are theirs: and so undertaking the main weight of the battel, perished under it; and with him are slain his Son Henry, eleven Barons, with many Thousands of common Souldiers. And thus ended Montfort the great Earl of Leicester, highly honoured in his life, and more highly should have been after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talkt of Miracles enough to make him a Saint.

Montfort the great Earl of Leicester slain.

Miracles reported of him being dead.

And now is King Henry by this victory of his son, at liberty; who together repair to Winchester, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to Earl Montfort, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure; the Londoners also have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of Montfort gave a great wound to the party of the Barons; yet it was not mortal, at least not mortal presently; for there remained reliques that kept it alive a good while after. Simon and Guy de Montfort Sons of the Earl of Leicester, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Isle of Ely. The Castle of Killingworth held out half a year, till their Victuals failed; and then yielded upon conditions to have their lives and goods saved: and many others there were, resolute and desperate persons, strongly knit and fastned together, though now shortly upon dissolving. For after the Parliament at Westminster, the King with an Army going against them, and being at Northampton, Simon and Guy de Montfort submit themselves to him: but when the Earl of Gloucester opposed the restoring them to their estates, they were fain to fly the Kingdom, and make their fortunes in other Countreys, as indeed they did; the younger in Italy, the elder in France, where they were propagators of two great Families. Their Mother was banisht shortly after the battel of Evesham. A Lady of eminent note, as being the Daughter and Sister of a King, and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adversity, or rather for her making a benefit of Adversity; for by this means she took her self to the veil of Piety, and died a Nun at Montargis in France. About this time a great slaughter was made of Jews in London: and the quarrel was, because a Jew would have forced a Christian to give him more than two pence a week for the use of twenty shillings; two pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Montfort's Sons flye the Kingdom.

Three years after this, the disinherited Barons held out, till at length, conditions of render are propounded; but here the Council are divided in opinion: Mortimer and others stated in the possessions of the disinherited, are against restauration, alledging it were injustice to take

take from them the rewards of their service. *Glocester* and twelve ordained to deal for the peace of the State, are earnest for restauration; alledging, It were hard measure to grant them their lives, and not their livelihoods: but not prevailing, in great discontentment *Glocester* retires from Court, sends Messengers to warn the King to remove strangers from his Council, and observe the Provisions at *Oxford*, as he promised at *Evesham*: otherwise that he should not marvel if himself did what he thought fit. Hereupon *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are sent to the Earl of *Glocester*; who though they could not perswade him to submit to the King: yet thus much they got of him under his hand and Seal, that he would never bear arms against the King, or his Son *Edward*, but only defend himself and pursue *Roger Mortimer*, and his other enemies. And now a Parliament is convoked at *Bury*, wherein many demands are made by the King and the Legat, and all for money from the Clergy, but all denied, that nothing but denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legat imployes Solicitors to perswade the dis-inherited Lords which held the Isle of *Ely*, to return to the faith and unity of the Church, and to the Peace of the King, according to the form propounded at *Coventry*. To which the Lords make answer, That they never opposed the unity of the Church, but the avarice of Church-men that were put in authority; and that they never opposed the King, but for the good of the Kingdom: and then required, that the Provisions at *Oxford* might be observed, and pledges be given them for their security. Hereupon the year after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges entering the Isle of *Ely*, shuts them up, so that he constrains them at last to yield. Also the Earl of *Glocester* coming to *London* with an Army, is by the Legat once again perswaded to render himself to the King; and upon forfeiture of twelve thousand Marks, if ever he should raise any commotion again, is reconciled. Now remains *Lewellin* and the *Welch* to be chastened for aiding of *Simon Mountford*; but the King going against them with an Army, they give him Two and thirty pounds sterling, and so make their peace; And here was an end of the first Wars between the Kings of *England* and their Barons.

The Kings
sons *Edward*
and *Edmund*,
undertake
the Holy
War.

The Statutes
of *Marleborough*.

The next year after the Popes Legat *Othobon*, signs with the Croysado both the Kings Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Earl of *Glocester*, and divers Noble-men induced to undertake the Holy War by the solicitation of him and the King of *France*; who notwithstanding his former calamities endured in that action, would once again adventure it. And because Prince *Edward* wanted means to furnish himself out, the King of *France* lends him Thirty thousand Marks upon a mortgage of *Gascoyn*. And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace of the Kingdom, and to reform the excesses which the War had bred: and the same year assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted. Near two years it seems to have been after the undertaking the Crois, before Prince *Edward* set forth; but then taking his Wife *Eleanor* with him, though young with

child, he set forward, and in the voyage, when many of his people seemed desirous to leave him, and return home, he is said to have stricken his breast, and sworn, That if all his followers forsook him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Prolemais*, though but only with his Horse-keeper *Fowin*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the year following King *Henry*:

Prince *Edward*
was reso-
lutions to
the Holy
War.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

NEVER Son was more like a Father in any thing, than King *Henry* was like his Father King *John*, in this point, for raising of money; for he trod directly in all his steps, if he added not something of his own. King *John* had great Subsidies granted him by Parliament, for any great action he undertook, so had King *Henry*. King *John* resumed the Lands aliened from the Crown, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of the vacancy of Bishopricks, and Abbeys, so did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines of many for crimes not proved, but only supposed, so did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of a new Seal, so did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great sums from the Jews, so did King *Henry*. And one way more he had to get money, which perhaps his Father had not; and that was by begging, as he told the Abbot of *Borough*, It was more Alms to give money to him, than to the Beggar that went from door to door. Indeed Taxations in this Kings Reign may be reckoned amongst his annual Revenues, for scarce any year passed without a Parliament; and seldom any Parliament without a Tax: or if any sometimes without, it was then cause of the greater Taxation some other way; as when he took of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons, Twenty thousand Marks.

King *Henry*
gets money
by begging.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this Kings Reign were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta*. Also in his time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford* and of *Marleborough*. Also stealing of Cattel, which before was but pecuniary, he made capital: and the first suffered for the same, was one of *Dunstable*, who having stolen twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being pursued to *Redburn*, was by a Bayliff of *St. Albans*, according to the Kings Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may seem strange, that in these times so much blood should be shed in the field, and none upon the Scaffold; for till the twenty sixth year of the King, that one *William Maraisc*, the son of *Geoffry Maraisc*, a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned for Piracy and Treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered, there is no example of that kind of punishment to be found in our Histories. Particularly in this Kings Reign was made that Statute, by which the Ward and marriage of the Heirs of Barons within age is given to the King. Also in this Kings Reign the Pleas of the Crown were pleaded in the Tower of *London*. All Wears in the *Thames* are in this Kings time ordained to be pluckt up and destroyed. Also the Citizens

Wardships of
Barons given
to K. *Henry*.

Citizens of London are allowed by Charter, to pass Toll-free through all England, and to have free Warren about London: also to have and use a common Seal. Also it is ordained that no Sheriff of London should continue in his Office longer than one year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of London, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this Kings time allowed to the City of London to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn: which before was to be presented to the King, where-soever he were. In his time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his grants and writings. Also in this Kings time, William Bishop of Salisbury, first caused that custome to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to owe their suit to the Lords Court, of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the 32 year of this Kings Reign, the Wharf of London called *Queen-Hith*, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty pounds the year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this Kings time a Proclamation was set forth, that all such as might dispend fifteen pound in Land, should receive the order of Knight-hood; and those that would not, or could not, should pay their Fines.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Affairs of the Church for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet than in this Kings Reign; for now all Heresies accounted of the time, especially the *Albigenses*, were in a manner suppressed by the Arms of the King of France, not without the vote of the King of England, who forbore to make war upon them in tenderness to his service. But for matter of manners they were never more turbulent; for now Abbeyes were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Bishops themselves not spared. And all for greediness of money, or for revenge.

Othobone, the Popes Legate here in England, lying at the Abbey at *Oseney*, there happened a difference between his servants and the Scholars at *Oxford*, in which contention a brother of his was slain, and the Legat himself fain to flie into the Steeple for the safeguard of his life. Whereupon afterwards being gotten thence by the Kings safe conduct, he thundered out curses against the Scholars, and interdicted the University; so as the Colledges grew desolate, and the Students were dispersed abroad into other places, for the space of half a year: till the Monks of *Oseney*, and the Regent Masters of *Oxford* were fain to go bare-footed and bare-headed through London, as far as *Durham* house, where the Legate lay, and there upon their humble submission, and great Mens intercession, they were absolved, and the University restored to its former estate. But of this *Othobone*, it may not be impertinent to relate a little further: that going afterword out of England, he came by degrees, after the death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of Rome himself, by the name of *Adrian* the fifth, and dyed within fifty daies after his election. Amongst the af-

fairs of the Church may be reckoned the Ulcers of any member of the Church: such a one as in this Kings time broke out most loathsome. For one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in relembrance to five wounds in Christ's body, took upon him to be Christ; and had gotten a Woman, that took upon her to be the Virgin Mary: who continuing obstinate in their madness, were adjudged to be immured and shut up between two walls, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of their filthiness should spread no further. In this Kings time a little novelty was brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals should wear red Hats: something perhaps for mystery, and something for distinction. Also in this Kings time, the *Grecians* forsook their obedience to the Church of Rome; and the Archbishop of *Antioch* claims to have precedence and authourity above the Bishop of Rome, because the Apostle *Peter* had first governed the Church of *Antioch* seven years together. Also in the fifth year of this King, the Friars Minors (as some write) came first into England; but it is not like they came so soon, for they were Gray Friars of the order of *St. Francis*: and *St. Francis* had no grace till Pope *Honorius* the third, which was some years after. And it is miraculous which is related here of *St. Francis*, that fifteen daies before his death appeared wounds in his hands and feet, like to those which Christ received there upon the Cross; and that as soon as he was dead, there remained not so much as any marks of the said wounds upon him.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

This King caused a chest of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King *Edward* the Confessor, in the Church of *Westminster*. He builded a Church for converted Jews in London: also an Hospital at *Oxford*, for Passengers, and diseased persons: also the new Conventual Church and the Chapel of our Lady at *Westminster*, whereof he laid himself the first stone: also the house of *Black Friars* in *Canterbury*. In his time, *Elo* Countess of *Salisbury* founded the Abbey of *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, founded *Hails*, a Monastery of Cistercian Monks near to *Winchcomb* in *Glocestershire*: *Reginald de Moun*, Earl of *Somerset*, and Lord of *Dunster*, found the Abbey of *Newham* in *Devonshire*: *Ranulph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and Lord of little *Britain*, builded the Castles of *Chartley*, *Bestone*, and the Abbey of *De la Cross*: *Sir John Mansel* the Kings Chaplain, founded a house of Regular Canons near to *Rumney* in *Kent*: *William de Albineto* Earl of *Arundel*, founded the Priory of *Wimondham*: *William Brunc*, a Citizen of London, and *Rosia* his Wife, founded the Hospital of our Lady without *Bishopsgate* in London: And *Isabel* Countess of *Arundel* founded the Nunnery of *Mar-ran*, near to *Linne*. Friars Minors first arrived at *Dover*, nine in number; whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the first Covent of *Friars Minors*, that ever was in England; the other four came to London; who encreasing in number, had a place assigned them in *Saint Nicholas Shambles*; which *John Iwyn*, Merchant of London, appropriated to the use of the

One takes upon him to be Christ.

Cardinals red Hats: when first ordained.

Friars Minors when first in England.

Aldermen of London when first ordained.

Suit of Court when first brought up.

Othobone the Popes Legat in fear at Oxford.

He interdicteth the University and how pacified.

A Jew falling into a Privy would not be taken out on the Sabbath day.

Charity rewarded from Heaven.

St. Peter's Colledge in Cambridge by whom founded.

White-Hall to whom it anciently belonged.

the said Friars, and became himself a Lay-brother. Also in this Kings time the new work of Saint Paul's Church in London was begun. If it were piety in the Jew, who falling into a Privy upon a Saturday, would not be taken out that day, because it was the Jews Sabbath: it was as much piety in the Earl of Gloucester, that would not suffer him to be taken out the next day, because it was the Christian Sabbath; and when the third day was come, he was taken out dead. Whose piety was the greater? A strange accident upon an act of piety, is related in this Kings time; which if true, is a Miracle; if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be read: that in a time of dearth, one man in a certain Parish, who allowed poor people to relieve themselves with taking corn upon his ground, had at Harvest a plentiful crop, where others that denied them had their corn all blasted, and nothing worth. In this Kingstime also, Hugh Balsamus Bishop of Ely founded St. Peter's Colledge in Cambridge. Hubert de Burgh Earl of Kent, was buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers in London, to which Church he gave his Palace at Westminster, which afterward the Arch-bishop of York bought, and made it his Inn; since commonly called York place, now White-Hall.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

The first Elephant brought into England.

AT one time there fell no Rain in England from the first of March to the Assumption of our Lady; and at another time there fell so much Rain, that Holland and Holdernes in Lincolnshire were overflowed and drowned. In the 17 year of his reign, were seen 5 Suns at one time together; after which followed so great a dearth, that people were constrained to eat Horse-flesh, and barks of Trees: and in London 20000 were starved for want of food. Also in his time the Church of St. Mildred in Canterbury, and a great part of the City was burnt. Also the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may seem no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it must be told; that in this Kings time there was sent by the King of France, the first Elephant that ever was seen in England. In this Kings time, Mat. Paris relates of a maid in Leicestershire, that being exactly watched, was found in seven years together, neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays she received the Communion, and yet continued fat and in good liking: which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Resurrection, our life may be maintained without meat or drink. Also in this Kings time, there was found a plentiful Mine of Tinn in Germany, which before this time was never known to be any where found but only in Cornwall, which much abated the price of Tinn in England. In his time also the Sea by the space of four or five dayes, flowed not up to her usual height, which was never known to happen at any time before. Also in his time a Child was born in Kent, that at two years old cured all diseases. Also in his 56 year a Lamb was yeaned at Greenwich beside London, that had two perfect bodies and but one head. Also in his time a child was born in the Isle of Wight, who at 18 years old, was scarce grown to be three foot high; and

therefore brought to the Queen, she carryed him about with her as a Monster of Nature.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE married Eleanor, the second of the five daughters of Raymond Earl of Provence, who lived his Wife 37 years, his Widow 19, dyed a Nun at Aimsbury, and was buried in her Monastery. By her he had six sons and three daughters: of his sons, the four youngest dyed young, and were buried, three of them at Westminster, and the fourth in the New Temple by Fleetstreet. His eldest son Edward, surnamed Longshanke, of his tall and slender body, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second son Edmund, surnamed Crouchback, of bowing in his back, (as some say) but more likely of wearing the sign of the Cross, (anciently called a Crouch) upon his back, which was usually worn of such as had vowed voyages to Hierusalem, as he had done. He was invested titular King of Sicilie and Apulia, and created Earl of Lancaster; on whose person originally the great contention of Lancaster and York was founded. He had two wives, the first was Avelin daughter and heir of William Earl of Albemarle, by whom he left no issue. The second was Queen Blanch daughter of Robert Earl of Artois, brother of St. Lewis K. of France) widow of Henry of Champagne K. of Navarre: by her he had issue three sons and one daughter. His eldest son Thomas, who after his father was Earl of Lancaster, and having married Alice daughter and heir of Henry Lacie Earl of Lincoln, was beheaded at Pomfret without issue. His second son Henry Lord of Monmouth, who after his brothers death was Earl of Lancaster, and father of Henry the first Duke of Lancaster: his third son John, who dyed unmarried. His daughter Mary married to Henry Lord Piercie, mother of Hen. the first Earl of Northumberland. This Edmund dyed at Bay in Gascoin, in the year 1296. when he had lived fifty years, whose body half a year after his death, was brought over into England, and entombed at Westminster. Of King Henries three daughters, the eldest Margaret was married to Alexander the third, K. of Scotland, by whom she had issue, two sons, Alexander and David, who dyed both before their father, without issue; and one daughter Margaret Q. of Norway, wife of K. Ericke, and mother of Margaret the heir of Scotland and Norway, that dyed unmarried. The second daughter of King Henry was Beatrice, born at Burdeaux, married to John the first Duke of Britain, and had issue by him, Arthur Duke of Britain, John Earl of Richmond, Peter, and Blanch married to Philip son of Robert Earl of Artois, Eleanor a Nun at Aimsbury, and Mary married to Guy, Earl of St. Paul, she deceased in Britain, and was buried at London, in the Quire of the Gray-Fryers within Newgate. The third daughter of K. Henry, named Katherine, dyed young, and lies buried at Westminster, in the space between the Chapels of K. Edward and St. Benet.

Edmund Crouchback, the first ancestor of the house of Lancaster.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature but mean, yet of a well compacted body and very strong, one of

of his eye-lids hanging down, and almost covering the black of his eye. For his inward indowments, it may be said, he was wiser for a man, than for a Prince; for he knew better how to govern his life than his Subjects. He was rather Pious than Devout, as taking more pleasure in hearing Masses than Sermons, as he said to the King of France, He had rather see his friend once, than hear from him often. His mind seemed not to stand firm upon its Basis, for every sudden accident put him into passion; He was neither constant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had so great a Favourite whom he cast not into disgrace, nor so great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was seen in his carriage towards *Hubert de Burgh*, who was for a time the greatest Favourite, yet cast out afterward in miserable disgrace; and then no man held in greater hatred; yet received afterward into grace again. And it is memorable to hear with what crimes this *Hubert* was charged at his arraignment, and specially one: That to disswade a great Lady from marriage with the King, he had said the King was a quint-eyed Fool, and a kind of Leper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted than a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies company. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the Kings Bench, where the King himself was present, he was adjudged to have his Lands confiscate, and to be deprived of his Title of Earl; yet after all this was restored to his estate again, and suffered to live in quiet. He was more desirous of money than of honour, for else he would never have sold his Right to the two great Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of France for a sum of money. Yet he was more desirous of honour, than of quietness; for else he would never have contended so long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the matter but a point of honour. His most eminent virtue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his continency; for there is nothing read, either of any base children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

Of his Death and Burial.

Though he had lived a troublesome life, yet he died a quiet death; for he had settled Peace in his Kingdom, and in his conscience. For being at *St. Edmunds Bury*, and finding himself not well at ease, he made the more haste to *London*, where calling before him his Lords, and specially *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Glocester*, he exhorted them to be true and faithful to his son Prince *Edward*, who was at that time far from home; and therefore had the more need of their care, which consisted chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then his sickness increasing, he yielded up his soul to God, on the sixteenth day of *November*, in the year 1272. when he had lived threescore and five years, reigned six and fifty, and was buried at *Westminster*, which he had newly built.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Martial men famous in his time there were many, but three specially who obscured the rest: the first was *William Marshal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, memorable for the great care he had of King *Henry* in his minority, and more memorable for the little care that Destiny had of his posterity; for leaving his five Sons behind him, they all lived to be Earls successively, yet all died without issue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the *Marshals* come wholly to be extinct in that Generation. And this happened (if we may believe *Matthew Paris*) by reason of a curse of an *Irish* Bishop, from whom he had taken two Mannors belonging to his Bishoprick; and neither he, nor all his sons, upon any intreaties would be gotten to restore them. The second was *Richard de Clare* Earl of *Glocester*, who in a Battle against *Balwyn de Gifnes*, a valiant Flemming, employed by King *Henry*, himself alone encountered twelve of his enemies; and having his horse slain under him, he pitcht one of them by the leg out of the saddle, and leapt into it himself, and continued the fight without giving ground, till his Army came to rescue him. An act, that may seem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, than in a true Narration. The third was *Simon Montford*, a man of so audacious a Spirit, that he gave King *Henry* the lie to his face; and that in presence of all his Lords, and of whom it seems, the King stood in no small fear. For passing one time upon the *Thames*, and suddenly taken with a terrible storm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be set on shore at the next stairs, which happened to be at *Durham House*, where *Montford* then lay; who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him somewhat frightened with the Thunder, said unto him, Your Majesty need not fear the Thunder, the danger is now past: No *Montford* (said the King) I fear not the Thunder so much as I fear thee. Of men famous for sanctity of life, there were likewise many in his time, but three more eminent than the rest, *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Thomas* Archdeacon of *Hereford*; all three either Canonized; or at least thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To these may be added *Robert Groshead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who translated the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, out of Greek into Latine; which through envy of the Jews, never came to the knowledge of Saint *Hierome*, wherein are many Prophecies of our Saviour Christ. Of men famous for Learning there were likewise many in his time; of whom some left works behind them for Testimonies of their knowledge in divers kinds, as *Alexander Hales*, a Frier minor, who wrote many Treatises in Divinity; *Ralph Coggeshal*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Niger*; *Ranulph Glanville*, the Earl of *Chester*, the third and last of that name, who compiled a book of the Laws of England; *Hen. Bracton*, who wrote the book commonly called by his name, *de Consuetudinibus Anglicanis*: and besides these, *Hugh Kirkstead*, *Richard of Ely*, *Peter Henham*, *John Gyles*,

The names of the Family of the Marshals are wholly extinct.

The notable valour and activity of Richard de Clare, Earl of Glocester.

The audacious spirit of Simon Montford.

Bracton wrote a book of the Law.

A strange affront to a King.

Gyles, and Nicholas Fernham, excellent Physitians; Richard surnamed Theologus, and Robert Bacon, two notable Divines; Stephen Langton, Richard Fisaker, Simon Stokes, John of Kent,

William Shirwood, Michael Blaunpain, John Godard, Vincent of Coventry, Alberick Veer, Richard Wich, John Basing, Roger Waltham, William Seningham, and others.

The Majors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
William Hardel was Major.
John Travers, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
Robert Serl was Major.
Thomas Bokerell, Ralph Holyland, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Benet Senturer, William Blundivers, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
John Wail, or Veil, Josue le Spicer, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Richard Wimbledon, John Wail or Veil, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Richard Renger, John Veil, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Robert Serl continued Major.
Richard Joyner, Thomas Lambert, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Richard Renger was Major.
William Joyner, Thomas Lambert, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Richard Renger continued Major.
John Trevers, Andrew Bokerell, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Richard Renger continued Major.
John Trevers, Andrew Bokerell, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Renger continued Major.
Roger Duke, Martin Fitz-Williams, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Roger Duke was Major.
Stephen Bokerel, Henry Cocham, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Major.
Stephen Bokerel, Henry Cocham, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Major.
William Winchester, Robert Fitz-John, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Major.
Richard Walter, John de Woborn, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel was Major.
Michael of St. Helen, Walter de Enfield, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Henry de Edmonton, Gerard Bat, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Simon Fitz-Mary, Roger Blunt, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Ralph Ashway, John Norman, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Gerard Bat, Richard or Robert Hardel, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
Henry Cobham, Jordan Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Major.
John Tolason, Gervais the Cordwainer, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Richard Renger was Major.
John Codras, John Whilhall, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
William Joyner was Major.
Reymond Bongy, Ralph Ashwy, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Gerard Bat was Major.
John Gisors, Michael Tony, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Reymond Bongy was Major.
Thomas Duresm, John Voil, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Reymond Bongy continued Major.
John Fitz-John, Ralph Ashwy, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Ralph Ashwy was Major.
Hugh Blunt, Adam Basing, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Michael Tony was Major.
Ralph Foster, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
John Gisors was Major.
Robert Cornhill, Adam of Bewley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,
John Gisors continued Major.
Simon Fitz-Mary, Lawrence Frowick, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
Peter Fitz-Alwin was Major.
John Voil, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Michael Tony was Major.
Nicholas Fitz-Josue, Geoffry Winchester, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Roger Fitz-Roger was Major.
Richard Hardel, John Tolason, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Gisors was Major.
Humfrey Bat, William Fitz-Richard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,
Adam Basing was Major.
Lawrence Frowick, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,
John Tolason was Major.
William Durban, Thomas Wimbourn, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Richard Hardel was Major.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
Richard Hardel continued Mayor.
Ralph Ashwy, Robert of Limon, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Stephen Doe, Henry Walmond, Sheriffs.

In his forty first year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Michael Bokerel, John the Minor, Sheriffs.

In his forty second year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Richard Otwel, William Ashwy, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
Richard Hardel continued Major.
Robert Cornhil, John Adrian, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year.
John Gisors was Major.
John Adrian, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
William Fitz-Richard was Major.
Adam Browning, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his forty sixth year,
William Fitz-Richard, continued Major.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his forty seventh year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard was Major.
John Taylor, Richard Walbroke, Sheriffs.

In his forty eighth year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard continued Major.
Robert de Mountpeter, Osbert de Suffolk, Sheriffs.

Yet *Fabian* saith, that from this 48 year to the
end of his Reign, there were no Majors of
London, but only Guardians of the City.

In his forty ninth year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard was Major.
George Rokesley, Thomas de Detford, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard continued
Major.
Edward Blunt, Peter Anger, Sheriffs.

In his fifty first year.
William Richards was Major.
John Hind, John Walraven, Sheriffs.

In his fifty second year,
Alen de la Souch was Major.
John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt, Sheriffs.

In his fifty third year,
T. Wimbourn, Custos, Sir Stephen Edward.
Walter Harvey, William Duresm, Sheriffs.

In his fifty fourth year,
*Hugh Fitz-Ottonis, Custos of London, and Con-
stable of the Tower.*
Thomas Basing, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

To this time the Major and Sheriffs had been
chosen, but now the King grants the choice
of them to the City it self.

In his fifty fifth year,
John Adrian was Major.
Walter Potter, Philip Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his fifty sixth year,
John Adrian continued Major.
Gregory Rochesly, Henry Walleis, Sheriffs.

In his fifty seventh year,
Sir Walter Harvey was Major.
Richard Harris, John de Wodeley, Sheriffs.

The LIFE and REIGN of
KING EDWARD
 THE FIRST.
 Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

Of his coming to the Crown.

AS soon as King *Henry* was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest Son Prince *Edward* to be proclaimed King: and assembling at the new Temple in *London*, they there took order for the quiet Governing of the Kingdom till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land, and had been there above a year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that time, and in his return. For at his first coming thither he rescued the Great City of *Acon* from being surrendered to the Souldan; after which out of envy to his Valour, one *Anzazim* a desperate *Saracen*, who had often been employed to him from their General, being one time, upon pretence of some secret message, admitted alone into the Chamber, with a poisoned Knife gave him three wounds in the body, two in the arm, and one near the arm-pit, which were thought to be mortal, and had perhaps been mortal, if out of unspeakable love the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife had not sucked out the poison of his wounds with her mouth; and thereby effecting a cure, which otherwise had been incurable. It is no wonder, that love should do wonders, which is it self a wonder. And now being disappointed of aids that were promised to be sent him, and leaving Garrisons in fit places for defence of the Countrey, he with his Wife *Eleanor* takes his journey homewards. And first passing by *Sicilie*, was there most kindly received by *Charles*, King of that Island, where he first heard of his Fathers death; which he took more heavily far, than he had taken the death of his young Son *Henry*, whereof he had heard a little before. At which when King *Charles* marvelled, he answered, that other Sons might be had, but another Father could never be had. From hence he passeth through *Italy*, where much honour is done him both by the Pope, and other Princes; and then descends into *Burgoyne*, where by the Earl of *Challoun*, a stout man at arms, he is challenged at a Turnament, with a pretence to solemnize his presence: but with a purpose indeed to disgrace his person. And though Prince *Edward* in many respects might justly

have refused it; yet the nobleness of his mind would not suffer him to pass by any occasion of shewing his Valour: and in this encounter he so foiled the Earl, as he made it appear, that Fame had been no lyar in the report it had made of him. And here a great part of his *English* Nobility met him, from whence he passed into *France*, where the King *Philip* his near Cousin (as being Sisters Sons) entertains him with great solemnity; and graceth his solemnity with so much courtesie, that it won Prince *Edward* voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in *France*: and this voluntariness in Prince *Edward* won the King of *France* again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in *France* that belonged to him; and so these two great Kings by reciprocal courtesie, effected that which their Predecessours by force could never effect. From hence he passeth through *Aquitain*, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and set all things in order, he set sail and arrived in *England*, above a year after the death of his Father; a long time for plotting of mischief, and a strong temptation to plotters of mischief, if all causes of quietness had not concurred: but such was the worthiness of Prince *Edward*'s person, and such the undoubtedness of his Title, that as there could be no Competitor, so there would be no oppugner. And indeed the Divine Providence had shewed a special care over him from his Childhood; whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at Chess with a Friend, in the midst of his Game, without any apparent occasion, he removed himself from the place where he sat, when suddenly there fell from the roof of the house, a great stone, which if he had stayed in the place but never so little, had beaten out his brains. Another example of the Divine Providence over him, (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleet of Ships for a Journey into *Flanders*, and being at *Winchelsey*, where the Ships were to meet; it happened, that riding about the Harbour, his horse frightened with the noise of a Wind-mill, which the wind drove violently about, scrambled up and leapt over the Mud-wall of the Town, so as neither the King nor the Horse was to be seen, but every one judged the King could not chuse but be thrown and killed: yet such was the Divine Providence over him, that the Horse lighted

Prince Edward poisoned in the Holy-Land.

The poison sucked out of his wounds by his Wife.

He takes the death of his Father more heavily than of his Son.

Prince Edward his valour.

Reciprocal courtesies between King Edward and the King of France.

King Edward protected by the Divine hand from his childhood.

lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the Saddle returned safe. And under the wing of this Divine Providence, he had now passed all the dangers of this tedious Journey; and being safely come to London, was on the fifteenth day of August, in the year 1274. Crowned at Westminster, together with his Wife Queen Eleanor, by Robert Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury, where five hundred great Horses were let loose for any that could take them; and yet the outward solemnity was not more great than the inward joy was universal; every man rejoicing, not only at a change, which of itself is pleasing: but at a change so much for the better as this was like to be.

Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

THE Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfily be divided into five parts: His Acts with his Temporal Lords; His Acts with his Clergy: then with Wales; then his Acts with Scotland: and lastly with France. And first concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his reign by enlarging their liberties, and granting them easier Laws; for which purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of Westminster the first: so as he had no difference with them, till toward the end of his Reign, as shall be shewed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good age, three or four and thirty years old, in his fathers reign, he observed in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings: at least to keep them farther from growing: which he did by these means. First, in the sixth year of his Reign, he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of Westminster, the return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father, King Henry the third. The next year after he got to be enacted the Statute of Mortmain, to hinder the increase of their Temporal possessions. In the second Statute of Westminster, he defaulted the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Judges; and growing more upon them, he required the moiety of all their Goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, for one year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at Salisbury, without admission of any Churchmen in it. And it is worth the noting, that Marchian his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious Houses, there was much Treasure to be had, if it might be taken, he made no scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of Mortmain, that had been made so much to their hinderance, He answered, that this was a Statute made by the whole body of the Realm, and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done. And perhaps whatsoever they should

have asked else, he would have had an answer to redeem his offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

In the next place are the Welch, who had themselves begun with the King. For their Prince Leolyn being summoned to attend at his Coronation, refused to come; and afterwards at more leasure, being required to come and do him homage, he stood upon terms of safe conduct, pretending doubt to be used, as his Father Griffin had been: who upon hard usage in the Tower, seeking to make escape, fell from the Walls and brake his neck. But indeed it was alwayes a custom with this Nation, at every change of Princes in England, to try conclusions, hoping at one time or other, to have a day of it; and to change their yoke of Bondage into Liberty: for which they were never better provided than now, (especially which is the greatest matter in War) having a valiant Prince to their Leader. But there happened an accident which took off their edge at this time. For the Lady Eleanor, a Daughter of the late Earl Simon Montford, whom Prince Leolyn extremely loved, passing out of France into Wales, was by the way upon the Sea taken by English Ships, and brought to King Edward; and for the love of her, Prince Leolyn was content to submit himself to any conditions; which besides subjection of his State, was to pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, and a thousand pounds per annum during his life. And upon these conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in England; whereat the King and Queen were themselves present. Three years Leolyn continued Loyal, and within the bounds of obedience; in which time David, one of his Brothers, staying here in England, and found by the King to be of a stirring spirit, was much honoured by him, Knighted and matched to a rich widow, daughter of the Earl of Derby; and had given him by the King besides, the Castle of Denbigh, with a thousand pounds per annum: though (as it was afterwards found) he lived here but in the nature of a spy. For when Prince Leolyns Lady was afterward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into Rebellion, then goes his Brother David to him, notwithstanding all these favours of the King; and they together enter the English Borders, surprize the Castles of Flint and Ruddlan, with the person of the Lord Clifford, sent Justiciar into those parts: and in a great Battel overthrow the Earls of Northumberland, and Surrey, with the slaughter of Sir William Lindsey, Sir Richard Tanny, and many others. King Edward advertised of this Revolt and Overthrow, being then at the Vizes in Wiltshire, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his Mother Queen Eleanor, lying at the Nunnery of Aimsbury, with whom whilst he conferred, there was one brought into the Chamber, who feigned himself (being blind) to have received his sight at the Tomb of King Henry the third. As soon as the King saw the man, he remembered he had seen him before, and knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wished his Mother in no case to believe him: but his Mother, who much rejoiced

1274.
He is Crowned.

He gives contentment to his Lords.

He abates the power of the Clergy.

The Statute of Mortmain enacted.

A Parliament without any Clergy-men admitted.

The King cannot undo a Statute.

Prince Leolyn delays to do his homage.

For the love of his Lady he submits himself.

She dead, he falls into rebellion.

An impostor d'covered by the King.

to hear of this Miracle, for the glory of her Husband, finding her Son unwilling that his Father should be a Saint, grew suddenly into such a rage against him, that she commanded him to avoid her Chamber: which the King obeys; and going forth, meets with a Clergy-man, to whom he tells the story of this Impostor, and merrily said, He knew the justice of his Father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, than restore them to their sight. In this mean time the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had gone of himself to Prince *Leolyn*, and had laboured to bring him and his Brother *David* to a re-submission, but could effect nothing; for besides other reasons that swayed Prince *Leolyn*, the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin*, that he should shortly be Crowned with a Diadem of *Bruce*, so over-weighed him, that he had no ear for peace, and shortly after no head. For after the Earl of *Pembroke* had taken *Bere Castle*, which was the seat of Prince *Leolyn*, he was himself slain in Battel; and his head cut off by a common Souldier, was sent to King *Edward*, who caused the same to be crowned with Ivy, and to be set upon the *Tower of London*. And this was the end of *Leolyn*, the last of the *Welch* Princes, betrayed (as some write) by the men of *Buelth*. Not long after his Brother *David* also is taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death; first drawn at a Horse tail about the City of *Shrewsbury*; then beheaded, the trunk of his Body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany his Brother's on the *Tower of London*, his four quarters to four Cities, *Bristow*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Winchester*. A manifold Execution, and the first shewed in that kind to this Kingdom, in the person of the Son of a Prince, or any other Noble-man that we read of in our History. It is perhaps something which some here observe, that at the sealing of this Conquest, King *Edward* lost his eldest Son *Aphonius*, of the age of 12 years, (a Prince of great hope) and had only left to succeed him, his Son *Edward* lately born at *Carnarvan*, and the first of the *English*, intituled Prince of *Wales*, but no Prince worthy of either *Wales* or *England*. And thus came *Wales* to be united to the Crown of *England*, in the eleventh year of this King *Edward*'s Reign; who thereupon established the Government thereof, according to the Laws of *England*, as may be seen by the Statute of *Rutland*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

1282.
Prince *Leolyn* deceived by a Prophecie from his out and is slain.

The last of the *Welsh* Princes.

His Brother *David* is ignominious death.

Wales united to the Crown of *England*.

The work of *Wales* being settled, King *Edward* passeth over into *France*, upon notice of the death of *Philip the Hardie*, to renew and confirm such conditions as his state in those parts required, with the new King *Philip* the fourth, intituled *Fair*; to whom he doth homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted his claim to *Normandy* for ever. After three years and a half, being away in *France*, he returns into *England*; and now in the next place comes the business with *Scotland*, and will hold him work at times as long as he lives, and his Son after him. *Alexander* the third, King of *Scots*, as he was running his Horse, fell Horse and Man to the ground, and brake his neck, and died immediately; by reason whereof (he leaving

no issue, but only a Daughter of his Daughter *Margaret*, who died also soon after, there fell out presently great contention about succession. Ten Competitors pretend Title, namely, *Erick* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Cummin* Lord of *Badenaw*, *Patrick de Dunbarre*, Earl of *March*, *John de Vescie*, *Nicholas de Sules*, *William de Ross*; all or most of them descending from *David* Earl of *Huntington*, younger Brother to *William K.* of *Scots*, and great Uncle to the late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors, over that Kingdom, and proving it by authority of old Chronicles, as *Marrianus Scotus*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry of Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and others; which though the *Scottish* Lords who swayed the *Inter-regnum* opposed, yet are they constrained for avoiding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbitrator thereof, and the ten Competitors bound to stand to his award. Two are especially found, between whom the right lay, *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*; the one descended from an elder Daughter: the other from a Son of a younger daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldest Daughter of this *David*, brother to King *William*. The controversie held long. Twelve of either Kingdom learned in the Laws, are elected to debate the same at *Berwick*, all the best Civilians in the Universities of *France* are solicited to give their opinions; all which brought forth rather doubts than resolutions. Whereupon King *Edward* the better to sway this business by his presence, takes a journey Northward; where being come as far as *Lincolnshire*, he lost his beloved Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and thereupon went back to see her Funeral performed at *Westminster*. That done he returns presently to his *Scottish* business. And now six years were passed since the death of King *Alexander*, and yet nothing concluded in this controversie; whereupon King *Edward* deals privately with *Bruce*, (who had the weaker title, but the more friends) and promiseth him if he would swear fealty and homage to the Crown of *England*, he would invest him in that of *Scotland*. But *Bruce* answers, he was not so desirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the liberties of his Countrey. Whereupon with the like offers he sets upon *Baliol*, who having better right, but less love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdom than Honour, accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at *Scone*, hath fealty done him by all the chief Nobility, except *Bruce*; comes to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, where King *Edward* then lay; and there with many of his Nobles, swears fealty, and doth homage to him as his Sovereign Lord. Which act done to secure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby he became less. Such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (tender of the preservation of their Countreys Liberty) took stomach against him; and not only for this, but shortly after for his injustice in the case of the Earl of *Fife*, one of the six Governours in the time of the *Inter-regnum*,

The Competitors for the Crown of *Scotland*.

King *Edward* arbitrator in whom is the Right.

1291.
King *Edward*'s Queen *Eleanor* dyeth.

King *Edward* arbitrator the Crown to *Baliol*.

regnum, who had been slain by the Family of *Albernetb*; the Brother of which Earl prosecuting Law before King *Baliol*, in his High Court of Parliament, and having no right done him (King *Baliol* giving judgement of the side of the *Albernetbs*) he appeals to the Court of the King of England. Whereupon *Baliol* is summoned; appears, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament, till his cause was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to arise, and to stand in the place appointed for pleading; then he craves to answer by a Procurator; but is denied, and thereupon descends to the ordinary place; and defends his cause himself. Which indignity (as he took it) so incenseth him, that he returns home with a breast full charged with indignation, meditates revenge, renews the ancient League with *France*, confirms it with marriage of his Son *Edward* to a Daughter of *Charles*, Brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of England, to embrace the same: which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*, renounceth his Allegiance, as unlawfully done, being not in his power, without consent of the State, to do any such act. Hereupon brake out the mortal dissension between the two Nations, which consumed more Christian Blood, and continued longer than ever quarrel we read of did, between any two people in the world. For he that began it could not end it, but it lasted almost three hundred years, and was never thoroughly abolished, till the late blessed Union wrought by him, in whom Wisdom and Vertue, Right and Power concurred all to make it firm. And now the fatal Chair in which the Kings of Scotland used to be inaugurated, seems to recover its secret operation according to ancient Prophecie, That whithersoever that Chair should be removed, the Kingdom should be removed with it: and this Chair King *Edward* caused to be brought out of Scotland to Westminster, and to be placed there amongst the Monuments, where it still continues. But now King *Baliol* being summoned to appear at New-Castle, and refusing to come, King *Edward* enters Scotland with an Army consisting of four thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, besides five hundred horse and one thousand foot of the Bishop of *Durham*. *Berwick* is first won, with the slaughter of fifteen thousand Scots, (our Writers say more) and after that, the Castles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edenburgh*, *Sterling*, and *St. Johns-Town*: and King *Baliol* sues for Peace, submits himself, takes again his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward* as his Sovereign Lord. Which done, a Parliament for Scotland is held at *Berwick* where the Nobility likewise did homage to him, confirming the same by their Charter, under their hands and seals; only *William Douglass* refuseth, content rather to endure the misery of a Prison, than yield to the subjection of the King of England. But King *Baliol* notwithstanding his submission, is sent Prisoner into England after his four years Reign in Scotland; and King *Edward* returns home, leaving *John Warren*, Earl of *Suffex* and *Surrey*, Warden of all Scotland, *Hugh Cressingham* Treasurer, and *Ormesley* Chief Justice, with Commission to take in his name, the Homages and Fealties of all such as held Lands of that Crown. But this continued not long, for King *Edward* being absent in *France*, the Scots

fell upon the Officers he had left, slew Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with six thousand English, recovered many Castles; and regained the Town of *Berwick*; and all by the animation and conduct of one *William Walleys*; a poor private Gentleman, (though Nobly descended) Who seeing his Country without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or subjection) assembles certain of as poor and desperate estate as himself, and leads them to attempt upon whatsoever advantages they could find to annoy the English, and having therein good success, it so increased both his courage and company, that he afterward came to be the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom: and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Country from the subjection of the English; if the speedy coming of King *Edward* had not prevented him. For now King *Edward*, to bring his work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *York*; where they continued above six years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where there assembled three thousand men at Arms on barded horses; and four thousand other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army of Foot answerable, consisting most of *Welch* and *Irish*, besides five hundred men at Arms out of *Gascoign*. And with this power he makes his second expedition into Scotland; the Earls of *Hereford* and *Norfolk*, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Vant-guard at the famous Battel of *Fonkirk*, where the shouts of the Scots were so great, that King *Edward's* horse frightened withal, cast him off, and brake two of his ribs, which notwithstanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets victory; wherein are reported to be slain two hundred Knights, and forty thousand Foot of the Scots: but *William Walleys*, with some few, escaped to make more work. And here again that Kingdom might seem as if quite overthrown. Most of the Estates of the Earls and Barons of Scotland (with their Titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the English; and a Parliament is called at *S. Andrews*, where all the great men of the Kingdom, except only *Walleys*, once again swear Fealty to the King of England. It seems swearing of Fealty was with the Scots but a ceremony without substance, as good as nothing; for this is now the third time they swore Fealty to King *Edward*: yet all did not serve to make them Loyal. For not long after comes the news of a new King made and Crowned in Scotland. *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carriick*, son to that *Bruce* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of England, becomes Head to the confused Body of that Kingdom; and perceiving *John Cummin* (who had a Title himself) to go about to bewray his intentions to King *Edward*, he finding him at *Dunfrays*, sets upon him, and Murthers him in the Church. Whereof as soon as King *Edward* heard, he sends *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy* with a strong power to revenge the death of *Cummin*, and to relieve his Wardens of Scotland; who upon *Bruce's* revolt, were all retired to *Berwick*, whilst himself prepares an Army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he caused Proclamation to be

Baliol is incensed against King *Edward*, and why.

The fatal Chair of Scotland brought into England.

Baliol sues for peace, and submits himself.

Baliol is sent prisoner into England.

William Walleys opposes King *Edward*.

The Exchequer and Courts of Justice removed to *York*.

1298.
The Battel of *Fonkirk*.

The Scots swear fealty to King *Edward*.

Robert Bruce attempts for the Crown.

made

The order
of Knight-
hood im-
posed upon
men of
means.

made, That whosoever ought by their Paternal succession, or otherwise had means of their own for service, should repair to *Westminster*, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knight-hood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs, wrought with Gold or Silver, according to every mans Estate. For which train (because the Kings house was too little, by reason a part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Appletrees cut down at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and gave him the Duchy of *Aquitain*) kept his Vigil with his Train at *Westminster*; and the next day he girded these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the King before them all, makes a Vow, that alive or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cummin* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*; Adjuring his Son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he died in his journey, they should carry his Corpse with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely brought the Country to subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promise upon their faith; to imploy their utmost power to perform his Vow: and herewithal he sets forth with a potent Army, presently after *Whitsontide*, and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, in the four and thirtieth year of his Reign; at which time he made above two hundred Knights.

1306.
He defeats
the Scottish
Army.

The Countess
of
Boughan's
ignominious
punishment.

The Earl of *Pembroke*, with that power sent before, and aid of the Scottish party, had before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battel near *St. Johns-Town*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person; but he escaping in disguise, and sheltering himself in obscure places, was reserved for greater Battels: his Brothers *Nigel*, *Bruce*, and shortly after, *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of Traitors at *Berwick*. And now King *Edward* had done for fighting, all was now for Executions; and indeed his desire of revenge made him inexorable, and vow to spare none of what degree soever. The Earl of *Athol* (though of Royal Blood, and allied unto him) was sent to *London*, where all his preferment was, to have a higher pair of Gallows than the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Ross*, is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countess of *Boughan*, who had been aiding at *Bruce*'s Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Wall of *Berwick* for people to gaze on: But though *Bruce*'s party was thus dejected, and himself at this time appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place in a distressed manner, (attended only with two Noble Gentlemen, who never forsook him in his misfortunes, the Earl of *Lenox* and *Gilbert Hay*) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he suddenly assails the Earl of *Pembroke* at unawares, gives him a great defeat, and within three daies

after chaseth the Earl of *Glocester*, into the Castle of *Aire*, where he besieged him, till by the Kings forces he was driven again to his former retire. Whereupon King *Edward* who had spent his Winter at *Carlisle*, in July following, with a fresh Army enters *Scotland* himself; but falling into a Dysentery or Bloody Flux at *Borrough* upon the Sands he ended his life. And thus ended King *Edward*'s troubles with *Scotland*, but not *Englands* troubles, which are more to come than yet are past.

King *Ed-*
ward enters
Scotland, and
there dies.

But though this business of *Scotland* never left King *Edward* till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an Ague, sometimes putting him into violent heats; and sometimes leaving him in a quiet temper with such a vicissitude, that when he had quietness with *Scotland*, he had troubles with *France*, whereof the time is now to speak. It is well known, that *Philip* King of *France*, father of the present King, and *Edward* King of *England* were near Cousins, the Sons of two Sisters; and it hath been shewed before at King *Edward*'s returning from the Holy-land, and passing through *France*, what extraordinary kindness and mutual courtesie, passed between them, that one would have thought neither they nor theirs should ever have fallen out; and perhaps never should, if they had been private men, and not Princes. For private men may easily continue friends, as having none to consider but themselves; but Princes hardly, as having besides themselves, their Subjects to consider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the quarrel, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes

The Kings
of *England*
and *France*
fall out, and
why.

there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrel. And this was the case of these two Kings. Certain of the King of *Englands* Subjects had upon the Coast of *Normandy*, done spoil to some Subjects of the King of *France*: and this difference of the Subjects made a difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a beginning the King of *France* summons King *Edward*, as owing homage to that Crown, to appear and answer it in his Court. And King *Edward*, though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of courtesie, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which refusal, all his Territories in *France* are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently sent to seize upon the same, led by *Charles le Valois*, and *Arnold de Neel*, Constable of *France* *Burdeaux* with divers other places of importance, are taken from him. And now King *Edward* well knowing what danger it was to have so powerful an adversary, endeavours first to strengthen himself with friends abroad, seeks to match his son *Edward* with a daughter of *Gay* Earl of *Flanders*; marries one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barre*, who pretended title to *Champagne*; another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; sends fifteen thousand pound sterling to *Adolph de Nassau*, the Emperour, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in *France*; and with all these and many other confining Princes, he sets upon the King of *France*, and then sends over his brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Arms,

and a Navy of three hundred and sixty sail. In the mean time the King of France having had intelligence of the intended alliance between King Edward, and Guy Earl of Flanders, sends for the said Earl (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at Paris; where instead of feasting him, he makes him prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought (being his Vassal) to match her with his capital Enemy. The Earl excuseth it the best he could; and by much mediation is released himself, but not his Daughter. Whereupon the Earl, presuming upon aid from King Edward, takes Arms and defies the King of France. Who thereupon comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused King Edward with all speed possible to relieve this distressed Earl: and so leaving the Government of the Kingdom in his absence, to the Bishop of London, the Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Raynold, Gray, and Clifford, with five hundred sail, and eighteen thousand men at Arms, he passeth over into France. But finding the Country distracted into many popular factions, and the King of France daily getting upon them (having already won Lile, Doway, Courtray, Burges, and Dam) and the Emperour Adolph failing to send him aid as he had promised, he fell into great perplexity; and having staid the whole Winter at Gaunt, where by reason of many outrages committed by his Souldiers, he was so affronted by the Gauntois, that his own person was not without some danger. He thereupon in the Spring of the year concludes a Truce with the King of France for two years, takes his Sister Margaret to wife, and affianceth the daughter of the same King to his Son Prince Edward; and so returns into England. And these were all the troubles King Edward had with France.

But now must something be spoken of the Troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning. In a Parliament at Salisbury, the five and twentieth year of his Reign, the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the Wars in Gascoin; which needed a present supply; by reason of the death of his Brother Edmund: but the Lords make all their excuses, every man for himself: Whereupon the King in great rage threatened they should either go, or he would give their Lands to others that should. Upon this Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, High Constable, and Roger Bigot Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, make their Declaration; That if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not. Which answer offended the King more, and being urged again, the Earl Marshal protested he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by right of inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, He should go with any other, though he went not himself in person. I am not so bound (saith the Earl) neither will I take that Journey without you. The King swore, By God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang. And I swear by the same Oath (saith the Earl) I will neither go nor hang; and so without leave departs. Shortly after the two Earls assemble many Noblemen, and other their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets; so as they were

fifteen hundred men at Arms, well appointed, and stood upon their guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then; but lets the matter pass, in regard that his business called him presently into Flanders. When being ready to take ship, the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, send him a Roll of the grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impolitions, with his seeking to force their services by unlawful courses: To which the King sends answer, That he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Council, who were not now about him; and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in his Journey; (which they absolutely refused to do, though he went in person, unless he had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet do nothing in his absence prejudicial to the peace of the Kingdom: and that at his return, he would set all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his Journey, and being held there with long delays, to his exceeding great expences, he was forced to send over for more supply of Treasure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at York, by the Prince, and (because of his minority, for he was then but sixteen years of age) by such as had the managing of the Kingdom in his absence: and to the end he would not be disappointed of aid, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: promising from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon all such as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27 year of his Reign, a Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the promised confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what disafforestation had heretofore been made was earnestly urged, and in the end with much ado granted; and that with omission of the clause, *Salvo Jure Coronæ nostræ*, which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people by no means would agree; and the perambulation of the Forests of England was then committed to three Bishops, three Earls and three Barons. But some years after, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King Edward began to shew his resentment of the stubborn behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies Roger Bigot, Earl Marshal, that to recover his favour the Earl made him his Heir, in possession; (though he had a Brother of his own, living) reserving only to himself a thousand pounds *per annum*, during his life. Of others likewise he got great summs for the same offence. The Earl of Hereford escaped his fine by death; but the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, (whom he accused to have disturbed his Peace in his absence) he sends over to Pope Clement the fifth, (who succeeded Boniface) that he might be crucified with a double power. This Pope was Native of Burdeaux, and so the more regardful of the Kings desire, and the King the more confident of his favour; which to entertain and increase, King Edward sends him a whole furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of clean Gold: which great gift so wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters,

King Edward condescends to the Lords demands.

King Edward confirms the two Charters.

Is released of his grant by the Pope.

A Truce is concluded between them. King Edward marries his son Edward to a daughter of the King of France.

The Lords refuse to attend the King, unless he went himself in person.

confirmed unto them by his last three Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his Oath. A safe time for Princes, when they might tye themselves by any Obligation to their Subjects, and afterward for a bribe to the Pope be untied again.

His Taxations and waies for raising Money.

IF Taxations may suffer degrees of comparison, it may not unfitly be said of these three last Kings, That King *John* was in the Positive; his Son *Henry* the Third, in the Comparative; and this King *Edward* in the Superlative. For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a spell to all that come after, for ever coming near him: But then under the name of Taxations, we must include the waies he took for raising of profit: but first in the way of Parliament. In the first year of his Reign was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy for two years, besides a fifteenth of them and the Temporality. In his fifth year, a twentieth of their goods towards the *Welch* Wars. In his seventh the old money was called in, and new coined; in regard it had been much defaced by the *Jews*, for which 297. were at one time executed in *London*: and this brought in profit of no small value. In his eleventh year, he had a thirtieth of the Temporality, and a Twentieth of the Clergy, for his Wars in *Wales*. In the thirteenth, Esuage, forty shillings of every Knights Fee. In his fourteenth year he had a Thousand Marks of certain Merchants fined for false weights. In his nineteenth, the eleventh part of all moveables of the Clergy, and shortly after a Tenth for six years. In his twentieth, *William Marchian*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*, perceiving great riches to be in Churches and Religious Houses, put it so into the Kings head, that they were all brought into the Kings Treasury. In the eighth year of his Reign he sent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what Title men held their Lands, which brought him in much Money; till *John* Earl of *Warren*, being called to shew his Title, drew out an old rusty Sword, and then said he held his Land by that, and by that would hold it to death: which though it made the King desist from his project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy. In his seventeenth year he fined all his Judges for corruption: *Sir Ralph de Hengham* Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, in seven thousand Marks; *Sir John Lovetot*, Justice of the Common Pleas, in three thousand Marks: *Sir William Brompton*, in six thousand Marks: *Sir Solomon Rochester*, in four thousand Marks: *Sir Richard Boyland*, in four thousand: *Sir Walter Hopton* in two thousand: *Sir William Saham*, in three thousand: *Robert Lithbury* Master of the Rolls, in one thousand: *Roger Leicester*, in one thousand: *Henry Bray*, Escheator, and Judge for the *Jews*, in one thousand: but *Sir Adam Stratton* chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thousand: and *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest substance) had all his Goods and whole Estate confiscated to the King, and himself banished out of the Kingdom. In his eighteenth year he banished the *Jews*; of whom there was

at that time above fifteen thousand in the Kingdom, who had all their Goods confiscate, leaving them only means to bear their charges in going away.

In his four and twentieth year, he commanded a Subsidy to be levied upon all Sarplars of Wooll going out of *England*; as likewise with Fells and Hides. In his five and twentieth year he calls a Parliament at *St. Edmundsbury*, where is granted the eighth part of the Goods of good Towns, and all other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy they desire to be excused, and refuse to contribute, in regard of their many late payments; as in the two and twentieth year of his Reign they payed the moiety of their Goods. And in his three and twentieth year he seised into his hands all Priories Aliens, and their Goods; besides he had a loan of the Clergy, which amounted to a hundred thousand pounds: but notwithstanding upon this refusal of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergy-men out of his Protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of his Courts; (A strain of State beyond any of his Predecessors) which so amazed them, that in the end, the Arch-bishop of *York*, with the Bishops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Lincoln*, yielded to lay down in their Churches, the fifth part of all their Goods towards the maintenance of the Kings Wars; whereby they appeased his wrath and were received into grace. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his Goods seised on, and all the Monasteries within his Dioceses, taken into the Kings hands; and Wardens appointed to minister only necessities to the Monks, converting the rest to the Kings use: at length by much suit, the Abbots and Priests giving the fourth part of their Goods, redeem themselves and the Kings favour. In the six and twentieth year of his Reign, at a Parliament holden at *York*, is granted him the ninth penny of the Goods of the Temporality: the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Dioceses of *Canterbury*, and of *York* the fifth; and in this year also he raised the Imposition upon every Sack of Wooll, from a Noble to forty shillings. In his two and thirtieth year he sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for intruders on other mens Lands; who to oppress the right owner, would make over their Land to great men; for Batterers hired to beat men, for Breakers of Peace, for Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, false Assisours, and other such Malefactors: which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treasure to the King. As likewise did another Commission at the same time, sent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Ministers of Justice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this time also he called his Lords to account for their stubbornness some years before, in denying to attend him into *Flanders*; which brought him in profit answerable to their greatness that were called. After all this, in his four and thirtieth year, there is granted him the thirtieth penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his journey into *Scotland*. And this may be sufficient to shew his Taxa-

John Earl of *Warren* opposeth the Writ of *Quo Warranto*.

The Judges fined for corruption.

He banisheth the *Jews*.

The Clergy is put out of the Kings protection.

The Writ of *Trailbaston* sent forth.

Silver Mines found in Devonshire. Taxations to have been in the superlative degree. And yet besides these, he had no small benefit by Silver Mines, which in his time were found in Devonshire.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN the first year of his Reign were made the Statutes called *Westminster* the first. In his twelfth year were made the Statutes of *Acton Burnel*. In the fourteenth year of his Reign were made Statutes called *Additamenta Glocestrie*. He ordained such men to be Sheriffs in every County, as were of the same County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that *Jews* should wear a cognisance upon their upper garment, whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of Usury. In his time was also enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*.

In his time new pieces of money were coined; and half pence of Silver, which were before of base metal. In his time, three men for rescuing of a Prisoner, arrested by an Officer, had their right-hands cut off by the wrists. In his time all *Jews* were banished out of the Realm. This King by Proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-Coal in London and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noisome smoak. In his eleventh year the Bakers of London were first drawn upon Hurdles, by *Henry Walleys*, Major, and Corn was then first sold by weight. In this Kings time the Title of Baron which had before been promiscuous to men of estate, was first confined to such only as by the King were called to have voice in Parliament. In the sixth year of this King, *Michaelmas* Term was kept at *Shrewsbury*. In his twelfth, he divided *Wales* into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as are used in England.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, at a Synod holden at *Reading* by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, it was ordained according to the Constitutions of the General Council, That no Ecclesiastical person should have more than one Benefice, to whom belonged the Cure of Souls: and that every person promoted to any Ecclesiastical living, should take the order of Priest-hood within one year after. In his time lived and died Pope *Boniface* the 8. of whom his Predecessour had Prophesied: *Ascendes ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morieris ut Canis*.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THIS King founded the Abbey of the *Vale Royal* in *Cheshire*, of the *Cisteaux* Order. In his time *John Baliol* King of *Scots*, builded *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxford*: Also in his time, *Walter Merton* Lord Chancellour of *England*, and after Bishop of *Rocheſter*, founded *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who was drowned passing over the water at *Rocheſter*, there being at that time no Bridge, as now there is. In his time was finished the new Work of the Church at *Westminster*, which had been threescore and six years in building. In his time was laid the foundation of the *Black-Friers* besides *Ludgate*, by *Robert*

Kilwarby, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*: also in his time, his second wife Queen *Margaret* began to build the Quire of the *Grey-Friers* in *London*. In his time was begun to be made the great Conduit in *London*, standing against the Church called *Acres* in *Cheap*. In his time *Henry Walleys*, Major of *London*, caused the *Ton* upon *Cornhil*, to be a Prison for Night-walkers; and also builded a house called the *Stocks*, for a Market of fish and flesh; in the midst of the City. In this Kings time, *Edmund* Earl of *Leicester*, the Kings Brother, founded the *Minories*, a Nunnery without *Aldgate*. This King builded the Castle of *Flint* in *Wales*, and the Castle of *Beaumaris* in the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the Castle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Also in this Kings time, *John Peckham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Colledge of Canons at *Wingham* in *Kent*.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN the second year of this Kings Reign, there happened the greatest rot of Sheep in *England* that ever was known, which continued five and twenty years; and came (as was thought) by one infected Sheep of incredible greatness, brought out of *Spain* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings Reign, Wheat was sold for ten groats a Quarter; where the next year after there was so great a dearth, that it was sold for eighteen pence the Bushel. In the seventeenth year of his Reign, there fell so much rain, that Wheat was raised from three pence the Bushel, to sixteen pence; and so increased yearly, till at last it was sold for twenty shillings the Quarter. And this year the City of *Carlisle*, and the Abbey with all the Houses belonging to the *Fryers* *Minors*, was consumed with fire. In his one and twentieth year a great part of the Town of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady was also burnt. In the seven and twentieth year of his Reign his Palace at *Westminster*, and the Monastery adjoining were consumed with fire. The Monastery of *Gloceſter* also was burnt to the ground. In this year also an Act of Common-Council by consent of the King, was made concerning Victuals, a fat Cock to be sold for three half pence, two Pullets for three half pence, a fat Capon for two pence half penny, a Goose four pence, a Mallard three half pence, a Partridge three half pence, a Pheasant four pence, a Heron six pence, a Plover one penny, a Swan three shillings, a Crane twelve pence, two Woodcocks three half pence, a fat Lamb from *Christmas* to *Shrovetide*, sixteen pence, and all the year after for four pence; and Wheat was this year so plentiful, that a Quarter was sold for ten groats. In his sixteenth year it chanced in *Gascoin*, that as the King and Queen sate in their Chamber, upon a Bed talking together, a Thunderbolt coming in at the Window behind them, passed betwixt them, and slew two of their Gentlemen that stood before them.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, his first was *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spain*,

The Stocks a Market for Fish and Flesh, waen made.

A rot of Sheep five and twenty years together, and how caused.

The price of victuals at this time ordained.

Sea-Coal prohibited to be burned in London.

The title of Barons confined to such only as were called by Writ to the Parliament.

No Ecclesiastical person to have more than one Benefice.

Baliol Colledge in Oxford by whom builded.

Merton Colledge in Oxford by whom builded.

Monuments
obtained in
memory of
Queen Elea-
nor.

Spain; and was married to him at *Bures* in Spain; who having lived with him six and thirty years, in a Journey with him towards Scotland, at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnshire* she died. In whose memory, and as monuments of her vertue, and his affection, King *Edward* caused Crosses with her Statue to be erected in all chief places, where her Corpse in carrying to *Westminster*, rested: as at *Stamford*, *Dunstable*, *St. Albans*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*; and lastly at the place called *Charing-Cross*. She was buried in *Westminster*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, under a fair Marble Tomb, adorned with her Pourtraiture of Copper gilt. By this Wife King *Edward* had four Sons, and nine daughters; his eldest son, *John*; his second, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonfus*; died all young in their Fathers time: his fourth son, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvan*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. Of his daughters, the eldest named *Eleanor* was first married by Proxy to *Alphonfus* King of *Arragon*; but he dying before the marriage solemnized, she was afterward married at *Bristow* to *Henry* Earl of *Bary* in *France*; by whom she had Issue sons and daughters. *Joan* the second daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, born at *Acon* in the *Holy-Land*, and thereof called *Joan de Acres*, was married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the Red Earl of *Glocester* and *Hereford*, by whom she had Issue sons and daughters. She survived her Husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Monthermere*; Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom the now Viscount *Montacute* is descended. *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brabant*. *Berenger* and *Alice* their fourth and fifth daughters, dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their sixth daughter, at ten years of age, was made a Nun in the Monastery of *Aimsbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the instance of Queen *Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their seventh daughter, was first married to *John* Earl of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Lord of *Freezeland*; he dying within two years, she was afterward married to *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknock* and High Constable of *England*, by whom she had Issue sons and daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eighth and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edward*'s second Wife was *Margaret*, eldest daughter of *Philip* King of *France*, called the *Hardy*, and sister to *Philip* called the *Fair*. At eighteen years old she was married to King *Edward*, being above threescore; yet at these unequal years she had Issue by him, two sons and a daughter. Their eldest son was born at a little Village in *Yorkshire* called *Brotherton*, and was thereof called *Thomas of Brotherton*. He was created Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, after *Roger Bigot*, who died without Issue. Their second son *Edmund* was born at *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*, and of the place was so called. He was created Earl of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *John*, and sister and sole Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Wakes* of *Lydel* in the County of *Northampton*; by whom he had Issue two sons and one daughter. His sons *Edmund* and *John* died without

Issue. His daughter *Jone* for her beauty called the Fair Maid of *Kent*, was married first to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*; and from him divorced, was re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her Right Earl of *Kent*, and Father of *Thomas* and *John Holland*, Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Huntington*: and lastly, she was the Wife of *Edward* of *Woodstock*, the Black Prince of *Wales*, and by him Mother of King *Richard* the Second. This Earl *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester*, in the fourth year of King *Edward* his Nephew. *Eleanor* the Daughter of King *Edward* by his second Wife *Margaret*, died in her childhood.

Of his Personage and Conditions:

HE was tall of stature, higher than ordinary King Ed- men by head and shoulders, and thereof ^{was called} called *Longshank*; of a swarthy complexion, ^{Longshank,} and why. strong of body, but lean; of a comely favour; his eyes in his anger sparkling like fire; the hair of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in War peaceful; so in Peace he was warlike, delighting specially in that kind of hunting, which is to kill Staggs or other wild Beasts with Spears. In continency of life, he was equal to his Father; in acts of valour, far beyond him. He had in him the two Wildoms, not often found in any, single; both together, seldom or never: An ability of judgement in himself, and a readiness to hear the judgement of others. He seemed to be a great observer of opportunity (a great point of Wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an injury long, without seeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage toward the Earl *Roger Bigot*: whom when he saw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers years before. He was not easily provoked into passion; but once in passion, not easily appeased; as was seen by his dealing with the *Scots*, towards whom he shewed at first patience, and at last severity. If he be censured for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himself, or good of his Kingdom. His greatest unfortunateness was in his greatest blessing; for of four sons which he had by his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, three of them died in his own life-time, who were worthy to have out-lived him: and the fourth out-lived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN his last Expedition into Scotland, being at *Carlisle*, he fell sick; and lying in his death-bed, he sent for his son *Edward*: to whom, besides many admonitions to piety, he commended three things specially; That he should carry his bones about with him through Scotland, till he had subdued it; that he should send his Heart into the *Holy-Land*, with Sevenscore Knights to that War, and the two and thirty thousand pounds, he had provided for that purpose; and that he should never recall *Gaveston* from banishment: and soon after of a Dysentery or Bloody-Flux he died at *Borough* upon the Sands,

The now
Viscount
Montacute
from whence
descended.

King Ed-
ward's Ad-
monition to
his son.

1307. Sands, the seventh of July, in the year 1307. when he had reigned four and thirty years, and seven months, lived threescore and eight years. Being dead, his Corpse was brought to Waltham Abbey, and there kept the space of sixteen weeks, and after on Simon and Jude's day buried at Westminster.

Men of Note in his Time.

OF Martial men there were many, these especially; John Earl of Warren, who opposed the Kings Inquisition by *Quo Warranto*: and Roger Bigot, who gave the King an affront to his face. Of learned men also many, especially these; John Breton Bishop of Hereford, who compiled a Book of the Laws of England, called *le Breton*. Thomas Spot a Chronographer: John Everfden a Writer of Annals, and of this Kings Reign: Gregory Cairugent a Monk of Gloucester, and a Writer also of Annals. John Peckham a Franciscan Frier made Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who writ many Excellent Works: John Reed an Historiographer: Thomas Bungey a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician: Roger Bacon a Franciscan Frier, an excellent Philosopher and Mathematician. Robert Kilwarby Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and after made a Cardinal: also Ralph Baldock Bishop of London, who writ a Chronicle of England in the Latine Tongue: But above them all, though of another Countrey, Thomas Aquinas, born of a Noble Family, whose Works are too famous to be spoken of; who going to the Council holden at Lyons by Pope Gregory the Tenth died by the way.

Breton who made a Book of the Law.

Thomas Aquinas when he died.

Majors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Time.

In his first year,
Sir Walter Harvey was Major.
John Horn, Walter Potter, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Henry Walleys was Major.
Nicholas Winchester, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Gregory Rokesley was Major.
Lucus Battencourt, Henry Frowicke, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Major.
John Horn, Ralph Blunt, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Major.
Robert de Arar, Ralph L. Fewre, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Major.
John Adrian, Walter Langley, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Major.
Robert Basing, William le Meyre, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Major.
Thomas Box, Ralph Moore, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Gregory Rokesley continued Major.
William Farendon, Nicholas Winchester, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Henry Walleys was Major.
William le Meyre, Richard Chigwel, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Walleys continued Major.
Ralph Blunt, Hawkin Betuel, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Walleys continued Major.
Jordan Goodchep, Martin Box, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Gregory Rokesley was Major.
Stephen Cornehil, Robert Rokesley, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich was Major.
Walter Blunt, John Wade, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Thomas Cross, Walter Hawteyne, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
William Hereford, Thomas Stanes, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
William Betaine, John of Canterbury, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Fulk of St. Edmund, Solomon Langford, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Thomas Romain, William de Lyre, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Ralph Blunt, Hamond Box, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Elias Russel, Henry Bole, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Robert Rokesley, Martin Awbery, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir Ralph Sandwich continued Major.
Henry Box, Richard Gloucester, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
Sir John Briton was Major.
John Dunstable, Adam de Halingbery, Sheriffs.

In

In his twenty fifth year,
Sir John Briton continued Major.
Thomas of Suffolk, Adam of Fulham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Henry Walleys was Major.
Richard Refham, Thomas Sely, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Elias Russel was Major.
John Armentor, Henry Fingene, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Elias Russel continued Major.
Lucas de Havering, Richard Champnes, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir John Blunt was Major.
Robert Collor, Peter de Besenbo, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Major.
Hugh Pourte, Simon Paris, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,
Sir John Blunt continued Major.
William Combmartin, John de Burford, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
Sir John Blunt continued Major.
Roger Paris, John de Lincoln, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir John Blunt continued Major.
William Cawson, Reginald Thunderly, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Major.
Geoffry at the Conduit, Simon Billet, Sheriffs.

The

The LIFE and REIGN of KING EDWARD THE SECOND.

Of his Acts before, and at his Coronation.

E 1307. **DWARD** of Carnarvan, eldest Son of King Edward the first, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and never did Prince come to a Crown with more applause of Nobility and People: and there was good cause for it; for he had been trained up in all good courses for Piety and Learning; he had seen the Government of his Father, from whose Example he could not but have learned many good Lessons; he had been initiated in the ways of State, having been left Governour of the Realm, and presiding in Parliament in his Fathers absence; and he was now three and twenty years old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter. And yet for all these advantages, there wanted not fears of him in the minds of many, who could not but remember what pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Bishop of Chester's Park, and in most disorderly manner had killed his Deer, for which both himself had been committed to Prison, and his friend *Pierce Gaveston* banished the Realm: and if he did such things being but Prince, what might not be feared of him coming to be King? For seldom doth advancement in honour alter men to the better; to the worse often, and commonly then when it is joyned with an authority that sets them above controulment. Neither yet was their fear more out of what they had seen, than out of what they saw; for where he should have endeavoured to accomplish the charge his Father had given him on his death-bed, he seemed to intend nothing less, nothing more than wholly to break it; for he presently called home *Pierce Gaveston* from banishment: and the two and thirty thousand pounds, which his Father had specially appointed for the Holy War; either all or the most of it he bestowed upon *Gaveston*. And for carrying his Fathers bones with him about *Scotland*, it had been well if he had suffered them quietly to be laid at rest in *England*. For after the Corps had been kept above ground, sixteen weeks in the Abbey of *Waltham*, and that the Bishop of *Chester* *Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treasurer, and the Executor of his Fathers Will, was busie in preparing for his Funeral, he sent the Constable of the *Tower* to arrest him, and imprison him at *Wallingford*, seising upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveston*; and all for old grudges. And (that which seemed a high strain of incongruity) before he had seen performed his Fathers Fu-

nerals, which was not till the 27 of October following, he entered into a Treaty of his own Nuptials; for going over to *Bologne*, on the two and twentieth of January, he married *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*: which marriage was honoured with the presence of four Kings, the King of *France* himself, the King of *Navarre* his Son, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicilie*: and three Queens besides the Bride, *Mary* Queen of *France*, *Margaret* the Dowager Queen of *England*, and the Queen of *Navarre*: and yet did *Gaveston* exceed them all in bravery. This was observed by the Lords of *England*; and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, signifying what a banious transgression of his Fathers will it was to call home *Gaveston*: and seeing the charge was no less given to them than to him, if he did not perform it they would; and therefore unless he would remove *Gaveston* from the Court and Kingdom, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding, which struck such a damp to Prince *Edward's* spirits, to think what disgrace it would be to him; if so many of his great friends being present, *Charles of Valois* the King of *France's* Brother, the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxemburg*, who was afterward Emperour, the Duke of *Savoy*; the two Duchesses of *Brabant* and *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation should be called in question, that he solemnly swore he would do what they desired in the next Parliament, so they would be quiet now. And thereupon on the 24 day of *February*, in the year 1307. his Queen and he were both Crowned at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, by Commission from *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then in exile, and out of the Kingdom: At which solemnity there was so great a press of people, that *Sir John Blackwel* Knight was crowded to death. And now in the very act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords against *Gaveston*; for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of *Saint Edward* before him, (the greatest honour could be done to a Subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earl of *Cornwal*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain) so incensed the Lords, that they entered into consultation how to suppress this violence of the King's affection; which shortly after they put in execution. Portion in money, King *Edward* had none with his Wife: but the King of *France* gave him the Duchy of *Guyenne*,

The disorders of King Edward when he was Prince.

He breaks his Fathers admonitions in all things.

He married Isabel the King of France's Daughter.

The Lords threaten to hinder his Coronation, unless he banished *Gaveston*.

1307.

He and his Queen are Crowned.

To carry *Saint Edward's* Crown at the Coronation, the greatest honour a Subject could have done him. *Gaveston's* advancement in honours.

Guyenne, which he had seized upon before, as confiscate to him; and thereupon King Edward did him Homage for that Duchy, and for the County of Ponthieu.

Of his differences with his Lords about Gaveston.

WE shall have here no *Quinquennium Neronis*, No such five years, as Nero afforded in the beginning of his Reign; but this King at the first entrance will shew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he took some great and grave men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they should be pliant to him, than that he had any meaning to apply himself to them: For let them say what they would, Gaveston must be the Oracle; all the Kings actions were but Gaveston's impressions. And now Gaveston presently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witness of his worthiness, and that the King had not bestowed his favours upon him without cause, caused to be published a Tournament at Wallingford; whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdom, as Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Humphry Earl of Hereford, Aymer Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Warren, with many others, all valiant men at Arms: yet none had the honour of the day like to Gaveston. And thus far he did well, if he could have stayed here, if having gotten true glory, he had not fallen into vain-glory. For the Lords envied him not so much for his advancement in honours, as they hated him for his insolency in Manners; for in a scornful pride he would be casting scoffs upon them all, calling Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the Stage-Player; the Earl of Lincoln Bursten-belly; Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew; and Guy Earl of Warwick, the black Dog of Arden. Which scoffs together with his other intolencies, drew such a party upon him, that in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their grievances, of which the chief were; that the great Charter of *Magna Charta* should be observed; that all strangers should be banished the Court and Kingdom; that the businesses of the State should be treated of by the Council of the Clergy and the Nobles; and that the King should not begin any War, nor go out of the Kingdom without consent of the Parliament. Which Articles though seeming harsh to the King, yet for avoiding of further inconvenience, he yields unto them; and especially to the banishment of his minion Gaveston, as hoping that would excuse him for all the rest: and Robert of Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, lately called home from exile, pronounceth excommunication against all such as should oppose the Articles. Hereupon Gaveston is sent away into Ireland, where he lived a while, not as a banished man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Countrey; and indeed not unworthily. For in the time of his being there, he is said to have made a journey into the Mountains of Dublin, and to have broken and subdued the Rebels there; built New-Castle in the Kerns Countrey, repaired the Castle of Kevyn, and

passed up to Munster and Thomund, performing every where much service, with great valour and worthiness, that if he had stayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his deserts in Ireland have redeemed his defects in England. But the King impatient of absence, and asking advice what means might be used to recall him, It was told him that if he could but match him with the Earl of Gloucester's Sister, a man of such greatness, and so beloved of the people, for his sake certainly no man would grudge at his coming home. Hereupon the King sends for Gaveston, and makes up the Match between them; and married they were at Barkamstead. But this did no good, for Gaveston still working upon the King in such manner, that he scarce left him means to sustain himself, and as little to maintain the Queen, nothing being done, but as Gaveston would have it, put the Lords into a new discontentment: who thereupon went again to the King and told him plainly, that unless he would put Gaveston out of the Court and Kingdom, they would rise up in arms against him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great strait: loth he was to leave Gaveston, and fearful he was to provoke the Lords; in the end his fear prevailing over his love, he was content he should be banished; and in such sort banished, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdom, he should be held and proceeded against as an enemy of the State. So once again is Gaveston sent packing out of the Kingdom, and goes into France, but found no safe harbouring there; For the King of France hearing of it, gave a strait charge, if he were found in his Dominions, to apprehend him. Then he passeth into Flanders, but is no safer there than in France. After waving about, and finding no place to rest in safety, he returns secretly into England, relying upon the Kings love, and the Duke of Gloucester's favour. The King receives him as an Angel sent from heaven; and to be out of the Lords eye goes a journey to York, taking Gaveston along with him: and there thinks to be in quiet. But the Lords hearing of it, follow him thither, chusing for their General Thomas Earl of Lancaster, a man possess'd of five Earldoms, Lancaster, Leicester, Ferrers, Lincoln, and Salisbury, besides the Liberties of Pickering, and the honour of Cockermore, and other Lands in Wales; and there was not a man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but only Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, the Kings Sisters Son. These Lords sent to the King, either to deliver Gaveston into their hands, or at least to send him peremptorily out of the Kingdom. But the King led by ill counsel, and little regarding the Lords message, takes Gaveston with him to New-castle upon Tine, thence to Tinnmouth, where the Queen then lay, (who though great with Child, and entreating the King with tears to stay with her) yet such was his desire to see Gaveston put into some place of security, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and passed with Gaveston to Scarborough, and leaving him there in a strong Castle, not easie to be won, he went himself into Warwickshire, perhaps that the Lords might see he had not Gaveston with him. But the Lords hearing where

Gaveston is sent for back and marries the Earl of Gloucester's sister.

The Lords require Gavestons banishment.

So once again he is banished.

1310.

But soon returns again.

The King seeks to shelter him.

1308.

Gaveston is banished into Ireland, where he doth many good services.

Gaveston gets the prize in a publick Tournament.

He casts scoffs upon all the Lords.

Articles required by the Lords of the King.

Gaveston is taken by the Lords.

1311.

Is beheaded at Blacklow.

The King builds a Monastery of purpose to pray for his Soul. Gaveston's Parentage.

where Gaveston was, assaulted the Castle with such violence, that Gaveston seeing no means to escape; was content to render himself: requesting only that he might but once be allowed to see the Kings face; and the King hearing he was taken desired as much. To which the Earl of Pembroke consented; and taking Gaveston into his custody, promised upon forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth coming: but desiring to be with his Wife that Night, who lay not far off, at Dedington, he delivers him to his servants to carry to Wallingford; from whom as they pass by Warwick, the Earl of that place hearing of it, took him forcibly from his Keepers, and brought him to his own Castle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wisdom to suffer Gaveston to speak with the King or no, it was at last concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby called Blacklow, was presently put in execution. His corps was carried to Oxford, and kept there two years, till the King caused it to be brought to Langley, and there builded a Monastery of purpose, where his Soul should be prayed for.

This Gaveston was the Son of a Gentleman of France, who had done good service for King Edward the first in France; and for his sake this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince. A man of excellent parts of body, and of no less endowments of mind. Valiant and Witty: to which if we might add Veriuous, he had been compleat: Though the Lords (whether they had heard so, or whether they said it to wean the King from him) told the King, That his Father was a Traytor to the King of France, and for the same was executed; and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this Gaveston was banished out of France for consenting to his Mothers Witchcraft; and that he had now bewitched the King himself. But why should the Lords be so violent against Gaveston? Might not the King place his affection where he pleased? Might not he make his own choice of what Companion he liked? No doubt he might; and fit he should: but yet in this case the Lords had great cause to do as they did; both in regard of the King, of themselves and of the Common-wealth. It is true, if the valour of Gaveston could as well have made the King valiant, as his riot made him riotous, there might some good have come of their extraordinary conjunction: but seeing Vertues are but personal, Vices only are communicative, It now made the King not only more vicious than otherwise he would have been; but vicious where otherwise he would not have been; and therefore great cause in regard of the King to remove Gaveston from his company; and no less in regard of the Lords themselves. For Gaveston's advancing was their debasing; his greatness with the King made them but Cyphers: but in regard of the Commonwealth, most cause of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by Gaveston, and Gaveston himself was altogether irregular, the Common-wealth could have but little hope of Justice, but was sure to suffer as long as Gaveston was suffered. And this may be sufficient to justifie the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Of his Troubles with Scotland:

AND now we have seen two of the charges of his Fathers Will broken by the King, and punished in him; the two and thirty thousand pounds appointed for the Holy War, bestowed upon Gaveston, and the King for it punished himself with want; Gaveston called home from banishment, and the King for it punished with the loss of his Subjects love. It remains to see how well he performed the third charge of his Fathers will, for subduing of Scotland. It was now the sixth year after the death of his Father King Edward; and Robert Bruce now gotten to be King of Scotland, had stayed all this while to see how this new King Edward would prove. And when he found by the courses he held, that he was like to prove a good easie enemy, the hereupon took heart, and began to stir, and in a very short time had brought almost all Scotland under his obedience; and finding no opposition entred the English Borders, took and burnt Towns: that now King Edward, unless he would sit still, and suffer Bruce to come and pull his Crown from his head, he could not chuse but do something to stop his proceedings. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himself, fitter for a Court than for a Camp. Many men and great bravery; but readier to take spoils, than to make spoil: and accordingly they speed. For going to raise the siege at Striveling defended for King Edward; by the valiant Knight Philip Mowbray, the Kings Army consisting of an hundred thousand, was defeated and overthrown by the Scots Army, consisting of scarce thirty thousand: So true is that saying of an ancient Souldier; There is more hope of an Army where the General is a Lion, though the Souldiers be but Sheep, than of an Army where the General is a Sheep; though the Souldiers be Lions. But indeed the Scots besides Valour used Policy; For having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horse at all; they had made Trenches in the ground three foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the English Horsemen were to pass; who floundring in those Trenches, were killed no less by their own Fellows than by the Enemy. In this Battel, called of Bannocks-Borough, were slain the Lord Mawle, the Lord Clifford, the Lord Tiptoft, the Lord William Marshall, Sir Giles, Doctor Argenton, and seven hundred Knights and Esquires, specially Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, who had shewed much valour that day; and whom the Scots would willingly have kept for ransome, if they had known him: but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms whereby to be known. The slaughter of common Souldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not so great as Hector Boetius speaks of, who saith they were fifty thousand. There were taken Prisoners Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, John Seagrave, John Claveringham, William Latimer, and Sir Roger Northbrook, bearer of the Kings Shield; the King himself with the Bishops, the Earls of Hartford; and Pembroke, and Hugh Spencer, saved themselves by flight: Humfrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford was afterward released in exchange

Bruce enters the English Border.

King Edward's Army of two thousand overthrown by the Scots.

1313. The Scots Strategem.

The Battel of Bannocks-Borough.

The North
parts from
Carlisle to
York in sub-
jection to
the Scots.

Edw. Bruce
Crowned
King of Ire-
land; but af-
ter 3 years
is taken pri-
soner, and
beheaded.

1317.

Treachery
justly pu-
nished.

King Edward
besiegeth
Barwick.

The Earl of
Lancaster
withdraws
himself
from King
Edward, and
why.

for Bruce's Wife, who had been long kept a prisoner in England. After this many English fell away to the Scots; and all the North parts from Carlisle to York, came under their subjection: and the English grew so faint-hearted, and into such contempt, that three Scots durst venture upon a hundred English, when a hundred English durst scarce encounter with three Scots. And what can be thought the cause of this great disaster to this King, but the want of his Father's Blessing for not performing the charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accompanied with the want of a higher Blessing, without which a Vacat is set upon the labours of men, that makes them all frustrate? But Bruce not satisfied with his conquests in England, sends his Brother Edward into Ireland also; who so far prevailed, that many Irish came in unto him, and in the end crowned him King of a great part of that Island: and so he continued the space of three years, till the Primate of Armagh, and the Lord Brinningham, Justiciar of Ireland, gathering Forces together opposed him, and in a Battel taking him Prisoner at Dundalk cut off his head, with the slaughter of many thousands of the Scots besides. With which the Scots are so incensed, that they invade again the English borders, foraging as far as York: whereupon a Parliament is assembled at London, wherein an aid is granted of armed men to go against them. London sets forth two hundred, Canterbury forty, Saint Albans ten, and so proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied: which coming to York, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was soon dissolved, and returned back without effecting any thing. Not long after the Town of Barwick was betrayed to the Scots, through the Treason of Peter Spalding the Governour, and other English men; whom the King of Scots to make them an example, caused to be hanged for being Traitors to their Countrey. King Edward hearing of the surrendring of Barwick, raiseth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the Scots to divert his Forces, enter upon England by other wayes, and were like to have surprised the person of the Queen, lying then near York. The siege of Barwick is notwithstanding eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of Lancaster with his followers withdrawn himself upon discontent; hearing the King say he would give the keeping thereof to Hugh Spencer the younger, who was now grown a special Favorite of the Kings, and therefore not to be endured by the Earl. In the mean time the Scots won the Castles of Harbottle, Wark, and Midford, so as they possessed the greater part of all Northumberland, burning all before them till they came to Rypon, which Town they spoiled; and tarrying there three dayes, they received a Thousand Marks to save the Town from Burning, as they had done the Towns of Northallerton, Borough-bridge, and others. In their returning back they burnt Knaresbrough, and Skipton in Craven, and all other before them, carrying into Scotland a marvellous number of Cattel, besides Prisoners, men and women. The York-shire men thus grievously endamaged, gather together the

number of ten thousand; and at the Town of Mitton, ten Miles from York, encounter the Scots, where they lost three thousand of their men, and were defeated: which Battel, because of the many spiritual men that were in it, was called the White Battel. Whereof when the King heard he left the siege of Barwick, to follow the Scots, but they returned another way. The year following King Edward once again with a great Army entered Scotland; but the Scots having destroyed all afore, the King oppressed with Famine, was forced to return, whom the Scots followed, and in a place of the Forest of Blackmore set upon him, that he hardly escaped; where were taken John Earl of Britain, and the Lord of Silaico, the French Kings Embassadour, and many others. After this King Edward finding the Scots either too strong or too wily for him, made a truce with them for two years, some say for thirteen. And this was the success of this unfortunate King in his Wars with Scotland.

Of his Troubles at home.

BUT his troubles abroad were not so grievous as those at home; or rather they were those at home that made his troubles abroad so grievous. For though the Lords having made an end of Gaveston, and cut off his head, thought they had made an end of their need to bear Arms, and had cut off the head of all their discontents; yet as if Gaveston had been a Phoenix, as it were out of his ashes another Phoenix riseth presently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever Gaveston did. For now the younger Spencer upon a sudden grows as great a favourite of the Kings as ever Gaveston was, and indeed in all points just such another, equal to him in goodliness of personage, in favour of the King, and in abusing the Lords. For though they were the Lords themselves that brought him at first to be the Kings Chamberlain, the rather (as was thought) because he was one whom the King did not love: yet being once in the place, he so won upon the King by diligent service, and by complying with the Kings humour, that he brought the King at last to comply with his humour, and nothing must be done but as Spencer would have it. It seems it was the Kings nature that he could not be without a bosom-Friend; one or other to be an alter idem: and to seek to remove such a one from him, was to seek to remove him from himself; as impossible a thing as to alter nature. Yet the Lords being more sensible of their own grievance, to be insulted on by a Favourite, than of the Kings grievance to be affronted by his Subjects, are more intente to work their own ends than the Kings; and therefore to remove Spencer and his Father from the King, which they knew was a work not to be done but by strong hand, they continue their Arms; and confederating together, they send to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatening withal, that unless he presently perform the same, they would constrain him to it by force of Arms: and thereupon assemble strong forces about Dunstable, where the King then

1318.

The York-
shire men
defeated by
the Scots in
the White
Battel.
Once again
King Edward
enters Scot-
land with an
Army, but
without
success.

So he makes
a Truce with
them for
certain years

The youn-
ger Spencer
in as great
favour as
Gaveston.

Whereupon
the Lords
take Arms
again; and
threaten the
King unless
he perform
the Articles
formerly
granted.

then lay. The great Prelates of the Kingdom, with the Earl of *Glocester*, labour to appease them; and with two Cardinals sent lately by the Pope, to reform these disorders, they repair to Saint *Albans*, and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably: but the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuse to receive, saying, They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters; that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdom, whose counsel they would use, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: so the Cardinals with this answer returned to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* so labour the business, that the Lords were content to yield up to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels, as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveston* at *New-Castle*, so as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon *John Sandal* Treasurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle* keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint *Albans* to receive those things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Arms, their taking and murdering *Pierce Gaveston*, and such other affronts, whereunto with one accord they answer, That they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour; having taken Arms, not for any contempt of his Royal Person, but to destroy the publick enemy of the Kingdom, which otherwise would never have been done. Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of *Glocester* seeing, they seek by all means to qualifie their heat; and at length so prevailed with them, that they humble themselves to the King, and crave pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyal Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveston*. And for the greater shew of true reconciliation, *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, is made of the Kings Counsel though shortly after he ended his life; not without suspicion of poyson: as being a man much envied by such as possesse the King. The King kept his *Christmas* at *Clipston*, and his *Easter* at *Clarendon*; and they seemed to be all good friends: but this reconciliation of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with ashes, every little wind that blew, made it break out into flames afresh; and the time being so unsettled as it was, it was impossible but such winds would continually be blowing. It was such a wind blew, when the great Earl of *Lancaster* had his Wife (a Lady who had lived with him alwayes in good fame) taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorsetshire*, by one *Richard Saint Martin*; a deformed lame Dwarf, who challenged her to be his Wife; and had lien with her before the Earl married her. And this wind was made to blow the stronger, by the Ladies own confession; for upon examination, she voluntarily averred, it was all true: and thereupon the ugly fellow in her right, claimed the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, which he durst not have done, if

he had not been back't with great Abettours: and it was not without aspersion upon the King himself. It was another such wind blew, when at the Feast of *Pentecost*, at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised, entred on Horseback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he shewed of such as had done him and his Father Noble services, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, and such other complaints. Which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the door being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in such manner, answered, It was the fashion of the Kings house in times of Festivals, to keep out none that came as this woman did, to make sport. Search being made for the woman, she is found, and examined who set her on; she confessed a Knight gave her money to do it; the Knight is found, and upon examination, boldly answered, he did it for the Kings honour, and to no other end, and thereupon escaped without farther trouble. It was such another wind blew, when a Knight was taken passing by *Pomfret*, with Letters sealed with the Kings Seal directed to the King of *Scots*, about murdering the Earl of *Lancaster*; which messenger is executed, his head set upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters reserved to witness the intended plot. Which whether it were feigned or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King; and made many to take the Earls part. It was such another wind blew, when a fanatic fellow, one *John Powdras*, a Tanners Son of *Exeter* gave forth, that himself was the true *Edward*, eldest Son of the late King *Edward* the first, and by a false Nurse was changed in his Cradle; and that the now King *Edward* was a Carters Son, and laid in his place. But this wind was soon blown over, when at his death, being drawn and hanged, he confessed he had a familiar Spirit in his house in the likeness of a Cat, that assured him he should be King of *England*; and that he had served the said Spirit three years before to bring his purpose about. But most of all, it was such a wind blew, when a Baron named *William Brewis*, having wasted his estate, offers to sell unto divers men, a part of his Inheritance called *Powis*; *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, obtains leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew, great men likewise in those parts, not understanding, it seems, any thing of the former bargain, contract also for the same Land with the said Sir *William Brewis*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger, hearing of this sale, and the Land adjoining to part of his, obtains a more special leave of the King, being now his Chamberlain, and buyes it out of their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* complains hereof to the Earl of *Lancaster*, who thereupon at *Sherborne* enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there assembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and dye together in maintaining the Right of the Kingdom, and to procure the banishment of the two *Spencers*, Father and Son, whom they now held to be the great Seducers of the King, and the oppressors of the State, disposing of all things in Court

An affront offered to the King, but put up.

A scandalous forgery of King *Edward*'s birth.

The Lords humble themselves to the King, and the King confirms their Articles.

The Earl of *Lancaster*'s Wife taken from him by a deformed Dwarf.

The Lords confederate again, to have the two *Spencers* banished.

1320.

Court at their pleasure, and suffered nothing to be obtained but by their means. And under this pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to St. Albans, they send to the King, being then at London, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Hereford and Chichester, (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendered the quiet of the Realm, to rid his Courts of those Traitors, the *Spencers*, condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the commonalty of the Land; and withal to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them and all such as took part with them. The King returns answer, that *Hugh Spencer* the Father was now beyond the Seas, employed in his business, and his Son was guarding the Cinqueports, according to his Office; and that it was against Law or Custom they should be banished without being heard: and withal swore he should never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of Pardon to such notorious Offenders, who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royal Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords, that presently they approached to London; and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had leave of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urge their demands. To which at length by mediation of the Queen, and the chief Prelates, the King is brought to condescend; and by his Edict, published in *Westminster-Hall*, by the Earl of Hereford, the *Spencers* are banished the Kingdom. *Hugh* the Father hearing it, keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son secretly hides himself in England, expecting the turn of a better season. And indeed shortly after the Archbishop of Canterbury in a Council holden at London, pronounceth the banishment of the *Spencers* to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spencers* are called home, and set in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their desire, with the Kings Letters of indemnity, return home; but yet not with such security as to give over the provision for their own defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected accident, that suddenly wrought the Lords confusion. The Queen making her progress towards Canterbury, intended to lodge at the Castle of Leeds, belonging to the Lord *Badlesmere*, (who had been long the Kings Steward, but now took part with the Lords) and sending her Marshal to make ready for her and her train, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neither the Queen nor any else should enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queen her self goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer; whereupon she is driven to take such lodging other where as could be provided. Of which indignity she complains to the King, who took it so to heart, that presently with a power of armed men out of London, he lays siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the Keeper *Thomas Colepepper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the Tower, and seizeth upon all his Goods and Treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with success and the instigation of the Queen, suddenly directs his course to Chichester,

where he keeps his *Christmas*, and there provides for an Army against the Barons: whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their Associates, and yield themselves to his mercy. Amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and means; the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others: who notwithstanding contrary to their expectation were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford seeing this sudden change, withdrew themselves and their company from about Gloucester, towards the North parts; whom the King follows with an Army, wherein were the Earls of *Athol* and *August*: and at *Burton upon Trent*, where they had made a head, discomfited their Forces, and put them to flight. In the mean time the Earl of Lancaster had sent into Lancashire a Knight of his, named *Robert Holland*, (one whom he had brought up of nought) to raise more Forces amongst his Tenants; but he hearing of this flight of his Lords, goes with his Forces to take the Kings part. Which so dismayes the Earl, that he began now to think of suing to the King for grace: but being in the way, at a Town called *Borough-bridge*, there was set upon by Sir *Simon Warde*, Sheriff of *York*, and Sir *Andrew Harkley*, Constable of *Carlisle*, who utterly defeat his Forces. In which fight was slain the Earl of Hereford, (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thrust with a Spear into the fundament) Sir *Roger Benefield*, Sir *William Suland*, and others. There was taken the Earl of Lancaster, Sir *Roger Clifford*, Sir *John Mowbray*, Sir *Roger Tuckets*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with divers other, and were led to *York*. This field was fought the fifteenth day of *March*, in the year 1320. It was not long after that Sir *Hugh Daniel*, Sir *Bartholomew de Badlesmere* were taken. Three dayes after the Earl of Lancaster is brought to *Pomfret*, where the King sitting himself in judgement with *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, his Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer* lately created Earl of *Winchester*, and others, sentence of death is given against him, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two first punishments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royal Blood; and beheaded he was the same day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Castle. To speak of the Miracles said to be done by him after his death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle; and therefore I omit them. By the like Judgment were condemned the Lord *Roger Glifford*, the Lord *Warren* Lisle, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Maudit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-William*, Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas Lord Mowbray*, *Joceline Lord Daniel*, all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawn, hanged and quartered at London; *William* the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windfor*; the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburton* at *Canterbury*; at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, Sir *William Fleming*; at *Bristow*, Sir *Henry Womington*, and Sir *Henry Montford* Bannerets; at *Gloucester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and Sir *William Elminbridge*, principal men in principal places: to spread the terror over the Kingdom, all their Estates and Inheritances are

The King provides an Army against the Barons.

Of whom many submit themselves, yet are committed to custody.

The Earl of Lancaster defeated.

Is taken prisoner.

1322.
Is condemned, the King himself sitting in judgement, is beheaded.

Miracles done by him after his death.

Divers Lords and others executed.

The King answers for them.

But at last yields to their Banishment.

But soon revoked.

The Queen is denied to lodge in Leeds Castle.

The King revengeth the indignity.

The first blood of Nobility shed since the Conquest.

The King grieveth for the Earl of Lancaster's death.

are confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility that ever was shed in this manner in England since William the Conquerour.

But not long after, the King in a calmer humour, began to have sense of the Earl of Lancaster's execution, which he discovered upon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suit for a Pardon to one of the Earls followers, and pressing the King hard to it, he fell into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who would urge him to save the life of a notorious Varlet, and would not speak one word for his near kinsman the Earl of Lancaster, who (said he) had he lived, might have been useful to me, and the whole Kingdom, but this fellow the longer he lives, the more mischief he will do: and therefore by the soul of God, he should die the death he had deserved. Sir Andrew Harkeley, who was the man that took the Earl of Lancaster prisoner being advanced for his service to the Earldom of Carlisle, enjoyed his honour but a while; for the next year after, either thrust out in discontent by the *Spencers*, envying his high preferment, or combining with the *Scots*, upon hope of a great match, (as he was accused) he is degraded of all his honours, drawn, hanged, and quartered at London for Treason.

1322.

King Edward summoned into France.

But now the King of France summons King Edward to come and do his homage for Gascoine; and he not coming, all his Territories in France are adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance are seized on by the French. Hereupon a Parliament is called; and it is by common consent of all agreed, that the King should not go in person himself, in regard of the distraction of the times, but should send some special men to excuse his appearance: whereupon Edmund Earl of Kent the Kings brother is sent, but to little effect. Then it is thought fit the Queen should go, and indeed the Queen went; but what was the cause of her going, there is amongst Writers great variance. Some say she was sent by the King to accommodate this business; which she negotiated so well, as that all quarrels were ended, upon condition the King should give to his son Edward the Duchy of Aquitain, with the Earldom of Ponthieu, and send him over to do his homage for them. Which after many consultations, the King is wrought to yield unto; and the Prince is sent with the Bishop of Exeter and others, to the Court of France accordingly: but others say, she went out of discontent, to complain to her brother the King of France for wrongs offered her by the *Spencers*, who had so alienated the Kings mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatsoever was the cause of her going, there appeared no cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her company, Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, a gallant young Gentleman, whom she specially favoured, lately escaped out of the Tower of London, by giving his keepers (as was said) a sleeping drink. And withal, the Bishop of Exeter perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he

His Queen goes to excuse his appearance. The reason of the Queens going uncertain.

The Queen stays in France for the love of Roger Mortimer.

observed in their courses. Whereupon the King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicites the King of France to hasten their return; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdom, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land; and withal causeth all the ports to be strongly kept; and sends three Admirals to attend in several Coasts to hinder their landing. It was not without suspicion, that as the King for love of the *Spencers*, had his mind alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of Mortimer had her mind alienated from loving the King: and therefore having him with her, cared not how long she stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the Kings Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into England without some good assistance. Whereupon soliciting her brother the King of France he aided her with men and money, say some, but others, that he refusing to aid her, as being wrought under hand by the *Spencers* against her, she left the French Court, and went into Heynault, to the Earl of that Countrey, who upon a contract between her Son Prince Edward and Philippa the Earls daughter, aided her with a competent Army under the conduct of his brother John; and with them and her beloved Mortimer, she took shipping and landed at Orwell, a Port near unto Harwich in Suffolk; where presently came to her the Earl Marshal, Henry Earl of Leicester, and Henry Earl of Lancaster with the wry neck, called Torcall, with many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this time being at London, and hearing of the Queens landing with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly stricken into a great amazement; and though he had his great Counsellors the *Spencers* about him, yet now he found what little good their counsel could do him: and indeed in this case what should he, or what could he do? To stay in London was apparent danger, for he plainly saw the Londoners to be more inclining to take the Queens part than his; and to go from London to any other place was as unsafe, all places being possessed either with certain enemies, or uncertain friends: at last the Isle of Lundy is thought of, a place plentiful of provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowl, and the Island of hard access, as having but one place in it where it could be entered; and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many. Upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of Gloucester, the *Spencers* and Robert Baldock with some few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary winds is driven back, and sail through Tempests to land in Wales; and there in the Abbey of Nethe in Glamorganshire kept himself close. In the mean time the Queen was come to Oxford, when Adam Bishop of Hereford took for his Text, *Caput meum doleo*; and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdom being now deadly sick of its head, it was fit to remove that head, and put a sounder in the place. At this time also, the Londoners to shew their love to the Queen, seized upon Walter Stapleton, the good Bishop of Exeter and Lord Treasurer of England, left Governour there by the King; and with great

1325.

Not coming at the Kings leading for, they are proclaimed enemies to the State.

The Queen upon a match of her son Prince Edward with a Daughter of the Earl of Heynault is aided by him.

1326.

Coming into England many Lords resort unto her.

The King fearing the Queens forces flies to the Isle of Lundy.

But is driven into Wales.

The Londoners favour to the Queen.

despight

Hugh Spencer the Father executed; and most cruelly

The King with Spencer the Son and others are taken and kept in custody.

Spencer the Son hanged and quartered.

The Parliament agrees to depose the King and set up his Son.

The King is persuaded by the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln to resign his Crown to his Son.

Coming to make his resignation he falls in a swoon.

The King is deposed.

despite beheaded him, as also divers others, only because they favoured the King. In the mean time the Queen went from Oxford to Gloucester, and from thence to Bristow, where Hugh Spencer the Father was, a man of four score and ten years old; who is there taken; and without examination of Judgement, in most cruel manner executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen stayed at Hereford the space of a month, and then dividing her Army, she sends one part of it under the Conduct of Henry Earl of Lancaster, and Rice ap Powel, a Clerk, to find out the King: and this Rice being a Welchman, and knowing the Countrey well, brought the Earl to the Monastery of Nethe, where the King was, whom they there take together with Spencer the Son, Robert Baldock, and Simon of Reading. The King is by the Bishop of Hereford committed to the custody of the Earl of Leicester; where all that Winter he was used no worse than was fit for a captive King: but Edmund Earl of Arundel, John Daniel, and Thomas Micheldene, at the instance of Mortimer, are all three beheaded. Presently after is Hugh Spencer, the younger, who was now Earl of Gloucester, drawn, hanged, and quartered; his head sent up to be set upon London-Bridge, and his four quarters bestowed in several Cities. The like is done with Simon of Reading, but Robert Baldock is committed to New-gate, against whom, when no just cause of death could be found, there was used so much cruelty in his imprisonment, that he shortly after died.

Presently after Christmas a Parliament is called, wherein it was agreed to depose the King and set up his Son; which he hearing, refused it, unless his father would freely resign. Whereupon are appointed three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, and of every City a Burgeis to go to the King, (in custody then at Kenelworth) the Bishops were John of Stratford Bishop of Winchester, Adam Tarleton Bishop of Hereford, and Henry Bishop of Lincoln. But the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, getting to the King before the rest came, perswade the King to resign his Crown to his eldest Son, craftily promising him he should have as good maintenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King: and contrarily threatening him, that if he did it not, the people would exclude both him and his Son too, and make a King of another Race. By these promises and threatnings, the meek King is drawn to yield to the Bishops motion: but when afterward the Bishop of Hereford and the other Commissioners came, and were sat in a place appointed to take his resignation, the King coming forth amongst them in mourning Robes, upon a sudden fell down in a swoon; in whom the Earl of Leicester, and the Bishop of Winchester, had much ado to recover life: but then the Bishop of Hereford rising up, delivered the cause of their coming, as the other Bishops before had done. To which the King answered, that as he much grieved his people should be so hardened against him, as utterly to reject him, so it was some comfort unto him, that they would yet receive his Son to be their Sovereign. After this Thomas Blunt Knight,

Steward of the Kings house, brake the Staffe of his Office; and William Trussel, Speaker of the Parliament, in the name of the whole Kingdom, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to Edward of Carnarvan. Here Caxton writes, that from the time of this Kings deposing, which was in December, to the time of his Sons Crowning, which was not till Candlemas following, all Pleas of the Kings-Bench were stayed, and all Prisoners arrested by Sheriffs, commanded to be set at liberty, which seems to have little probability, seeing his Son Edward presently upon his deposing was received for King. But howsoever, so great a Dowry was then assigned to Queen Isabel, that scarce a third part of the revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his Wife. And to the late King is allowed a hundred Marks a month for his maintenance, with which he lived with his Cousin Earl of Leicester, in good plenty and contentment for a time; only this grieved him most of all (he said) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to see him: For he swore most devoutly, that from the time he first saw her face he could never like of any other woman. By which it may appear, that neither Gaveston nor the Spencers had so debauched him, as to make him false to his Bed, or to be disloyal to his Queen. But the Queen being hardened against him, and conceiving he had too great liberty under the Earl of Leicester, by advice of her pestilent Counsellour, Adam Tarleton, Bishop of Hereford, appoints Thomas Gurney, and John Matrevers Knights, to take him from the Earl into their own custody, and to carry him whither they thought good. Who thereupon take him from Kenelworth, and carry him first to Corf Castle, and from thence to Bristow, where they shut him in the Castle: till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and send him beyond Sea, they took him in the night and carried him to Barkely Castle, where by the way they abused him most inhumanely, as Sir Thomas de la more a Knight of Gloucestershire, in his life relateth. For to the end he should not be known, they shaved his head and beard, and that in most beastly manner; for they took him from his Horse, and set him upon a Hillock, and then taking puddle water out of a Ditch there by, they went to wash him, his Barber telling him that cold water must serve for this time: whereat the miserable King looking sternly upon him, said, That whether they would or no, he would have warm water to wash him; and therewithal to make good his word, he presently shed forth a shower of tears. Never was King turned out of a Kingdom in such a manner. Many Kingdoms have been lost by the chance of War, but this Kingdom was lost before any Dice were cast; no blow struck, no Battel fought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with consent; both parties agreed, yet neither pleased; for the King was not pleased to leave his Kingdom, and the Queen was not pleased to leave him his life. It was not safe to leave him a part, by which he might afterward recover the whole: and therefore this was the mark now aimed at, having taken away his Kingdom openly, how they might take away his life secretly; be the

Authors

Authors of it, and not be seen in it, but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appears there is something else besides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the minds of English Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations than in this Kings time, yet never were the Subjects minds more alienated from their King, then they were from him. Before his Coronation in a Parliament holden at Westminster, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporality. In his fifth year in a Parliament at London, was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporality. In his fifteenth year was granted the sixth penny of temporal mens goods, through England, Ireland, and Wales, towards his Wars with Scotland. And more than these we read not of; but then at the defeat of the Earl of Lancaster, there were Confiscations that supplied the place of Taxations, by which (as one saith) he became the richest King that had been since the Conquest.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Price of Victuals in a dearth.

Knights Templars accused of Heresie, and committed to prison.

HE ordained that the money of his Father, though counted base by the People, should be currant. In the eighth year of his Reign, by reason of a dearth which raised the price of all Victuals, It was ordained by Parliament, that an Ox fatted with Grasse should be sold for fifteen shillings, fatted with Corn, for twenty, the best Cow for twelve shillings; a fat Hog of two years old, three shillings four pence; a fat Sheep shorn, fourteen pence, with the Fleece, twenty pence; a fat Goose for two pence half penny; a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny; four Pidgeons a penny; who-soever sold for more, should forfeit their ware to the King. But after these rates imposed, all kind of Victuals grew so scarce, that Provision could hardly be made for the Kings House; whereupon shortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market folks permitted to make the best of their Wares. In this Kings time an Ordinance was made against Knights Templars, accused of Heresie and other crimes; and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers Prisons. The like was done by all the Kings of Christendom, at one instant, being condemned in a General Council at Vienna. In the 14 year of his Reign, on the 15 of October, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards York with the Book called Dooms-day Book, and other Records, and Provision that laded one and twenty Carts; but in half a year they were brought back again.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

A Bishop arrested by the King, was rescued by the other Bishops.

IN the 17 year of his Reign the Bishop of Hereford was arrested, accused of high Treason, for aiding the Kings Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refused to answer; (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, whose Suffragan he

was, (and who he said was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the consents of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose, and humbly craved the Kings Clemency in his behalf; but finding the King implacable, they took him away from the Bar, and delivered him to the custody of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Arch-bishops, Canterbury, York, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, all with their Crosses erected, went to the place of Judgement, and again took him away with them; charging all men, upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. With which audacious Act, the King was so much displeased, that he presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning those Objections against the Bishop: wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his Goods and Possessions seized into the Kings hands. In this Kings time the Crowcher Fryers came first into England. In his time Pope John the two and twentieth, first instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi, begun before by Urban the fourth.

Crowcher Fryers come first into England.

Works of Piety done by him; or by others in his time.

THIS King founded Oriol Colledge, and St. Mary-Hall in Oxford: He builded a Church of Fryers at his Mannor of Langley, where the Soul of Gaveston should be prayed for. In this Kings twentieth year, Richard Rothing Sheriff of London, builded the Parish Church of Garlick-Hithe in London; Ralph Baddock Bishop of London, gave Two thousand Marks to the building of the New work of the Chappel, on the South-side of Pauls Church; and left much more by his Testament.

Oriol Colledge in Oxford founded.

Casualties.

IN the eighth year of this Kings Reign, was so great a dearth, that Horses and Dogs were eaten, and Thieves in prison pluckt in pieces those that were newly brought in amongst them, and eat them half alive; which continuing three years, brought in the end such a pestilence, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth year of his Reign, the Church of Middleton in Dorsetshire, with all the Monuments, was consumed with Lightning, the Monks being at Mattins. In this Kings time, digging the Foundation of a Work about Pauls, were found more than a hundred heads of Oxen and Kine, which confirmed the Opinion, That of old time it had been the Temple of Diana, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beasts.

A marvellous dearth.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married Isabel, Daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France, she being but twelve years of age; who lived his Wife twenty years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threescore and three years old at Rysings near London, was buried in the midst of Gray-Friers Quire in London. By her he had issue two Sons and two Daughters; his eldest Son named Edward of Windsor,

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because

because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second Son named *John of Eltham*, because born there, was at twelve years old created Earl of *Cornwal*: He died in *Scotland* in the flower of his Youth, unmarried. His eldest Daughter *Joan*, being a Child, was married in the fourth year of King *Edward* her Brother, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert Bruce*, at seven years old; who coming afterward into *England* to visit her Brother, died here, and was buried at the *Gray-Friars* in *London*. His second Daughter *Eleanor*, was married to *Reginald* the second Earl of *Gelder*, with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds; and had issue by him two Sons, who were Earls successively.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was fair of body, and of great strength, but given much to drink, which made him oftentimes bewray his own Secrets. For his other conditions, his greatest fault was, he loved but one; for if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent. He was extreme in nothing but in loving; and though love moderated, be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. He was rather unfortunate than unhappy; seeing unfortunateness is in the event, unhappiness in the cause: and if his fortune had been to love good men, his own goodness would have made him happy. Two Vertues were eminent in him above all his Predecessours, Continence, and Abstinence: So continent, that he left no base issue behind him; so abstinent, that he took no base courses for raising of money. They who despised him being alive, so much honoured him being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

Of his Death and Burial.

Wailes devised to take away his life.

MAny wailes were attempted to take away his life. First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing he could well endure to eat, but this succeeded not. Then they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carcasses, enough to have poisoned him; and indeed he told a workman at his Window, He never endured so great a misery in all his life: but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by Poysons, but whether by the strength of his Constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the pestilent *Achitophel*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, devised a Letter to his Keepers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty; and for not doing the service which was expected from them: and in the end of his Letter wrote this Line, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*: Craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the Keepers might find sufficient warrant, and himself might find sufficient excuse. The Keepers guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it in execution. They took him in his Bed, and casting heavy Bolsters upon him, and pressing them hard down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an Iron red hot, and

through a Pipe thrust it up into his Fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen: but though none were seen, yet some were heard; for when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Castle over. *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, his murtherers, looking for Reward, had the Reward of Murtherers. For the Queen and Bishop *Tarleton* disavowing the command, threatned to question them for the Kings death; whereupon they fled beyond Sea: and *Gourney* after three years, being taken in *France*, and sent into *England*, was in the way upon the Sea, beheaded. *Matrevers* flying into *Germany*, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miserably. Thus died this King in the year 1327. more than half a year after his deposing; when he had reigned almost 19 years, lived 43. His Body was carried to *Glocester*, and there without any Funeral Pomp buried in the Monastery of *St. Peter*, by the Benedictine Monks.

1327.

Of Men of Note in his Time.

IN this Kings time, of Martial men were many, whose acts have been spoken of in the late Kings life. Of learned men also many, as *John Duns* the great Logician, called *Doctor Subtilis*, born in *Northumberland*, at *Emildune*, a Village three Miles distant from *Alnwick*; though both the *Scots* and the *Irish* challenge him for theirs; *Robert Walsingham* a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers Treatises; *Robert Baston* born in *Nottinghamshire*, a Carmelite Frier of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland*, to write some remembrances of his Victories: but being taken by the *Scots*, was constrained by *Robert Bruce* to write Remembrances of his Overthrows; *William Rishanger*, a Monk of *St. Albans*, an Historiographer; *Ralph Baldock*, Bishop of *London*, who wrote a History, entitled, *Historia Anglica*; *John Walsingham*, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers Treatises; *Nicholas de Lyra*, a Jew by Birth, who wrote many Excellent Treatises in Divinity; *William Ockam* a Frier Minor, who wrote divers Treatises, and namely against *John Duns*, and also against Pope *John* the 23. in favour of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Thomas Halsewood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicum Compendiarium*; *Robert Persecrator*, born in *Yorkshire*, a Black Frier and a Philosopher, or rather a Magician; and last, though not least worthy to be remembred, *John Mandevile*, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and a Knight.

John Duns called *Doctor Subtilis*, when he lived.

John Mandevile the great Traveller, when he lived.

Majors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Major.
Nicholas Pigot, *Nigelus Drury*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Nicholas Farindon was Major.
William Basing, *James Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Thomas Romaine was Major.
Roger le Palmer, James of St. Edmund, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Richard Reffam was Major.
Simon Cooper, Peter Blakney, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir John Gysors was Major.
Simon Metwood, Richard Wilford, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir John Gysors continued Major.
John Lambin, Adam Lutkin, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Nicholas Farandon was Major.
Robert Gurdin, Hugh Garton, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir John Gysors was Major.
Stephen Abington, Hammond Chickwel, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Stephen de Abington was Major.
Hammond Goodcheap, Will. Bodeleigh, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
John Wingrave was Major.
William Caſton, Ralph Balancer, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
John Wingrave continued Major.
John Prior, William Furneaux, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Wingrave continued Major.
John Pointel, John Dalling, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Simon de Abington, John Preston, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Major.
Reſauld at the Conduit, Will. Prodham, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Richard Constantine, Rich. de Hackney, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Major.
John Grantham, Richard de Ely, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Major.
Adam of Salisbury, John of Oxford, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Benet of Fulham, John Cawſton, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Major.
Gilbert Mordon, John Caſton, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Richard Britain was Major.
Richard Rothing, Roger Chauntclere, Sheriffs.

The LIFE and REIGN of KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

*Of his coming to the Crown, and Acts
done in his Minority.*

Anno. Dom.
1327.

King Ed-
ward the
third
crowned.

A general
Pardon at
the Kings
Coronation,
when first
begun.

His first
action was
an Expediti-
on against
the Scots, but
without suc-
cess, and
why.

EDWARD of Windsor, eldest Son of King Edward the Second, by the Order of Parliament, upon his Fathers Resignation, was proclaimed King of England, on the five and twentieth day of January, in the year 1327. And because he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by Henry Earl of Lancaster girt solemnly with the Sword; and on the first day of February following, was Crowned at Westminster by Walter Reginald Arch-bishop of Canterbury: and thereupon a general Pardon is proclaimed, which hath since been used as a Custom with all succeeding Kings; that at their first coming to the Crown, a general Pardon is alwaies granted. And because the King was under age, scarce fifteen years old (though Froyssard saith he was then eighteen) there were twelve appointed Governours of him and the Kingdom; namely the Arch-bishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Worcester; Thomas of Brotherton, Earl Marshal, Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncles; John Earl Warren, Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Pierce, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Roffe: but though these were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and Roger Mortimer took all the authority to themselves. The first action that was undertaken, was an Expedition against the Scots; for Robert Bruce, though now old and sickly, and (as was said) Leprous: yet considering the youth of the new King, and the distractions of the Kingdom, thought it now a fit time to do some good upon England; and entering the English Borders with an Army, sent defiance to King Edward. Whereupon an Army is raised, and the Heynaulters, (whom the Queen had brought over) are joined with the English: but a variance falling out between the two Nations, made the Action not successful. For the Kings Army encountering the Scots at Stanhope Park in Weredal in the Bishoprick of Durham, though three times as many as the Scots; as being Thirty thousand; yet through this variance, but more through Treason of some great men, suffered them all to escape their hands, and the Scots returned home in safety, the English with dishonour: and after this, the English seeing the Heynault-

ders could do them no good, sent them away to their own Country. In King Edward's second year, his Marriage with Philippa of Heynault is solemnized, (a dispensation being first gotten, because of their nearness in Blood) and a Parliament is holden at Northampton, where the King made three Earls; John of Eltham his Brother, Earl of Cornwall; Roger Mortimer, Earl of March; and James Butler of Ireland, Earl of Ormond. And in this Parliament a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the Scots; and confirmed by a match between David Bruce Prince of Scotland, being but seven years old, and Joan, Sister to King Edward not so old. At which time by the secret working of Queen Isabel, Roger Mortimer, and Sir James Douglass, the King surrenders by his Charter all his Title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of Scotland, restores divers Deeds and Instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called Ragmans Roll, and many ancient Jewels, and Monuments, amongst which was the Black Cross of Scotland; and besides, any English man is prohibited to hold Lands in Scotland, unless he were a dweller there. In consideration whereof King Bruce was to pay 30000 Marks, and to renounce his Claim to the Counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and any other place possessed by him in England. This was no good beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at Winchester, Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncle, is there accused, and condemned upon his confession, for intending to restore his Brother, the late King Edward; an intention only without any fact, yet condemned he was, and brought to the Scaffold: but generally so beloved of the people, that he stood on the Scaffold from one a Clock till five, before any Executioner could be found that would do the Office; till at last a silly wretch of the Marshalsey was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death escaped not long themselves, for in the third year of the Kings Reign, another Parliament is holden at Nottingham, wherein the Queen hath all her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to her Pension of a thousand pounds a year, and her self confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her daies, no fewer than thirty years. A time long enough to find that her being the Daughter of a King, the Sister of a King, the Wife of a King, and the Mother of a King, were glorious Titles, but all

He marries
Philippa of
Heynault.

King Ed-
ward sur-
renders all
his Title to
the Crown
of Scotland.

1329.

Edmund
Earl of
Kent, the
Kings Uncle,
beheaded,
and why.

King Ed-
ward con-
fineth his
Mother.

not

1330.

Seizeth upon Mortimer, and in what manner.

Who is hanged at Tyburn.

King Edward claims the Crown of France, but Philip of Valois is preferred, and why.

King Edward doth homage to the King of France for his Duchy of Guyenne, and the manner of doing it.

not worth the liberty of a mean Estate. And as for *Mortimer*, (lying then in the Castle of *Nottingham*, and lately created Earl of the *Marches in Wales*) he was seized on in this manner; the King taking with him *William Montacute*, *Robert Holland*, and others, go secretly one Night by Torch-light, through a privy way under ground, till they come to the Queens Chamber; where leaving the King without, they entered and found the Queen with *Mortimer*, ready to go to bed: then laying hands on him they led him forth, after whom the Queen followed, crying, *Bel fis, ayez pitie du gentil Mortimer*; Good Son, good Son, take pity upon the gentle *Mortimer*, suspecting that her Son had been amongst them. This course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of tumult, having no fewer than Ninety-score Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus seized on, he is committed presently to the Tower, accused of divers great Crimes, whereof these were chief; That he had procured the late King's death; That he had been the Author of the Scots safe escaping at *Stanhope Park*, corrupted with the gift of Thirty thousand pounds; That he had procured the late Marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; That he had been too familiar with the Queen, as by whom she was thought to be with Child. Of which Articles he was found guilty and condemned; and thereupon is drawn and hanged upon the common Gallows, at the Elms, now called *Tyburn*, where his body remained two daies as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders.

After these businesses in *England*, there comes a new business upon him from the King of *France*; for about this time *Philip le Bel*, King of *France*, the Queens Brother, dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to *Charles* a former King, wherein are Competitors *Philip Duke de Valois*, and *Edward King of England*. *Edward* is the nearer in blood, but draws his Pedigree by a Female; *Philip* the farther off, but descending by all Males: and because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by Females; therefore is *Philip's* Title preferred before *King Edward's*, and *Philip* is received and Crowned King of *France*: to which preferment of his, *Robert de Artois*, a Peer of great power, gave no small furtherance. And now as soon as *Philip* was invested in the Crown, he summons *Edward* to come and do his Homage for the Duchy of *Guyen*, and his other Lands in *France*, held of that Crown, according to the Custom; which though it were some prejudice to *King Edward's* claim afterward, yet in regard his Kingdom of *England* was scarce well settled, and himself was young, he was contented to do it: and thereupon the sixth of *June*, in the year 1329. *King Edward* in a Crimson Velvet Gown, imbroidered with Leopards, with his Crown on his head, his Sword by his side, and Golden Spurs on his heels, presents himself in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *Amyens* before *King Philip*, sitting in his Chair of Estate, in a Velvet Gown of a violet Colour, imbroidered with

Flowers *de Lis* of Gold, his Crown on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. The Viscount *Melan* Chamberlain of *France*, first commands *King Edward* to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and to kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before *King Philip*; and then the Viscount putting both his hands together between the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage; which were these: You become Liegeman to my Master here present, as Duke of *Aquitaine*, and Peer of *France*; and you promise to bear faith and loyalty to him: Say yea. And *King Edward* said Yea, and kissed the King of *France* on the mouth, as Lord of the Fee. The like homage also he did for the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. But this act of submission left a rancour in *King Edward's* heart, which afterwards brake so out, that it had been good for *France* it had never been exacted.

This done, *King Edward* returns home, and there finds a new business with *Scotland*, upon this occasion. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol*, (sometimes King of *Scotland*) two and thirty years after his Father's deposition, began now to shew himself, attempting the recovery of that Crown; and coming out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, and getting aid under-hand in *England*, with them he suddenly assails those who had the Government of *Scotland*, during the Nonage of the young King *David* (being at that time with the King of *France*) and in a Battel overcame them, with the slaughter of many Noble men, and Thousands of the common people; and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scope*. But notwithstanding this great defeat, *King Baliol* was forced to retire himself into *England*, to get more aid of *King Edward*. Who now shews himself in the action, joins with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-law *King David*, goes in person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three months siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, is taken in, and the Army of the Scots which came to the rescue thereof, at *Haliidown-Hill*, utterly defeated: where were slain seven Earls, ninety Knights and Bannerets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common Souldiers, as our Writers report: as theirs, but fourteen thousand. And with this effusion of blood is *Baliol* returned to his miserable Kingdom; and to hold good correspondence with the King of *England* hereafter, doth him homage for his Realm of *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent. But though he had a Kingdom, yet he had not quietness, for many of the Scots aided by the French, made War upon him divers years after; during all which time, *King David* with his Wife remained in *France*. If any man marvel why *King Edward* would aid *Baliol* against *King David*, who had married his sister, he may consider that alliances, how near soever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

About this time, the Isle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, for which service *King Edward* gave him the Title of *King of Man*.

Edward Baliol is crowned King of Scotland.

King Edward aids Baliol against his brother-in-law King David.

1333.
The Scots defeated at Haliidown-Hill.

William Montacute Earl of Salisbury hath the Title given him to be King of Man.

Of

Of his Acts after he came of Age.

King Edward is persuaded by Robert of Artois to make War upon France.

AND now Robert of Artois banished out of France, comes into England, whom King Edward makes Earl of Richmond, and of his Council. This Robert persuades King Edward to make War upon France, which Crown (he said) he had more right than he that held it. With whose persuasions, King Edward is at last resolved to undertake the enterprise; and to furnish himself of noble Chieftains, he at one time in a Parliament at Westminster, the eighth year of his Reign, creates six Earls, Henry of Lancaster he made Earl of Derby, William Montacute he made Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Audeley Earl of Gloucester, William Clinton Earl of Huntington, and Robert Clifford, or Ufford, Earl of Suffolk: also twenty Knights of whom Thomas de la Moore, who writ the life of the Kings Father, was one. Withal he sends the Bishop of Lincoln, to procure Leagues of amity with divers Princes abroad. Where it is scarce worth remembring, what Froissard mentions here, that certain young Gentlemen covered one of their eyes with a piece of Silk, and vowed to see but with one eye, till it might be seen, what great deeds of Arms they performed; but for all this Vow of theirs, we hear nothing of their exploits. And as the King of England laboured to procure himself friends, so likewise the King of France got to take his part, the Bishop of Liege, with the Dukes and Earls of Gelders, Juliers, Cleve, Heynault, and Brabant, and with the Arch-bishop of Colen, and Valeran his Brother; John King of Bohemia, Earl of Luxemburg, Henry Count Palatine, Aubert Bishop of Mentz, Otto Duke of Austria, Ame Earl of Geneva, with many other Princes and Captains out of Germany, Spain, and other Countries. King Edward thus resolved in himself, and furnished with friends abroad, goes over into Flanders, with his Queen and Children, makes his residence at Antwerp; where by perswasion of the Flemings, he takes upon him the Style, Title, and Arms of the King of France: for by this they accounted themselves disobliged of the Bond of Twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which they had entred into, never to bear Arms against the King of France: and hereupon the League was established between them and King Edward. And from this time forward the Kings of England quartered the Arms of France with those of England; and took upon them the name of Kings of France. And now King Edward for a beginning to put his claim in execution, sets upon Cambray, and enters France by the way of Vermandois and Thierach. On the other side King Philip seifeth on the Duchy of Guienne, and sends thither the Counte d'Eu, Constable of France, with the Earls of Foix and Armigniac. At last both Armies came so near together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after: but upon better consideration, the English thought it no discretion to give Battel to an Army so much greater than their own, if they could avoid it; and the French thought it as little discretion for them to hazard the person of the Prince within his own Kingdom; and perhaps were not a little moved

with the warning given them by Robert King of Sicily, a great Astronomer, That he foresaw by the Stars, some great misfortune to threaten the French, if they should that day fight with the English, King Edward being present. And thus both Armies having their several reasons to decline the Battel, they parted without doing any thing; only an accident happened scarce worth remembring, yet must be remembred. A Hare starting out before the head of the French Army, caused a great shout to be made; whereupon, they who saw not the Hare, but only heard the shout, supposing it to be the on-set of the battel, disposed themselves to fight: and fourteen Gentlemen for encouragement sake, as the custom is, were Knighted; called afterward in merriment, Knights of the Hare.

Knights of the Hare, why so called.

But now King Edward must a little look home, and therefore leaving the Queen in Brabant, he passeth himself into England about Candlemas, having been in Brabant about a year; and landing at the Tower about midnight, and finding it unguarded, was so much displeased, that he presently sends for the Major of London, commanded him to bring before him the Chancellor and Treasurer, with Sir John Saint Paul, Michael Wath, Philip Thorpe, Henry Stratford, Clergy-men, (who it seems were Officers for his Receipts) and John Stonore Justice of the Bench: all which, except the Chancellour, were apprehended and committed to prison; as were afterward in like manner, divers Officers of Justice, and Accomptants, upon enquiry of their unjust proceeding. During the Kings abode in England, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk left in Flanders to oppose the French, having performed divers great exploits, were at last in an encounter about Lisle, so overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoners to Paris. Besides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be great rubs in King Edward's proceeding; one, that his Wifes Father, William Earl of Heynault, dying, and leaving his Son to succeed, this son left his Brother King Edward, and fell to take part with the King of France; the other, that the Duke of Normandy, thinking himself as strong as ever William Duke of Normandy was that conquered England, he saw no reason but he might conquer it as well as that William; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterprise: but these were but vapours that never came to be winds, at least brought no storms. For John Earl of Heynault had quickly enough of the King of France, and was soon after reconciled to his Brother King Edward; and the Duke of Normandy went no further than preparations; for indeed King Edward prosecuted his courses against France with such heat, that all the neighbouring Princes seeing a fire kindled so near their own borders, were glad to look to themselves at home. But now to impede the King of England's return into France, King Philip had provided a mighty Navy in the Haven of Sluce, consisting of two hundred sail of Ships, (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his landing; whereof King Edward being advertised, prepares the like number of Ships, and sets out to Sea

William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk taken prisoners by the French.

1339.

The Armies of the two Kings being near together, yet part without fighting and why.

Sea upon *Midsummer* Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and encounters his Enemy who lay to intercept him with such force and courage, and such advantage of Wind and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navy, took and sunk all their Ships, slew Thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory, (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the *English* at Sea) could yield, though King *Edward* himself was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh. Most of the *French*, rather than to endure the Arrows of the *English*, or be taken, desperately leapt into the Sea; whereupon the *French* Kings Jester, set on to give notice to him of his overthrow, (which being so ill news, none else would willingly impart unto him) said, and oftentimes repeated it in the Kings hearing; Cowardly *English*-men, Dastardly *English*-men, Faint-hearted *English*-men! The King at length asked him why? For that (said he) they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea as our brave *French*-men did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow, which the *French* attributed to *Nicholas Butcher*, one of their Chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of base condition, (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen and sufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages. And indeed it often happens, that the avarice of Commanders is the occasion of great defeats.

By this Victory King *Edward* gained a free entrance into *Flanders*, and presently went and besieged *Tournay* with an Army of five and fifty thousand; but was so valiantly encountred by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Armigniac*, that they routed his Army, and slew four thousand upon the place: which so enraged King *Edward*, that two daies after he sent a Challenge to King *Philip* to meet him in a single Combat, or with an hundred against as many, before the Walls of *Tournay*. King *Philip* answers that his challenge being made to *Philip de Valois*, without mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of *France*; but he wished him to remember the Homage he had done him at *Amiens*, and the wrong he did to the Christian world, by his troublesome courses to hinder him from his Voyage intended to the *Holy-land*. Besides this answer in writing, he sends to him by word of mouth; that by his challenge he hazarded nothing of his own, but exposed only the Dominion of another, which was against all reason: but if he would set his Kingdom of *England*, though much meaner, against his of *France*, he would then accept the challenge, and meet him in the field in single Combat. But this King *Edward* would not hearken to, for as he was valiant to make the challenge, so he was circumspect to look to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his siege of *Tournay*; to the relief whereof King *Philip* sends all the Forces he could possibly make by himself or his friends: and after the siege had continued three months, partly by mediation of *Robert* King of *Sicily*, but chiefly by the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, sister to King *Philip*, and mother of King *Edward*'s Wife, (who had vowed her

self a Nun, but to do this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a year, and both their Armies are dissolved.

A Truce is concluded between the two Kings.

After this, King *Edward* returning into *England*, was advertised how the *Scots* after many other places gained, had besieged the Castle of *Striveling*; for relief whereof, the King makes all the haste he can: and yet before he could come, it was by force of Battery, compelled to render it self upon conditions. Then King *Edward* being at *Berwick*, passeth to *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, where he staies a month, waiting for his provision that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by Tempest, he makes a Truce with the *Scots* for three or four months, and then returns home. In the time of this Truce, the *Scots* send to King *David*, to come and govern the Kingdom in his own person; who thereupon taking his leave of the King of *France*, with whom he had remained seven years, he with his Wife *Joan*, King *Edward*'s sister, returns into *Scotland*: where, after he had been most honourably received by the Prince of *Orkney*, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdom, as soon as the Truce was ended, with a strong Army enters *Northumberland*, passing on to *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, where he plants his Camp. Of this Castle, *John Nevile* was left Governour by King *Edward*, who sending out certain Companies, took the Earl *Murray* prisoner; and with the slaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned back to his Castle: which so incensed King *David*, that he assaulted the Castle as a man enraged, but finding it too strong for his taking, he then passed into the Province of *Durham*, where he used all kinds of cruelty, first upon the Country, and then upon the City, killing Men, Women, and Children, Clergy, and others; burning and destroying Houses, and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he passeth on to the Castle of *Werk*, which Castle belonged to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, in right of his Wife; but himself being then prisoner in *France*, only his Countess, and one *William Montacute* a Cousin of his, was in the Castle. This *William* perceiving the *Scottish* Horse to be so over-charged with pillage, that they were scarce able to go, issues out of the Castle with forty horse, sets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes sixscore, whom he brings with their rich pillage, into the Castle. King *David* soon after with his whole Army arrived, but hearing of King *Edward*'s coming, (who certified of these things, made all the haste he could) he retires himself from thence; and King *Edward* finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and visit the Countess: of whom as soon as he saw her, he was so enamoured, that he laid more battery to her Chastity, than King *David* had done to her Castle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the *Scots*, with whom for three daies together he had many Skirmishes, till at last a Truce was concluded for two years; and amongst other conditions, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, a prisoner with the King of *France*, was set at liberty in exchange for the Earl *Murray*, prisoner.

King *David* of *Scotland* enters *England* with an Army.

Is repelled at the Castle of *Werk*.

King *Edward*'s love to the Countess of *Salisbury*.

William Earl of *Salisbury* set at liberty by exchange.

King *Edward* takes and sinks two hundred Sail of *French* Ships.

How the *French* Kings Jester gave notice of his overthrow to the King.

King *Edward*'s Army of five and fifty thousand defeated.

King *Edward* sends a challenge to the King of *France*, and the King of *France*'s answer.

prisoner with the King of England.

About this time another difference fell out between the Kings of England and France. John Earl of Montford laid claim to the Duchy of Britain, but in the quarrel was taken prisoner by the King of France. His Lady sends to King Edward for succour; which King Edward grants upon condition that a marriage be made between his Daughter Mary, and the Earl of Montford's son: which being agreed on, he sends over to her aid, first, Walter de Manny, a valiant Knight, and afterward Robert d' Artois. But while his Army was preparing, King Edward was informed by Edward Baliol, the pretended King of Scotland, and Governour of Berwick, That the Scots had not kept the Conditions of the Truce; whereupon King Edward draws a great Army to Berwick, with a purpose to do great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two years. By this time Robert d' Artois had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Countess of Montford, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Suffolk, and many other Barons, after great Tempests and Encounters at Sea, lands safely at last near to Vannes, which was held by the French; and laying siege to the City, with the assistance of Walter de Manny, who came unto him, after many assaults, at last he took it, to the great joy of the Countess of Montford, though she held it not long; for certain resolute French Knights assaulted it soon after, and recovered it from the English. In which action many Lords were slain or wounded, and particularly Robert d' Artois himself; who passing over into England, for the better curing of his wounds, soon after died, and was buried in Paul's Church in London. And now King Edward himself with a strong Army passeth over into Britain, and plants his Camp before the City of Vannes, where was like to have been a cruel Battel; but in the instant there came from Pope Clement the sixth, two Cardinals, the Bishops of Preneeste and Tusculum: who upon certain conditions concluded a Peace. Amongst other conditions this was one, That the City of Vannes should be delivered to King Philip; and thereupon John Earl of Montford should be set at liberty, but yet with this charge, not to go into Britain: which promise notwithstanding he kept not, but went presently and besieged a Town in Britain, though he were forced to retire, and died shortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by Montford, was afterward absolutely broken by King Edward; though he charged the breach of it upon King Philip, and King Philip upon him: But howsoever, broken it was, and Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, with divers other Earls and Barons, is sent into France, who won many Towns in Gascoyne, and in the Counties of Perigort and Tholouse, and then went to Winter at Burdeaux. And afterward in May following, pursuing his Victories, he won many more Towns; and amongst others, the great Town of Reoll. After this again, he took Montpesat, Maurore, Villefranche, and many other Towns; and at last the great City of Angoulesm, and then came to winter again at Burdeaux.

Robert Artois wounded, dieth.

A Peace concluded between the two Kings: but soon broken.

King Edward wins many Towns in France.

Of his Acts together with the Prince.

King Philip informed of so many great losses, assembles a mighty Army, no less than a Hundred thousand men, with which he recovers Miremont, and Villefranche, and then proceeded to besiege Angoulesm: whom the Earl of Derby having not forces sufficient to encounter, King Edward (leaving for Wardens of England in his absence, the Lords Piercy and Nevil) goeth himself in person with an Army (as Froissard saith) of Four score thousand men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of Wales and Ireland: taking with him his Son, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Guyen, being then but of the age of fifteen years. It may be thought preposterous in King Edward to put his Son to be a Souldier before he was come to be a man: but it seems he had a longing to try his sons valour in the bud, and perhaps was loth to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this Battel, in which the two Kingdoms were laid as it were at stake: but howsoever, taking him along with him, and almost all the Lords of his Kingdom, he takes Shipping, and lands at Normandy, where at his first setting his foot on ground, he took such a fall, that the blood gushed out at his nose; which the Barons took for an ill sign, but the King took it for a good: saying, It was a sign that the Land desired to have him. And indeed he presently took the Towns of Harfleur, Moulbourn, Carenton, and St. Lo, and afterward the City of Caen itself; and from thence passed to the County of Eureux, sacked and pillaged it, as also the City of Gisors, Vernon, Meulan, and Boulebourg to the City of Poissy. King Philip all this while stayed about Paris, as looking for King Edward to give him Battel there; and for that purpose had planted his Camp near to St. Germans: but King Edward deceived him. For going from Poissy, he passed into Picardy, and Ponthieu, where he took and burned many Towns and Castles; and then passed the River of Soam, though not without danger: For King Philip had sent thither Gundemar de Fay, with a thousand horse, and six thousand foot to stop his passage. King Edward notwithstanding resolves to pass, or perish, and plungeth foremost into the River; crying out, They who love me will follow me. At which voice every man strove who should go foremost, and so the shore was presently gained by the English. Gundemar astonished with his bold adventure, astonisheth his people with his fearful countenance: so that the English encountering the French all in disorder, put them to flight. King Philip enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it; and presently provokes King Edward to Battel. King Edward had now encamped in a Village called Cressy, his Army consisted of Thirty thousand men, which he divided into three Battalia's: the first was led by the young Prince of Wales, with whom were joined the Earl of Warwick, Geoffry of Harecourt, Thomas Holland, Richard Stafford, John Chandois, Robert Nevile, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand

The King of France assembles an Army of a hundred thousand men, and with them recovers some Towns.

King Edward goes in person with an Army into France, taking the Prince of Wales with him, being but fifteen years of age.

King Edward at his landing takes a fall, but takes it for a good sign.

King Edward's valiant resolution.

1346.
The Battel between the two Kings at Cressy.

thousand Welch. In the second were the Earls of Northampton and of Arundel, the Lords, Rosse, Bassett, and others, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms; and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himself, having about him seven hundred men at Arms, and three thousand Archers. The Battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from rank to rank to view them; encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour. The French Kings Army was far greater, consisting of above Sixty thousand Combatants well armed; whereof the chief were Charles Duke of Alanson the Kings Brother, John of Luxemburgh King of Bohemia, Charles de Blois the Kings Nephew, Ralph Duke of Lorrain, the Earls of Flanders, Nevers, Sancerre; of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, about three thousand. The Vanguard he commits to his Brother the Count de Alanson, the Reer to the Earl of Savoy, the main Battel he leads himself; his heat out of confidence of Victory, was so great, that it scarce permitted time for a little counsel what was fit to be done. The old King of Bohemia advised, That the Army should take some repast, and that the Infantry consisting of Genoueses, (which were above Fifteen thousand Cross-bowes, and sure men) should make the first front, and the Cavalry to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count of Alanson, contrary to this order, took it ill that the Genoueses were in the first rank; and in fury caused them to change place, which bred that discontentment, that it irritated them more against the Leader than the Enemy. Besides, there fell at the instant such a shewre of Rain, as dissolved their strings; and made their Bows of little use; and at the breaking up of the shewre, the Sun shone full in the face of the French (dazling their sight) and on the back of the English, as if all made for them. King Edward who had gotten to a Wind-mill, beholding as from a Sentinel, the countenance of the Enemy, and discovering the disturbance made by the change of place, instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-accommodate themselves: whereupon the discontented Genoueses recoil, which the Count de Alanson perceiving, he comes on with the Horse, and in great rage cries out, On on, Let us make way upon the bellies of these Genoueses, who do but hinder us: and instantly pricks on with a full career through the midst of them, followed by the Earls of Lorrain and Savoy, and never staies till he came up to the English Battel, where the Prince was. The fight grew hot and doubtful, insomuch as the Commanders about the Prince send to King Edward to come up with his power to aid him. The King asks the Messengers, Whether his Son were slain or hurt: who answering, No, but that he was like to be overlaid: Well then (said the King) return and tell them who sent you, That so long as my Son is alive, they send no more to me whatever happen; for I will that the honour of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather because the French King having his Horse slain under him,

and in danger to be trodden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord Beaumont, was to the great discouragement of his people, withdrawn out of the Field: whereof notice being once taken by the English, the day was soon after theirs; and the greatest Victory they ever had yet against the French; and so bloody, as there is no mention made of any one prisoner taken in the Battel, but all slain out-right; only some few Troops that held together, saved themselves by retiring to places near adjoining. The French King himself with a small company got to Bray in the night, and approaching the Walls, and the Guard asking, Who goes there? He answered, The Fortune of France. By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the Town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The number of the slain are certified to be Thirty thousand: The Chief whereof, were Charles de Alanson, John Duke of Bourbon, Ralph Earl of Lorrain, Lewis Earl of Flanders, Jaques Daulphin de Viennois, son to Imbert, (who after gave Daulphin to the Crown of France) the Earls of Sancerre, Harecourt, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of Fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after Bartholomew day, in the year 1346. The next day early in the morning, being Sunday, he sent out Three hundred Lances, and Two thousand Archers, to discover what was become of the Enemy, who found great Troops coming from Abbeville, St. Requier, Roan, and Beauvoys (ignorant of what happened) led by the Archbishop of Roan, and the Prior of France: whom they likewise defeated, and slew Seven thousand.

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King Edward that year; there was another of no less importance gotten in England, by the Queen and his people at home, against the Scots: who being set on by the French to divert the War there, entred upon this Kingdom with Threescore thousand men (as our Writers report) assuring himself of success, in regard (as he supposed) the main strength thereof was now gone into France; but he found it otherwise. For the Lords of the North, as Gilbert de Umphrevile, the Earl of Angus, Henry Percy, Ralph Nevile, William Dayncourt, with the Arch-bishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great Forces, and so well ordered them, by the animation of the Queen, (who was there in Person) as fighting a great Battel at Nevils Cross, in the Bishoprick of Durham, they utterly defeated this great Army, took David their King Prisoner, with the Earls of Fife, Menteith, Marry, Sutherland, the Lord Douglas, the Arch-bishop of St. Andrews, and others; and put to the Sword Fifteen thousand Scots. This Victory also fell upon a Saturday, six weeks after that of Cressy. He that took King David Prisoner, was one John Copland, an Esquire of Northumberland, whom King Edward rewarded with five hundred pound Land a year, and made him a Banneret. And as if all concurred to

R make

King Edward refuseth to send Aid to his Son.

Thirty thousand French slain.

1346.

The Scots in King Edward's absence, with an Army of threescore thousand invade England.

But are defeated, and David their King taken prisoner.

John Copland who took King David prisoner, is rewarded with 500 l. Land a year.

King Edward
sits
down before
Callice.

make this year Triumphant; the Aids sent to the Countess of Montford in Britain, led by Thomas Dagworth a valiant Knight, overthrew and took prisoner Charles de Blois, Pretender to that Duchy, and with him Monsieur la Val, the Lords Rochford, Beaumanoyre, Loyacque, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires; Where were slain the Lord De la Val, Father to him that was taken, Viscount Rohan, Monsieur de Chasteau, Brayan de Malestroit, de Quintin, de Direvil, besides many other Knights and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred. And now King Edward without meddling with the great Cities of Amiens and Abbeville, marched on directly, and sits down before Callice, a Town of more importance for England, and the Gate to all the rest: Wherein John de Vienne Marshal of France, and the Lord de Andreghen, (a great man in his time) commanded. The King being to make it a Winter siege, erected for him and his people, so many Houses and Lodges, that it was named New-Callice.

When Guns
first used.

All that Winter King Edward lay without any molestation by the French King, who was busied at home in his own State about raising of money; wherewith supplied at last, he raiseth an Army and approached Callice, but finds no way open to come to relieve it. The King of England was both Master of the Haven, and possessor all other waies that were passable; and the Flemmings his friends had besieged Aire. To oppose whom, John Duke of Normandy is sent for out of Guyenne: who departing leaves Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, Master of the Field; and he having an Army consisting of Twelve hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Towns of Xaintoigne, and Poictou, and in the end besieged and sacked Poitiers, and then returns to Burdeaux, with more pillage than his people could well bear: Thus the English prosper every where, and the French suffer. During the siege of Callice, (in which some think King Edward first used Guns) the Flemmings send to King Edward, to make a marriage between his Daughter Isabel and their Lord, the young Count Lewis; to which the King consented, but the Duke of Brabant gets the King of France to make the match for a daughter of his. The Flemmings press their Lord with the match of England; but he absolutely refused it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him, that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdom. This answer so incensed the Flemmings, that they put their Lord in prison, till with long durance he at last consented; and thereupon King Edward and his Queen, with their Daughter Isabel came over to Berghes, and there the young Earl is affianced to her: but returning afterwards into Flanders, as soon as he found opportunity, he went to King Philip, and left his affianced Lady unmarried; and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of Brabants. But all this while the siege of Callice was continued; and King Philip not being able to come to relieve it, solicits King Edward to appoint some place of battel, and he would meet him. But King Edward returns answer, That if he would make his own way, to come thither to him, there he should find him, but from thence

he would not part; having lain there so long to his great labour and expence, and being now so near the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing; so as the French King was forced to break up his Army and retire to Paris, leaving Callice to the mercy of the besieger: which when the Town understood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein received this final answer, That six of the chief Burgeses should be sent to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, the keys of the Town and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will; the rest he was content to take to mercy. This seemed a hard condition, and much difficulty who should be those six: but one rising up, and out of love to his Country offering himself to be one, the six were soon made up; for now by his example every one strove to be of the number: who presenting themselves before the King, he commanded them instantly to be put to death. Great supplication was made by his Lords for their lives, but the King would not be drawn to alter his sentence, till the Queen, great with Child, fell on her knees, and with tears obtained pardon for them; which done, she caused them to be clothed, and besides a good repast, gives to every one of them six Nobles a piece. But though the King in this sentence shewed severity, yet in an Act before he had shewed mercy; For when Victuals began to fail in the Town, and all unuseful persons, as old men, women, and children, were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again as he might have done, thereby the sooner to consume their store: but suffered them to pass through his Army, gave them to eat, and two pence a piece to all of them. And thus was that strong Town of Callice gotten, the third day of August, in the year 1347. after eleven months siege, and continued afterward in possession of the English two hundred and ten years. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but only one Priest, and two old men, to inform of the Orders of the Town: and a Colony of English, amongst which seven and thirty good Families out of London, is sent to inhabit it; the King and Queen enter the Town triumphantly, and make their abode there, till the Queen was brought a bed of her Daughter Margaret. The King made Governour of the Town, Aymery of Pavia a Lombard, whom he had brought up from his Infancy; and then with his Queen returns into England. At which time the Princes Electors send to signify, that they had chosen him King of the Romans; but the King refuseth to accept it, as being an honour out of his way, and scarce compatible with his State at home.

After this, Truces were made by mediation, from one time to another, for the space of two years; in which time, Geoffry de Charmy Captain of St. Omer, agreed with Aymery of Pavia, whom King Edward had left Governour of Callice, to render it up for twenty thousand Crowns; which King Edward hearing of, sent to Aymery, and charged him with this perfidiousness; whereupon Aymery comes to the King, and humbly desiring pardon, promiseth to handle the

Callice desires a Parle.

King Edward requires six of their chief Burgeses to bring the keys of the Town to him with halters about their necks, whom he judged to be put to death.

But at the Queens intercession spares them.

1347.
Callice after eleven months siege yielded up to King Edward.

King Edward's chosen King of the Romans, but refuseth it.

1349.
Aymery of Pavia Governour of Callice is bribed to betray it.

the matter so as shall be to the Kings advantage, and thereupon is sent back to Callice. The King, the night before the time of agreement arrives with three hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Archers. *Monsieur de Charmy* sets out likewise the same night from St. Omers with his Forces, and sent a hundred men before with the Crowns to *Aymery*. The men are let in at a Postern Gate, the Crowns received, and assured to be all weight: which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and out marches the King before day to encounter *Monsieur de Charmy*; who perceiving himself betrayed, defended himself the best he could, and put King Edward to a hard bickering, who for that he would not be known there in person, put himself and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten down on his knees by *Monsieur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight, (with whom he fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end took *Riboumont* prisoner. *Charmy* was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward the night after (which was the first of the new year) feasted with the prisoners; and gave *Riboumont* in honour of his valour, a rich Chaplet of Pearl, which himself wore on his head (for a New-years-gift) forgave him his ransom, and set him at liberty. But the English not long after, in the like practice, had better success, and got the Castle of *Guyfnes*, (a place of great importance near *Callice*) for a sum of money, given to one *Beaconroy* a French man. Of which Castle when the French King demanded restitution, in regard of the Truce, King Edward returns answer, That for things bought and sold between their people, there was no exception, and so held it.

But gets the bribe, and yet keeps the Town.

King Edward twice beaten down on his knees by *Monsieur de Riboumont*; yet at last takes him prisoner.

He rewards *Riboumont* for his valour.

1350.

The French Kings eldest son to be Dauphin of France, whence it began.

1355.

The Prince of Wales is sent into Gascoyne.

About this time *Philip* King of France died, leaving his son *John* to succeed him; in the beginning of whose Reign, *Humbert* Prince of *Daulphin*, dying without issue, made him his heir; and thereupon *Charles*, King *John's* Son was created the first *Daulphin* of France: from whence it grew to be a custom, that the King of France his heir should always be called *Daulphin* of France. About this time also the Duke of *Lancaster* was to perform a Combat, upon a challenge with a Prince of *Bohemia*; but when they had entered the Lists, and had taken their Oaths, King *John* interposed and made them friends. And now when after many means of mediation, no peace could be concluded between the two Kings, the Prince of *Wales* being now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to go into *Gascoyne* with a thousand men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great number of *Welchmen*; and in June following he sets forth with three hundred Sail, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *James Audeley*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, Sir *Francis Hall*, with many others. About *Michaelmas* following, the King himself passeth over to *Callice* with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, now Earl of *Ulster* in right of his Wife, and *John* of *Gaunt*, Earl of *Richmond*. There met him at *Callice* of Mercenaries out of Germany, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thousand men at Arms; so that his Army consisted of three thousand men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on horse-back, besides Archers

on foot. The City of *London* sent three hundred men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one Livery, at their own charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reason the King of France would not be drawn to any Encounter, and had so disurnished the Country of all provisions, that the King of England was forced to return. King Edward solicited by the King of *Navarre* to aid him against the King of France, sends over the Duke of *Lancaster* with four thousand men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters *Guyenne*, passeth over *Languedock* to *Thoulouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter, sacks, spoils, and destroys where he goes; and laden with booties, returns to *Burdeaux*. The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers all the power he possibly could; and first makes against his Enemies in *Normandy*, recovers many of his lost Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed; but that he was drawn off force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of *Wales*, who was come up into *Touraine*, against whom he brings his whole Army, consisting of above threescore thousand: whereupon the Prince, whose Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being six for one) was advised to retire again to *Burdeaux*. But the French King to prevent this course, follows; and within two Leagues of *Poitiers*, hath him at a great advantage. At which instant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the French King supposing he had his enemy now in his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages; and as vanquished, render himself and his Army to his discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he said he stood accountable to his Father, and to his Country. But the French King would abate nothing of his demands, as making himself sure of Victory; and thereupon was instantly ready to set upon the Prince: who seeing himself reduced to this strait, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to impeter and intangle the French Horse, which he saw were to come furiously upon him. The success answered his expectation, for the Cavalry of his Enemies upon their first assault were so wrapt and encumbered amongst the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the French King to give the honour of the day to his Cavalry, employed them only without his Infantry; so as they being disordered and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this Battel were taken prisoners King *John* himself, with his youngest Son *Philip*, by *Dennis de Morbecque*, a Knight of *Artois*; *Jaques de Bourbon*, Conte de *Ponthieu*; the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, *John de Artois*, Conte de *Eu*; *Charles de Artois*; his brother Count de *Longueville*; *John de Melun*; Count de *Tankerville*; the Counts of *Vendosme*, *Vandemont*, *Estampes*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin* and *La Roche*, and *John de Ceintre*, accounted (as *Froissard* saith) the best Knight of France, with many other Lords besides two thousand Knights and Gentlemen;

The King of France, with an Army of sixty thousand opposeth the Prince of Wales at *Poitiers*.

The Prince of Wales.

King John himself with many great Lords, taken prisoners.

infomuch as the Conquerours holding it not safe to retain so many, let many of them go. The French, who can give best account of their own losses, report there died in this Battel, a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Bannerets: the most eminent Peter de Bourbon, the Duke of Athens Constable of France, Jehan de Clermont, Marshal, Geoffry de Charmy, High Chamberlain; the Bishop of Chalons, the Lords of Landais, of Pons, and of Chambly. There escaped from this Battel three of the French Kings Sons, (for he brought them all thither) Charles Prince Daulphin; Louys after Duke of Anjou, and John Duke of Barry: all great Actors in the time following. The special great men of the English in this fight, were the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, Stafford; the Lords Cobham, Spencer, Berkeley, Bassett: of Gascoyne, Le Capital de Beuff; the Lords, Pymyer, Chamount, and others. The Lord James Audley won honour both by his valour, and his bounty; for having vowed to be foremost in this fight, he performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Marks Fee-simple in England, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires. Whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift? He answered, That these men had deserved the same as well as himself, and had more need of it: With which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred Marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, strive which should be the greater.

But here great strife arose between many, who should be the man that took King John prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to forbear their claims, till they came into England: where the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King John's own testimony, that one Sir Dennis Morbecque of St. Omers had taken him prisoner: for which service the King rewarded him with a thousand Marks.

And now, though King John had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble Enemy: for Prince Edward used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. After the battel, which was fought the nineteenth day of September, in the year 1357, Prince Edward leads King John and the captive Lords to Burdeaux, where he retains them till the Spring following; but sends present news of this victory to his Father: who thereupon causeth a general Thanksgiving all England over eight daies together. And in May following King John rather coming over with the Prince, than brought over by him, is lodged at the Savoy, a Palace belonging to Henry Duke of Lancaster, and the fairest at that time about London. And King Edward as though he thought it honour enough to have one King his Prisoner at once, at the suit of his Sister Queen Joan, sets her Husband David King of Scots at liberty; after he had been prisoner in England eleven years; but not without paying a ranfome, which was a hundred thousand Marks to be paid in ten years.

After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two years is concluded between the two Kingdoms of England and France; and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace between the two Kings are propounded. King Edward requires the Duchies of Normandy and Guyenne, the Countries of Poitou, Thouraine, Maine, and Anjou, with all their appurtenances as large as King Richard the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles King John (weary of imprisonment) assents and seals, but the Daulphin and Council of France utterly reject it. Whereupon King Edward in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this work with the Sword, and to take possession of the Kingdom of France; and leaving his younger Son Thomas Governour of his Kingdom at home, with a Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, and taking all the great Lords of the Realm with him, he passed over to Callice, dividing his Army into three Battels, whereof one he commits to the Prince of Wales, another to the Duke of Lancaster, and the third he leads himself. And first marching through Picardy, where he takes in many Towns, he plants his siege afterward before Rheims: but having spent there six or seven weeks without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of Sens and Nevers, the Duchy of Burgoyne redeems it self from spoil with paying two hundred thousand Florens of Gold. Then he marcheth up to Paris, and plants his Camp within two small Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400. Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood: but when Sir Walter de Manny had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the Daulphin would by no provocations be drawn out to Battel, he raiseth his siege, and returns into Britain to refresh his Army, from thence he marched towards Chartres with a purpose to besiege that City; and though great offers were made him by the French, and Commissioners from the Pope solicited him with all earnestness to accept them: yet neither they, nor the Duke of Lancaster's persuasions could prevail with him, till a terrible storm of Hail with Thunder and Lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning, as it were from Heaven, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the French King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at the Treaty of Britigny near to Chartres upon these Articles: that the Feifs of Thonars and Belleville, the Duchy of Guyenne, comprising Gascoyne, Poitou, Xantoigne, Limousin, Perigort, Quercie, Rhodes, Angoulesm, and Rochel, together with the Countries of Guysnes and Callice, and some other places with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, should be to the King of England, who besides was to have three millions of Crowns of Gold; whereof six hundred thousand in hand, four hundred thousand the year following, and the rest in two years after: and for this the King of England, and his Son the Prince of Wales, for them and their successors for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crown of France, the Duchy

The Lord James Audley his valour: and his bounty.

The Daulphin and Council of France not yielding to King Edward's demands, he passeth with an Army over into France.

He marcheth up to Paris.

King Edward would hearken to no conditions of Peace till terrified by thunder and lightning.

Articles of Peace between the two Kings of England and France.

A Thanksgiving all England over eight daies together. King John is brought over and lodged at the Savoy.

David King of Scots, after eleven years imprisonment is set at liberty.

Duchy of Normandy, the Countries of Touraine, Anjou, Mayne, the Homage and Sovereignty of Britain, and the Earldom of Flanders; and within three weeks King John to be rendred at Callice, at the charge of the King of England, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord should be given into his hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of France for Hostages. The Scots not to be aided by the French King, nor the Flemmings by the English. This accord and final Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons, Edward and Charles, and sworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are delivered to King Edward who brought them into England; and thereupon King John is honourably conducted to Callice, after he had remained prisoner in England near about five years; but being come to Callice, he was detained there above three months, till the money which he was to pay in hand, could be provided; and for providing the rest he was put to hard shifts, being faine to give the Jews leave to dwell in France for twenty years, paying twelve Florens a man at the entry, and six every year after. At this time the Prince by dispensation, marries the Countess of Kent, Daughter to Edmund, brother to Edward the second; and his Father investing him with the Duchy of Aquitain, he was now Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent: and not long after, with the Princess his Wife, he passeth over into France, and keeps his Court at Burdeaux.

King John after five years imprisonment is released.

Edward Prince of Wales marries the Countess of Kent, and keeps his Court at Burdeaux.

1362. This was now the year 1362. and the fiftieth year of King Edward's age, wherein for a Jubile, he shews himself extraordinary gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking exiles; with many other expressions of his love and bounty. The year following was famous for three Kings coming into England; John King of France, Peter King of Cyprus, and David King of Scots. The King of Cyprus came to solicit King Edward to join with other Princes in the Holy War, but receives only Royal entertainment and excuses. The King of Scots came for business and visitation, but why the King of France came is not so certain; whether it were about taking order for his Hostages; or to satisfy King Edward for breach of some Articles; or else for love to the Countess of Salisbury; or perhaps out of a desire to let England see his Majesty, being at liberty, which had been darkened before by the cloud of Captivity: but whatsoever the cause of his coming was, the cause of his staying (at least, of longer staying than he meant) was a mortal sickness, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the Savoy) in March or April following he died; and his body conveyed over into France, was buried at St. Dennis with his Ancestors.

King John comes into England.

And here falls sick, and dieth.

The Prince of Wales was now grown famous all the Christian World over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes seem to appeal, and to fly for succour: for which end there came at this time to his Court, James King of Majorque, and happened to come at a time when the Princess lay in; and thereupon he and Richard King of Navarre were taken to be God-fathers to his

Son Richard. For the like assistance also there came at the same time to him, Peter King of Castile, driven out of his Kingdom by the French, in favour to Peter King of Arragon: and Prince Edward, partly out of Charity to succour a distressed Prince; and partly out of policy; to keep his Souldiers in exercise, undertakes the enterprise, and was so prosperous in it, that with one Battel (having but 30000. against 100000.) he put King Peter in possession of his Kingdom, though he was ill rewarded for his labour; for the ungrateful King would not so much as pay his Souldiers. And it is memorable which Froissard writes, that of the enemies were slain and drowned above 2000. and of the Princes party not above 40. But yet an unfortunate journey for the Prince, for though he came back with victory; yet he brought back with him such an indisposition of body, that he was never thoroughly well after: not perhaps by poyson, nor given him by his Brother the Duke of Lancaster, though both were suspected; but there were causes of distemperring him enough besides, the Country, the Season, the Action it self: and it may be more marvelled that his Souldiers came home so well, than that he came home so ill. But howsoever, being now returned, there was presently to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of mind, for not having means to pay his Souldiers, which forced him to wink at that which he could not chuse but see, and seeing, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Country, and thereupon how the Country murmured against him. And now to stop this murmuring, his Chancellour, the Bishop of Rhodes, devised a new dispensation, of levying a Frank for every Chimney; and this to continue for five years to pay the Princes debts: but this Imposition made the murmuring the more. For though some part of his Dominions, as the Poictovins, Xantoins, and Lymousins, in a sort consented to it, yet the Count of Armigniac, the Count of Cominges, the Viscount of Carmain, and many others so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of France, as to their Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be just, he thereupon by advice of his Council, summons Prince Edward to appear in person to answer the complaint: Whereunto Prince Edward made answer, that if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore thousand men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer against Paris, if he had not fallen into symptoms of a Dropsie which (Walsingham saith) was wrought by enchantment. But upon this answer of the Prince, King Charles sends defiance to King Edward, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppose him. The French enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and defeats divers of his Troops; in revenge whereof John Chaundos the Princes Lieutenant assaults Terriers in the Province of Tholouse, and takes it. The Count of Perigort assaults Royanville in Quercy, and put all the English to the Sword; in revenge whereof James Audely Seneschal of Poitou, assaults the City of Broys, and takes it. In the meantime Robert Knolls, by some called Robin, and by others, Arnold, or Reynold Knoll, and drawn

1367. Prince Edward makes a journey into Spain, to aid the King of Castile, and recovers his Kingdom for him. But is ill rewarded.

The Prince never thoroughly well after this journey.

Prince Edward summoned by the King of France, what answer he makes.

The two Kings enter in o Arms, and interchangeably take Towns.

drawn *Perducas de Albert*, to the party of the English; and thereupon went and encamped before the Fort of *Darcueil* in *Quercy*, which *John Chaundois* understanding, went also and joined with him in the siege; but finding they could do no good there, they removed and besieged the City of *Damme*; and when they could do no good there neither, they marched forward, took the Fort of *Froyns*, *Rochevandour*, and *Villefranche*; and that done, returned to the Prince at *Angoulesme*. At the same time the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, having spent Nine weeks at the siege of *Bordeille*, at last took it; but other Captains of the English did yet more, for they scaled *Belleperche* in the Province of *Bourbon*, where the Mother of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Queen of *France* was, and take her prisoner.

Queen Philippa dieth.

About this time, *Philippa* Queen of England, King *Edward's* Wife died, and was buried at *Westminster*: but this hindered not the proceeding of the English in *France*. The Earl of *Pembroke* enters *Anjou*, where he takes many Towns. The Duke of *Lancaster* doth the like about *Callice*, and marching forward, plants his Camp before *Harfleur*, with a purpose to burn the King of *France* his Navy; but being watched by the Count *St. Paul*, was forced to forbear that design: and so passing other waies, and spoiling all the places where he passed, he returned to *Callice*. Winter was now drawing on, and *John Chaudois* desiring to recover the Abbey of *St. Silvan* in *Poitou*, which not long before had been betrayed to the French, was in the enterprise discovered; and being assaulted by greater Forces, was slain in the place, to the great grief of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the English Lords: but dying without issue, his Estate which amounted to four hundred thousand Franks, came to the Prince. At this time the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of *Wales*; whereof the Prince advertised, assembles Forces to oppose them: but when the news was brought him of the taking of *Limoges*, he was so much troubled at it, by reason the Bishop of that place was his Gossip, and one in whom he specially had affiance, that he resolved to recover it at any price, and not to spare a man that had a hand in rendring it up. And thereupon taking it by force, he commanded to sack and pillage it, and would not be stayed by the cries of the people, casting themselves down at his feet; till passing through the Town, he perceived three French Captains, who themselves alone had withstood the assault of his victorious Army; and moved with the consideration of their Valour, he then abated his anger, and for their sakes granted mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is Vertue even in an Enemy, respected by generous minds. In the mean time *David* King of *Scots* died without issue, and *Robert Stuart* his Nephew succeeded him in the Kingdom, and was Crowned at *Scone*. At this time *Robert Knolls*, with a great Army is sent into *France*, where making many attempts with valour enough, but with little success, he was coming home though with no gain, yet with no loss: till *Bertrand de Gueschlyn* assaulting him, slew the most part of his men; and

Valour respected in an Enemy.

Robert Stuart Crowned King of *Scotland*.

so this great Army on a sudden came to nothing. It seems *Knolls* his action was the less successful, by reason of some young Lords that went with him, who scorned to be under his command, as being now a new man, and risen from a low estate, were refractory to his directions: and indeed what can a General do, if he have not as well reputation of person, as of place?

And now the Prince of *Wales* his eldest Son *Edward* dying at *Burdeaux*, the Prince with his Wife, and other Son *Richard* came over into England; at which time the valiant Knight *Walter de Manny* died at *London*, and was buried in the Monastery of the *Chartreux* which he had builded; leaving one only Daughter, married to *John* Earl of *Pembroke*. This Earl of *Pembroke* was soon after sent Governour into *Aquitain*; but set upon by the way by Spaniards in favour of the French, was by them taken prisoner, and carried with others into *Spain*: who being chained together, as the manner is, one *Evans* a Welch Fugitive, who gave himself out for the right Heir of *Wales*, came upon him, foolishly playing upon him with scornful language; as though to insult over another mans misery, could serve for a Cordial to mitigate his own. And now upon the taking of this Earl, the Princes Dominions in *France*, are either taken away, or fall away faster than they were gotten. *Gueschlyn* enters *Poitou*, takes *Montmorillon*, *Chouvigny*, *Lussack*, and *Moncontour*: straight after follows the Country of *Aulnis*, or *Xantoigne*, and the rest of *Poitou*, then *St. Maxent*, *Neele*, *Aulnai*; then *Benaon*, *Murant*, *Surgers*, *Fontency*; and at last they came to *Thouras*, where the most part of the Lords of *Poitou*, that held with the Prince, were assembled. At which time King *Edward*, with the Prince, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and all the great Lords of *England*, set forward to their succour, but being driven back by tempest, never came to give them assistance, so as *Thouras* yielded upon composition. Yet did this preparation of the King stand him in nine thousand Marks; that it may be truly said, it cost him more now to lose Towns, than it had cost him before to win them: so great odds there is between the Spring and Fall of Fortune. After this the Duke of *Lancaster* is sent over with another great Army, who passed up into many parts of the Country; but King *Charles* resolved to hazard no Battel: saying, They were but clouds, and would soon pass away; yet so watched him, that what with light Skirmishes, and what with scarcity of Victuals, his Forces were so diminished, that of thirty thousand which went out of *Callice*, there scarce returned six thousand home; which made King *Edward* say of this King *Charles*, That he did him more mischief sitting still, than his Predecessours had done with all their stirring. And now by this time all *Poitou* is lost, and all *Aquitain* also, but only *Burdeaux* and *Baion*; when the Arch-bishop of *Roan* and others are sent from Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings: but each of them standing upon high terms of conditions, nothing could be effected, but Truce upon Truce for two or three years together. In which time *Edward* Prince of *Wales* died, and with him we may say, the Fortune

1371.
Sir Walter de Manny dieth.

1372.

The Earl of *Pembroke* being taken prisoner, the Princes Dominions in *France* fall away.

1373.

The Duke of *Lancaster* is sent over with an Army of thirty thousand, but scarce six thousand returned home.

Edward Prince of *Wales* dieth.

1376.

A Parliament called, to which of Clergy-men were summoned only four Bishops and five Abbots.

Subsidies are demanded by the King, and redress of grievances are demanded for the Subject. Hereupon the Duke of Lancaster and Alice Pierce are banished the Court, but soon re-voked.

D. frauding of Souldiers punished w. th death

Wickham Bishop of Winchester forbidden to come to the Parliament called the Good Parliament.

Alice Pierce her insolent carriage.

tune of *England*, being a Prince so full of virtues, that he left no place for any vice: and if he had lived in the Heroick times, might well have been numbred amongst the nine Worthies. His Body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument standeth. King *Edward* in his seven and fortieth year called a Parliament at *Westminster*, which lasted but eight daies; and to which were summoned by Writ, of Clergy-men only four Bishops, and five Abbots.

Of King Edward's Acts after the death of the Prince.

IN the time of the Princes sickness, King *Edward* calls a Parliament at *Westminster*; in which when demands were made for supply of the King, demands were presently made for redress of grievances for the Subjects. It was required that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Pierce* the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturmy* might be removed from Court: and this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker Sir *Peter de la Moore*, that the King rather than not to be supplied, gave way unto it; and thereupon all these persons are presently put from Court: but the Prince soon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and restored to their former places.

About this time exemplary Justice was done upon Sir *John Midsterworth*, Knight, who was drawn, hanged and quartered at *Tyburn* for Treason by him committed, in defrauding Souldiers of their Wages.

About this time the Duke of *Lancaster*, being at *Burdeaux*, and hearing of the death of *Peter King of Castile*, whom Prince *Edward* had vested in his Kingdom; and that he left only two daughters the heirs of his Kingdom, who were then at the City of *Gascoigne*, for their safety, he sent and caused them to be brought to *Burdeaux*, and there himself married the elder sister *Constance*: in whose right he afterward took upon him the title of King of *Castile* and *Leon*: and not long after his younger Brother, *Edmund Earl of Cambridge* married the younger sister *Isabel*.

It was now the fiftieth year of *Edward's* Reign, and he for another Jubile, grants another general pardon to his Subjects, only *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster*, fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament, though it wrought ill effects, for Sir *Peter de la Moore* at the suit of *Alice Pierce*, is committed to perpetual imprisonment at *Forthingham*, though within two years after, by importunate suit of friends he regained his liberty. This *Alice Pierce* presuming upon the Kings favour, grew so insolent, that she intermeddled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices; where she her self would sit, to Countenance her Causes. And now the Duke of *Lancaster* is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the Affairs of the Kingdom; but King *Edward* to prevent the mischiefs, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdom, providently settled the same in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first

Earl of *Chester* and *Cornwal*, and then Prince of *Wales*; and caused all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath, to accept him for their King, as his lawful Heir, when himself should be dead. In this mean time a Treaty was had about a marriage between this Prince *Richard*, and *Mary* a daughter of *Charles King of France*: and an offer was made to King *Edward*, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three thousand Fortresses in *Aquitain*, upon condition he would render *Callice*, and all that he held in *Picardy*; but before any thing could be concluded, King *Edward* died.

Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *London*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporality, a twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Also all such Treasure as was committed to the Churches through *England* for the Holy War is taken out for the Kings use, towards his Wars with *France*. The next year after all the goods of two Orders of Monks, *Cluniacs*, and *Cistercians*, are likewise seized into the Kings hands: and the like Subsidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth year (and as some write, in absence of the King) in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted by the Laity, one half of their Wooll, but of the Clergy the whole. The next year after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth year, in a Parliament at *London*, is granted him for custom of every sack of Wooll, forty shillings, for every three hundred Wooll-Fells forty shillings, for every Last of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises, according to the rate: the same to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve Month after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses, a ninth part of their goods; of Foreign Merchants and others, a fifteenth; of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheaf, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years; also another tenth of the Clergy: and for his present supply he had Loans of divers persons; and the City of *London* lent Twenty thousand Marks: For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his pardon to divers kinds of offenders) remits all americiaments for transgressions in his Forests, Reliefs and Scutage to the first time of his going into *Flanders*, besides all aids for the marriage of his Sons and Daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages, both of his Farmers and others, till the tenth year of his Reign; and likewise confirms the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth year in a Parliament at *London*, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity; besides a Commission is sent into every Shire to enquire of mens abilities; and all of five pounds to ten of Lay Fee, were appointed to find an Archer on Horse-back; of twenty five, a Demy-lance, and so ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain coin of Gold called the *Floren*, of base alloy for the Kings benefit, towards

Richard is created Prince of Wales, and published heir apparent of the Crown.

Fourteen hundred Towns offered to Callice.

Men rated to find Souldiers.

Three Mil-
lions of
Crowns of
Gold paid to
King Ed-
ward, by the
King of
France.

Eight thou-
sand six
hundred
Parishes in
England.

A Subsidy
demanded
of a new
nature.

Every per-
son above
fourteen
years old
pay four
pence.

The Order
of the Garter
instituted,
and where-
upon.

towards his Wars in *France*, but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metal coined, to the great contentment of the people. In his Nine and twentieth year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every sack of Wooll, for six years next ensuing; by which imposition, it was thought the King might dispend a thousand Marks *sterling* a day, the vent of Wooll was so great in that time: but that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ransom he had in his four and thirtieth year, of the King of *France*, three millions of crowns of gold. In his twelfth year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens their Houses, Lands and Tenements, for the maintenance of his *French* Wars, which he kept twenty years in his hands, and then restored them again. In his six and thirtieth year was granted twenty six shillings eight pence, for transportation of every sack Wooll for three years. In the five and fortieth year of his Reign in a Parliament at *Westminster*, the Clergy granted him fifty thousand pounds to be paid the same year, and the Laity as much; which was levied by setting a certain rate of five pounds fifteen shillings upon every Parish, which were found in the thirty seven Shires to be eight thousand and six hundred, and so came in the whole to fifty thousand, one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: but 181 l. was abated to the Shires of *Suffolk* and *Devonshire*, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth year, in a Parliament, is granted him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth year a Subsidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince *Richard*, whom (being but eleven years of age) the Duke of *Lancaster* had brought into the Parliament of purpose to make the demand; to have two tenths to be paid in one year, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandises sold for one year; and one pound of Silver for every Knights Fee, and of every Fire-house one penny: but instead of this Subsidy, after much altercation, there was granted another of as new a nature as this, that every person, man and woman within the Kingdom, above the age of fourteen years, should pay four pence, (those who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Parson beneficed, and of all other Religious persons four pence. A mighty aid, and such as was never granted to any King of *England* before.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE instituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cause is not certain. The common opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as some say) of the Lady *Jane*, Countess of *Salisbury*, slipping off in a Dance, King *Edward* stooped and took it up; whereat some of his Lords that were present, smiling, as at an amorous action, he seriously said, it should not be long ere Sovereign honour should be done to that Garter, whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; therein checking his Lords sinister suspicion. Some conjecture that he instituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a Battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word *Garter*, for the word or sign: and some again are of opinion, that the institution of this Order is more ancient, and begun by

King *Richard* the first, but that this King *Edward* adorned it, and brought it into splendor. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty six, whereof the King himself is alwaies one, and President; and their Feast yearly celebrated at *Windsor* on St. *George's* day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a Book of purpose. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he was earnestly petitioned by a Parliament then holden, That the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed; and that the great Officers of the Kingdom should (as in former times) be elected by Parliament. To which Petition, though the King at first stood stiff upon his own Election and Prerogative; yet at last (in regard to have his present turn served, as himself after confessed) he yielded that such Officers should receive an Oath in Parliament, to do justice to all men in their Offices: and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which notwithstanding were for the most part shortly after revoked.

This King also causeth all Pleas, which were before in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the Subject might understand the course of the Law. Also in his time an Act was passed for Purveyors, that nothing should be taken up but for ready money upon strict punishment. In the next Parliament holden the seven and thirtieth year of his Reign, certain sumptuary Laws were ordained both for apparel and diet; appointing every degree of men the stuffe and habits they should wear, prohibiting the wearing of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all, but eminent persons. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meal a day, and what meats he should eat. Also in his time at the instance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common Whore should wear any Hood, except striped with divers colours; nor Furs, but Garments reversed the wrong side outward. This King also was the first that created Dukes, of whom *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Earl of *Lancaster*, created Duke of *Lancaster*, in the seven and twentieth year of his Reign was the first. But afterward he erected *Cornwal* also into a Duchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: after which time, the Kings eldest Son used alwaies to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*. This King also altered moneys, and abated them in weight, and yet made them to pass according to the former value. Before this time there were no other pieces but Nobles and half Nobles; with the small pieces of silver called *Sterlings*; but now Groats of four pence, and half Groats of two pence, equivalent to the *sterling* money, are coined, which inhaunced the Prices of things; that rise or fall, according to the plenty or scarcity of coin; which made Servants and Labourers to raise their wages accordingly: whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the former rate. Also an Act was made in this Kings time, that all Wears, Mills, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindring the passages of Boats, Lighters, and other Vessels should be removed; which though it were most commodious to

The great
Officers of
the Kingdom
chosen by
Parliament.

All pleas in
Law were
first ordained
to be
made in *English*.
Purveyors
to take up
nothing but
for ready
money.

Houholders
appointed
what meat
they should
eat.
Whores to
wear their
garments
reversed.

Dukes first
created.

New coins
created.

No Wool
to be trans-
ported.
Peter-Pence
forbidden to
be paid to
Kunze.

to the Kingdom, yet it took little effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men who regarded more their own private, than the publick benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth year of his Reign, it was enacted that no Wool growing within the Realm should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloth in England. Peter-Pence are forbidden by the King to be paid any more to Rome, but yet in many Shires of England are gathered to this day, saith Fabian. The custom of washing poor mens feet on Maunday Thursday, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of London; and ordained that the Major of the time being, should sit in all places of Judgement, within the liberty of the same, as chief Justice, the Kings person only excepted: and that every Alderman that had been Major, should be Justice of Peace in all London and Middlesex; and every Alderman that had not been Major, should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of London, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight or defended the Land for any need. Also that after that day the Franchises of the City should not be seized into the Kings hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that Southwark should be under the rule of the City, and the Major to choose a Bayliffe there, as he liked. He also granted to the Citizens of London, that the Officers of the Majors and Sheriffs, should from that day forward use Maces of silver parcel-gilt.

Affairs of the Church in his time:

A difference
between the
Archbishop
of Canterbury
and the
King.

King Edward upon some displeasure, had imprisoned divers Clergy-men; whereupon John Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury writes him a Letter, charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of Magna Charta; and after much good counsel given him, threatens that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiastical Authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or Children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of London, charging the Archbishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having been the man that first set him upon the War with France assuring him he should want no money; and now had been the hinderance, that moneys given him by Parliament, were not duly levied; and after many remonstrances to such purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious obstinacy, he would use his Temporal Authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebel. But this difference between them was not long after, upon the Archbishops submission, reconciled. And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergy-men, may appear by his employing almost none but Clergy-men in all his Offices of account: Simon Langham Archbishop of Canterbury was Chancellour of England; William Wickham Archdeacon of Lincoln, Keeper of the Privy Seal: David Willer Parson of Somersham, Master of the Rolls; ten Bene-

All the
great offices
of the King-
dom in the
hands of
Clergymen.

ficed Priests Civilians, Masters of the Chancery; William Mulse Dean of St. Martins le Grand; chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings Treasure and Jewels; William Alsby Archdeacon of Northampton, Chancellour of the Exchequer; William Dighton Prebendary of St. Martins, Clerk of the Privy Seal; Richard Chesterfield Prebend of St. Stephens, Treasurer of the Kings House; Henry Snatch Parson of Oundel, Master of the Kings Wardrobe; John Newnham Parson of Fenny-Stanton, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer; John Rowseby Parson of Harwick, Surveyor and Comptroller of the Kings works: Thomas Brittingham Parson of Asby, Treasurer to the King for the part of Guisnes, and the Marches of Callice; John Troys a Priest, Treasurer of Ireland.

In the seventeenth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at Westminster, complaint is made of the great inconvenience that came by the Popes Collation of Benefices in England, conferring them upon strangers, who understood not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastours over a flock they could not feed: and hereupon Sir John Shordich is sent to Pope Clement the sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signifie his consent therein: but this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswered; and the King taking his silence for consent, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no, proceeded to a prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm, on pain of imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come, present or admit any such persons, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Discipline, but towards the end of his Reign, there fell a disturbance in matter of Doctrine; for a certain Divine named John Wickliffe, inveighed in his Sermons, and other acts in the Schools, against the abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders: and had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him, (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Ruffet. Amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Church-men; and that temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the goods of Religious persons to relieve them in their necessities; by the example of William Rufus, and others. This man, the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Henry Percy Marshal, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so far to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions. Whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and others in Pauls. At the day appointed, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Marshal go to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chapel, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting down, John Wickliffe was by the Lord Marshal willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of London told him, it was against all Law and Reason, that he who

The Pope
restrained
from con-
ferring of
Benefices in
England.

John Wick-
liffe bring-
eth in new
Doctrine.

Whom the
Duke of
Lancaster
favours.

Whereupon
a great con-
tention
between the
Duke and
the Bishop
of London.

The Londoners
take the Bishops
part, and
set upon the
Savoy, the
Duke of
Lancaster's
house.

was there cited before his ordinary should sit. Hereupon contumelious words arose between the Lord Marshal and the Bishop. The Duke takes the Marshals part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop. The Bishop returns the like to the Duke; who in a great rage swore he would pull down the pride of him, and of all the Bishops in England; and whispering in his ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the hair of the head, than to suffer such indignities. Which words the Londoners overhearing, swore with a loud voice they would rather lose their lives than to suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used. Their fury was the more against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was President) it was required in the Kings name that from thenceforth there should be no more a Major of London, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City; and that the Lord Marshal of England should arrest offenders within the Liberties as in other places. The morrow after the Citizens assembling to consult of this business, it happened the Lord Fitz-Walter, and Guido Bryan, came into the City; which the people seeing, furiously ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for coming at that time. The Lord Fitz-Walter protested he came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himself; and therefore willed them to look to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Arms, assail the Marshals Inn, break open the Gates, brought forth a prisoner in his Givens, and set him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshal, who with the Duke was that day to dine with one John de Ypres. Then this furious multitude ran to assail the Savoy, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Lord dined, and acquaints him with this uproar in the City. The Duke upon hearing it, leaps from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shins on the form; and with Sir Henry Percy alone takes boat, and goes to Kennington near Lambeth, where the Princess with the young Prince lay: to whom he complains of this Riot, and the violence offered him. In the mean time the multitude coming to the Savoy, a Priest inquisitive to know the business, was answered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marshal, and compel them to deliver Sir Peter de la Moore, unjustly kept in prison. The Priest replied that Sir Peter was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged. At which words they all cried out, This is Percy, This is the Traytor of England, his speech bewrayes him though his apparel be disguised: and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Bishop of London hearing of this out-rage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the Savoy, admonisheth them of the holy time being Lent: assuring them, all should be fairly ended for the good of the City. With whose perswasions they were somewhat pacified, but yet they took the Dukes Arms, and hung them up reversed, in sign of Treason, in all the principal parts of the City. Upon the Princesses advice, the chief Citizens send to the sick King, to excuse this tumult, saying it was not in their power to suppress it, the Commonality being in commotion, upon an

information that their Liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to enfringe their Liberties; but he rather desired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not down with the Duke till he had pulled down some of the principal of them; for he caused the Major and Aldermen to be displaced, and other put in their rooms. A revenge he had better been without, for he never had the love of the City after: and to want their love is a kind of banishment. Wickliffe himself, censured by the Bishops to abjure his Opinions, chose rather to leave his Countrey than his Doctrine; and going over into Bohemia, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more since he dyed: at least a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongst that people to this day.

Wickliffe
banished.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

His works of Piety were great and many, as the founding of East-Minster, an Abbey (of the Cisteaux Order) near the Tower. An Abbey of Nuns at Dertford in Kent. The Kings Hall in Cambridge for Poor Scholars. An Hospital for the poor at Callice. He conferred upon the University of Oxford, where he had himself been trained up, under the learned Walter Burley, the chief rule of the City, subordinating the Major and Citizens to the Chancelour of the University. He built Saint Stephen's Chappel at Westminster, with the endowment of 300. pound per annum. He augmented the Chappel at Windsor, and made provisions there for Church-men, and four and twenty poor Knights. These were his publick works. But besides these, his private Buildings were the Castle of Windsor, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle at Quinborough, Fortifications at Callice and other places. His Queen Philippa founded Queens Colledge in Oxford: and Mary Countess of Pembroke, the Colledge called Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. In this Kings time Sir John Poultney, Major of London, built the Colledge in London called Saint Lawrence Poultney; and little Alhallows, a Parish Church in Thames-street; and also the Carmelite Friars Church in Coventry. Henry Earl of Lancaster and Leicester founded the Hospital by the Castle of Leicester, wherein a hundred poor impotent people were provided for with all things necessary. William Elsing Mercer of London, made anew Hospital of an old house of Nuns by Cripplegate; and placing Canons regular there, he became the first Prior thereof. Walter Stapleton Bishop of Exeter founded Exeter Colledge, and Hart Hall in Oxford. William Bateman Bishop of Norwich, builded Trinity Hall in Cambridge. Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury, founded Canterbury Colledge in Oxford. William Edendon Treasurer of England, founded the Monastery of Edendon; the Religious Brethren whereof were called Bonhommes. Sir Walter de Manny, born in Cambray, purchased a piece of ground called Spittle-Croft, containing thirteen Acres, without the Bars of West-Smithfield, and caused the same to be enclosed; where he built a Chappel, and after founded the same to be a House of Charter-house Monks;

Kings Hall
in Cambridge
built.

Queens Col-
ledge in Ox-
ford, by
whom found-
ed.
Pembroke
Hall in
Cambridge
by whom
founded.

Exeter Col-
ledge, and
Hart Hall in
Oxford by
whom found-
ed.
Trinity Hall
in Cambridge
by whom
founded.
Canterbury
Colledge in
Oxford by
whom found-
ed.
The Char-
ter-house by
Smithfield
by whom
founded.

Monks. *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, re-edified the *Augustine* Friars Church in *London*, and was buried in the Quire there. In the two and thirtieth year of this Kings Reign, *John Stody*, Major of *London*, gave unto the Vintners of *London* all the Quadrant where Vintners Hall now standeth, with the Tenements round about, from the Lane to this day called *Stody's Lane*; where are founded thirteen houses for thirteen poor people, which are there kept of Charity. Also in this Kings time Sir *John Cobham* founded the Colledge of *Cobham* in *Kent*. *John Loufkin* four times Major of *London*, builded at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, where he was born, a Chappel called *Magdalens*, to the which he joynd an Hospital, wherein was a Master, two Priests, and certain poor men: and for that the Parish Church of *Saint Michael* by *Crooked-lane*, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot, by reason of the Butchers in *Eastcheap*, who made the same their Lay-stall, he on the same ground builded the fair new Parish-Church of *St. Michael* now standing, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a fair Tomb of stone. He also founded a Colledge to the same Church, near thereunto adjoyning. *John Barnes* Major of *London*, gave a Chest with three Locks, and a thousand Marks to be lent to young men upon security, so that it passed not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to say at his pleasure, *De profundis* for the soul of *John Barnes*: if he were not learned, to say *Pater Noster*: but howsoever the money is lent, the Chest at this day standeth in the Chamber of *London*, without money or pledges. *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, the youngest Son of King *Edward*, founded a Colledge at *Playse* in *Essex*, where in his life he had provided a sumptuous Tomb, where he was first laid, but translated afterward to *Westminster*.

Casualties happening in his time.

A very great Pestilence and continued nine years.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, a contagious Pestilence arose in the East and South parts of the world, and spread it self all over Christendom; and coming at last into *England*, it so wasted the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts were left alive. There died in *London* (some say in *Normich*) between the first of *January* and the first of *July*, 57374 persons. In *Yarmouth*, in one year, 7052. men and women: before which time, the Parsonage there was worth 700. marks a year, and afterwards was scarce worth forty pounds a year. This Plague began in *London* about *Alhallontide*, in the year 1348. and continued till the year 1357. Where it was observed, that those who were born after the Beginning of this mortality had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelfth year of his Reign, a sudden Inundation of Water, at *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, bare down a piece of the Town Wall, and six perches in length, near to a place called *Walkenew*; where a hundred and twenty men and women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, another Pestilence happened in *England*, which was called the second Pestilence, in which died *Henry* Duke of

After which the number of mens teeth lessened.

Lancaster, also *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, and *Walter Fitz Warren*, two famous men, and five Bishops, of *Worcester*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincoln*, and of *Chichester*. In this Kings time a Frost lasted from the midst of *September* to the month of *April*. In the fourth year of his Reign a solemn Justing or Turnament was holden at *London* in *Cheapside*, betwixt the great Cross and the great Conduit, nigh *Soper-lane*, which lasted three dayes, where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies fell from a Stage, set up for them to behold the Justing; and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatened to punish the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queen intreated pardon for them upon her knees: as indeed she was alwayes ready to do all good offices of mercy to all people. In the eleventh year of his reign was so great plenty, that a quarter of Wheat was sold at *London* for two shillings, a fat Ox for a Noble, a fat Sheep for six pence, and five Pigeons for a Penny, a fat Goose for two pence, a Pig for a Penny, and other thing after that rate. But in his twenty seventh year there was a great scarcity, by reason there fell no rain, or very little, from the end of *March*, to the end of *July*, and was therefore called the dry summer.

Many great men died of the plague.

A frost, that lasted seven months.

Price of Vintnals in a plenty.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Philippa* the Daughter of *William* Earl of *Heynault* at *York*. A match made up in haste by Queen *Isabel* his mother, for her own ends, although a better could never have been made upon deliberation for King *Edward's* ends. For though her Parentage was not great, and her Portion less; yet she made amends for both in vertue: for never King had a better Wife. By her King *Edward* had seven sons, and five daughters. His eldest son *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and commonly called the *Black Prince*, (but why so called uncertain; for to say, of his dreadful acts, as *Speed* saith, hath little probability: and indeed *Froissard* who hath written the Reign of King *Edward* the third, more particularly than any other, and lived in his time, never calls Prince *Edward* the *Black Prince*, nor any where makes mention that he was so called) was born at *Woodstock*, in the third year of his Fathers Reign. He married *Joan*, the daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, brother by the Fathers side to King *Edward* the second. She had been twice married before; first to the valiant Earl of *Salisbury* from whom she was divorced: next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*; after whose decease, this Prince passionately loving her married her. By her he had issue two sons, *Edward* the eldest, born at *Angoulesme*, who died at seven years of age; and *Richard* born at *Burdeaux*, who after his Father was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather, King of *England*. This Prince had also natural issue, Sir *John Soun-der*, and *Roger Clarendon*, Knights, the latter being attained in the Reign of King *Henry* the fourth, is thought to have been Ancestour to the house of *Smiths* in *Essex*. He died at *Canterbury* in the six and fortieth year of his age, and of his Fathers Reign the nine and fortieth, and was buried at Christs Church there. His second son *William* was born at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, who deceased in his childhood, and was

The family of *Smiths* in *Essex* from whom descended.

Duke of
Clarence,
from whence
it hath the
title.

The King of
Arms, why
called *Clare-
rencieux*.

The name
of Beaufort
why given
to some of
John of
Gaunt's chil-
dren.

buried at *York*. His third son *Lionel* was born at *Antwerp*, in the twelfth year of his Fathers reign. He married first *Elizabeth* the Daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, in whose right he was first created Earl of *Ulster*; and because he had with her the honour of *Clare*; in the County of *Toumond*, he was in a Parliament created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countrey about the town and honour of *Clare*: from which Duchy, the name of *Clarencieux* (being the title of the King of Arms, for the South parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had issue by her one only daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward Wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Mother of Earl *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countess of *Cambridge*, the Mother of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the Fourth. The second Marriage of this Duke was at *Millain* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violanta*, daughter of *Galeacio*, the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edward*'s fourth Son named *John*, was born at *Gaunt*, in the fourteenth year of his Fathers Reign. He had three Wives, the first was *Blanch*, daughter and co-heir, and in the end, the sole Heir of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, son of *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*; by whom he had issue *Henry* of *Bullingbroke*, Earl of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry* the fourth, who first placed the Crown in the house of *Lancaster*. By her also *John* of *Gaunt* had two Daughters, *Philippa* Wife of *John* the first, King of *Portugal*, and *Elizabeth* married first to *John* *Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, and after him to Sir *John Cornwall*, Baron of *Fanhope*. *John* of *Gaunt*'s second Wife was *Constance*, the eldest Daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time, he entituled himself King of both those Realms. By her he had issue one only Daughter named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third Son of King *John*, in possession before, and in her right after King of both the said Realms. *John* of *Gaunt*'s third Wife was *Katherine*, the Widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest Daughter and Co-heir of *Pane Roet*, a *Gascoyne*, called *Guien* King of Arms for that Countrey; his younger Daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth year of King *Richard* the second, *John* Earl of *Somerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinal, and *Joan* (who was first married to *Robert Ferrers*, Baron of *Wemme*, and *Ousley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwick*) and secondly, to *Ralph Nevil*, the first Earl of *Westmerland*. She and all her Brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France*, where they were all born, and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the Cognisance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth year of his Nephew King *Richard* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, but in the sixteenth year he was called home, and this title recalled; and the third year after in the sixtieth of his age, he dyed at *Ely-house* in *Holborn*, and lieth honourably Entombed in

the Quire of Saint *Paul*. King *Edward*'s fifth son *Edmond*, surnamed of *Langley*, was first in the year 1362. created Earl of *Cambridge*; and afterward in the year 1386. made Duke of *York*. He married *Isabel* Daughter and Co-heir to *Peter* King of *Castile*, and *Leon*: his Son *Richard Plantaginet* Duke of *York*, took to Wife *Anne Mortimer*, Heir of the foresaid *Lionel*, elder brother to *Edmund* of *Langley*. King *Edward*'s sixth son *William*, surnamed of *Windsor*, where he was born, died young, and is buried at *Westminster*. King *Edward*'s youngest son *Thomas*, surnamed of *Woodstock*, where he was born, was first Earl of *Buckingham*, and after made Duke of *Glocester* by his Nephew King *Richard* the second. He was a man of valour and wisdom, but the King surmising him to be too severe an observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, how to make him away: whom *Mowbray* unawares surprising, conveyed secretly to *Callice*, where he was strangled the twentieth year of King *Richards* Reign. He had issue one Son, *Humfrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who died at *Chester* of the Pestilence, in the year 1400. and two Daughters, *Anne* married first to *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, by whom she had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*; secondly to *William Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*, by whom she had *Henry* Earl of *Essex*, and *Joan* married to *Gilbert* Lord *Talbot*, and had issue by him a Daughter, who died young. Of King *Edward*'s Daughters, the eldest named *Isabel*, was married at *Windsor* to *Ingelram* of *Guynes*, Lord of *Concy*, Earl of *Soissons*, and after Archduke of *Austria*; created also by King *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*: by whom she was Mother of two Daughters, *Mary* married to *Henry* Duke of *Barre*, and *Philip* married to *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquess of *Dublin*. This *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsook his Lady *Philip*, and married one *Lancerona*, a *Joyners* Daughter (as was said) which came with King *Richard* the second's Wife out of *Bohemia*: and being for abusing the Kings ear, driven out of the land by the Lords, he died at *Lovain*, in extream poverty in the year 1392. *Isabel* his Wifes Mother, was buried in the Church of *Friers Minors* near *Aldgate*, in *London*. King *Edward*'s second Daughter *Joan* was married by Proxy to *Alphonfus*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*; but passing into *Spain*, died by the way, and King *Alphonfus* met her instead of consummating his Espousal, to solemnize her Funeral. His third Daughter *Blanch* died young. His fourth named *Mary*, was married to *John* *Montford* Duke of *Britain*. His youngest named *Margaret*, born in *Callice*, was the first Wife of *John* *de* *Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, but died without issue.

Of His Personage and Condition.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, of sparkling eyes; of a comely and manly countenance, in his latter time somewhat bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was submission; where opposition, no man more stern. He was a Prince no less of his passions, than of his people; for he was never so loving, as to be fond, nor ever so

so angry, as to be inexorable; but this must be understood of the time while he was a man, for in his old age, when he came to be a child again, he was a Prince of neither. He was no less fortunate than valiant, and his fortunateness was the greater by a kind of *Antiperistasis*, as coming between two unfortunate Princes; Successour to one, and Predecessour to another. He was of so warlike a disposition, that his very sports were warlike; for no delights were so frequent with him as Justs and Turnaments. To shew his devotion, one example may be sufficient; for when neither Cardinals nor Counsellours could move him to make Peace with France, a Tempest from Heaven did it: to which may be added that he never won great Battel, of which he won many, but he presently gave the glory of it to God by publick Thanksgiving. He out-lived the best Wife, and the best Son that ever King had; and to say the truth, he out-lived the best of himself, for his latter years were not answerable to his former.

Of his Death and Burial.

King Edward besides his being old, and worn with the labours of War, had other causes that hastned his end; his grief for the loss of so worthy a Son, dead but ten months before; his grief for the loss of all benefit of his Conquests in France, of all which he had little now left but only Callice. And oppressed thus in body and mind, he was drawing his last breath, when his Concubine Alice Pierce packing away what she could catch, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; and by her example, other of his attendants, seising on what they could come by, shift away: and all his Counsellours and others forsook him, when he most needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty. Which a poor Priest in his house seeing, he approaches to the Kings Bed-side, and finding him yet breathing, calls upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask mercy for his offences; which none about him before would do. But now moved by the voice of this Priest, he shews all signs of contrition, and at last breath he expresseth the name of Jesus. Thus died this victorious King at his Manor of Sheene, (now Richmond) the 21. day of June, in the year 1377. in the 64. year of his age, having reigned fifty years, four months, and odd dayes. His body was conveyed from Sheene by his four Sons, and other Lords, and solemnly interred within Westminster Church, where he hath his Monument; and where it is said the Sword he used in Battel, is yet to be seen, being eight pound in weight, and seven foot in length.

Men of Note in his time.

Martial men were never more plentiful than in this Kings Reign: whether it were that the Stars have an influence to produce such men at one time more than another; or whether it were that *Regis ad exemplum*, the Kings example made his Subjects like himself: or lastly, that his continual exercise of arms put them as it were into a mold of fortitude. The first of this kind is worthily Edward the Black Prince, and so worthily the first, that *Longe erit à primo quisque secundus erit*. Next him

Henry Earl of Lancaster, the Princes right hand, in all his great achievements; then William the valiant Earl of Salisbury; then John Eure, Ancestour to the L. Eures that now liveth; then follow the Lord John Chandois, Sir James Audeley, Sir Walter de Manny, Sir Robert Knolls, then Sir John Hawkwood born in Essex, who though not much honoured at home having been a Taylor: yet in foreign parts, and especially in Italy so famous that his Statue was erected in publick for a Monument to testifie his valour to posterity. And here must not be forgotten Robert Venile, Knight, a Norfolk man; who when the Scots and English were ready to give Battel, a certain stout Champion of great Stature, commonly called Tournbol, coming out of the Scots Army, and challenging any English man to meet him in a single Combat, this Robert Venile accepteth the challenge, and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the way a certain black Mastiff Dog, which waited on the Champion, he suddenly with his Sword cut him off at the loyns: and afterwards did more to the Champion himself, cutting his head from off his Shoulders. And as there was this great plenty of Martial men, so there was no less plenty of Learned men; John Baconthorpe born in Norfolk, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Divinity; Nicholas Trivet born also in Norfolk, a Black Frier, who wrote two Histories, and a Book of Annals: Richard Stradley, born in the Marches of Wales, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatises of the Scriptures: William Herbert a Welch man, and a Frier Minor, who wrote many good Treatises in Divinity: Tho. Wallies, a Dominican Frier, and a Writer of many excellent Books: John Eversden a Monk of Bury in Suffolk, an Historiographer: Walter Burley a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in Merion Colledge in Oxford, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Natural and Moral Philosophy, which remain in estimation to this day, and who for the great fame of his Learning, had the honour to be one of the great Instructors of Edward the Black Prince: Roger of Chester a Monk of that City, and an Historiographer: John Burgh a Monk, who wrote a History, and also divers Homilies: Richard Sirnamed from the place of his birth de Bury (Son of Sir Richard Aungervil) Bishop of Durham, Lord Chancellour, and Lord Treasurer of England: Walter Hemingsford, an Historiographer: Richard Chichester a Monk of Westminster, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the year 449. to the year 1348. Richard Rolle alias Hampole, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity: Robert Holcot a Black Frier born in Northampton, a learned Schoolman, and wrote many Books in Arguments of Divinity: Thomas Bradwardin, born near Chichester in Suffex, Archbishop of Canterbury, and who wrote against the Pelagians, and for his depth of Learning, had the Title of Doctor Profundus: Richard Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, a learned Writer: William Gryfant, named Anglicus, a notable Physician: whose Son came to be Pope, and was called Urban the fifth: John Killingworth an excellent Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician: Ranulph

Lying in his death-bed forsaken of all.

1377.

Sir John Hawkwood
Taylor, so famous in Italy, that his Statue is there erected.

Robert Venile his valour.

Walter Burley one of the black Princes Schoolmasters.

Robert Holcot a learned Schoolman.

Thomas Bradwardin called Doctor Profundus.

Matthew of Westminster lived in this time.

John Mandeville the great Traveller.

Sir Geoffrey Chaucer lived at this time.

Ranulph Higdon a Monk of Chester, an Historiographer: Bartholomew Glanville, descended of those Glanvilles that were sometimes Earls of Suffolk: Simon Islip Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of Canterbury Colledge in Oxford, who wrote many Treatises: Matthew Westmonasteriensis, who wrote the Book called Flores Historiarum: William Fleet an Hermite, who wrote sundry Treatises, exhorting England to repentance: Henry Knighton, who wrote a History intituled *De gestis Anglorum*; and lastly, two other, worthy perhaps to have been placed first, John Mandeville the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and a Knight, who died at Liege, in the year 1372. and Sir Geoffrey Chaucer the Homer of our Nation; and who found as sweet a Muse in the Groves of Woodstock, as the Ancients did upon the banks of Helicon.

The Major and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
Hammond Chickwel was Major.
Henry Darcy, John Hawton, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
John Grantham was Major.
Simon Francis, Henry Cobmartin, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Richard Swanland was Major.
Richard Lazer, William Gisors, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir John Pountney was Mayr.
Robert of Ely, Thomas Wormode, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir John Pountney continued Major.
John Mocking, Andrew Aubery, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Preston was Major.
Nicholas Pike, John Husband, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir John Pountney was Major.
John Hammond, William Hanford, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Reginald at the Conduit was Major.
John Kingstone, Walter Turk, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Reginald at the Conduit continued Major.
Walter Mordon, Richard Upton, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir John Pountney was Major.
John Clark, W. Curtes, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Darcy was Major.
Walter Neale, Nicholas Crane, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Darcy continued Major.
William de Pomfret, Hugh Marbler, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Andrew Aubery was Major.
William Thorney, Roger Frosham, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Andrew Aubery continued Major.
Adam Lucas, Bartholomew Morris, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John of Oxenford was Major.
Richard de Barking, John de Rokesley, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Simon Francis was Major.
John Loufkin, Richard Killingbury, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hammond was Major.
John Steward, John Aylesham, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
John Hammond continued Major.
Geoffry Witchingham, Thomas Leg, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Richard Lazer was Major.
Edmund Hemerthall, John of Gloucester, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Geoffry Witchingham was Major.
John Croydon, William Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Thomas Leggy was Major.
Adam Brampson, Richard Fas, or Bas, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
John Loufkin was Major.
Henry Bicard, Simon Doleby, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Walter Turk was Major.
Adam of Bury, Ralph of Lynne, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year,
Richard Killingbury was Major.
John Notte, William of Worcester, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Andrew Aubery was Major.
John Wroth, Gilbert of Stenineshorpe, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty sixth year,
Adam Francis was Major.
John Peace, John Stotly, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty seventh year,
Adam Francis continued Major.
William Wood, John Little Sheriffs.

In his Twenty eighth year,
Thomas Leggy was Major.
William Nottingham, Roger Smelt, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Simon Francis was Major.
Thomas Foster, Thomas Brandon, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Henry Picard was Major.
Richard Nottingham, Thomas Dolsel, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,
Sir John Stody was Major.
Stephen Candish, Bartholomew Frostling, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
John Loufkin was Major.
John Barnes, John Buris, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Simon Doulseby was Major.
Simon of Benington, John of Chichester, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
John Wroth was Major.
John Dennis, Walter Berny, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Peche was Major.
William Holbeck, James Tame, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,
Stephen Candish was Major.
John of St. Albans, James Andrew, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,
John Not was Major.
Richard of Croyden, John Hiltoft, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Adam of Bury was Major.
John de Metford, Simon de Morden, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
John Loufkin was Major.
John Bukilsworth, John Ireland, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
John Loufkin continued Major.
John Ward, Thomas of Lee, Sheriffs.

In his forty first year,
James Andrew was Major.
John Tarngold, William Dickman, Sheriffs.

In his forty second year,
Simon Mordan was Major.
Robert Girdeler, Adam Wimondham, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
John Chichester was Major.
John Piel, Hugh Holdich, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year,
John Barns was Major.
William Walworth, Robert Gayton, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
John Barns continued Major.
Adam Staple, Robert Hatfield, Sheriffs.

In his forty sixth year,
John Piel was Major.
John Philpot, Nicholas Brembar, Sheriffs.

In his forty seventh year,
Adam of Bury was Major.
John Aubery, John Fished, Sheriffs.

In his forty eighth year,
William Walworth was Major.
Richard Lions, William Woodhouse, Sheriffs.

In his forty ninth year,
John Ward was Major.
John Hadley, William Newport, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Adam Staple was Major.
John Northampton, Robert Laund, Sheriffs.

The

The REIGN of KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

Anno Dom.
1377.

King Ri-
chard the se-
cond
Crowned.

Claims of
Office at his
Coronation.

RICHARD called of *Burdeaux*, because born there, the only son of *Edward the Black Prince*, was by his Grandfather in his life time, declared to be his Heir and lawful Successour; and accordingly after his death was crowned King of England at *Westminster*, the sixteenth day of July, in the year 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And for the more solemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created four Earls; *Thomas of Woodstock* King *Edward* the third's youngest son, was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger Brother of *John* Lord *Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*; *Gifford Angoulesme* a *Gascoin*, was made Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Percy* son of *Henry* Lord *Percy*, was created Earl of *Northumberland*. At the time of the Coronation, the Duke of *Lancaster*, by the name of *John* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaster*, put in his claim as Earl of *Leicester*, to have the place of Earl Marshal of *England*, as Duke of *Lancaster*, to carry the Sword called *Curtana*; as Earl of *Lincoln*, to be Carver that day: all which to be executed by himself, or by his sufficient Deputy; which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewise, divers others made their claims: *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to pour out water for the King to wash: *John Wiltshire* Citizen of *London*, by reason of a moiety of the Manour of *Heydon*, holden in Sergeanty, claimed to hold a Towel for the King to wipe with when he went to meat; *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* to bear the third Sword before the King; and also to exercise the Office of Pantler: *Sir John Argentine*, by reason of his Manour of *Wimondsey* in the County of *Hartford*, to serve the King at his Cup: *William L. Furnival* for his Manour of *Fernham*, to support the Kings right Arm when he held the Royal Scepter; *Anne* late Wife of *John de Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Manour of *Ashele* in *Norfolk*, to have the Office of Naperer; which she was admitted to do by her Deputy *Sir Thomas Blunt*: *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, for his Manour of *B.* in *Kent*, was admitted to be chief Butler: The Lord Major of *London*, to attend in his own person as chief Cup-waiter: *Sir John Dimmock*, for his Manour of *Strivelsby*, and *Sir Baldwin Frevile*, for his Castle of *Tam-*

worth, in the County of *Warwick*, contended for the Office of being the Kings Champion, but adjudged to *Dimmock*; *William de Latimer*, and *John* the son and heir of *John Mowbray* of *Axholme*, joyntly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner; but adjudged to *Latimer*: *Richard Lion*, as Tenant of the Manour of *L.* held by the service of making Wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted: The Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to bear the Kings Canopy, upon four staves of silver, over the Kings head; and also to sit at meat in the Hall, at the highest Table on the Kings right hand: *John Fitz-John*, by reason of his Manour of *S.* in *Norfolk*, was admitted to be chief Larderer: *Richard Herring* for the Manour of the *C.* in the County of *Surry*, claimed to be Usher of the Kings Chamber; but because that claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to pursue his Right some other time. The Coronation it self was performed with great solemnity: After a Sermon, the King took his Oath; and then the Archbishop blessed the King: which done, he tore off his Garments, and stripped him into his Shift; then he anointed his Hands, Head, Breast, Shoulders, and the joynts of his Arms, with the Sacred oyl; and after certain Prayers, he then clad him first with the Coat of *St. Edward*, and after with his Mantle: after which the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, saying *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earls girded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, saying, *Accipe Armillas*. After this he put upon him an upper vesture called a Pall, saying, *Accipe Pallium*. In the mean time, while the Archbishop blessed the Crown, he to whose office it pertained, put Spurs on his heels; after the Crown was blessed, the Archbishop set it on his head, saying, *Coronet te Deus*: then he delivered him a Ring, saying, *Accipe Annulum*. Immediately herewith came the Lord *Furnival* by vertue of his Office, offering him a red Glove; which the Archbishop blessed, and putting it on his hand, delivered him a Scepter, saying, *Accipe Sceptrum*: and after that, into his other hand, delivered him a Rod, on the top whereof stood a Dove, saying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*, and then blessed the King, saying, *Benedicat te Deus*: which done, the King kissed the Bishops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his seat: and so ended the Solemnity.

The tender years of the King, being but eleven

The manner
of his Coro-
nation.

eleven years of age, required a Protector: but being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to only one, who might rather seek to get it for himself, than to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon John Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, the Kings Unkles, with some other Lords and Bishops, were joyned in Commission to manage the State: and Guichard de Angoulesm appointed to be his School-master. And now the Kings minority made foreign Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrel to England, which the French and Scots took presently hold of. For the French came now, and burnt the Town of Rye; and soon after, entering the Isle of Wight, burnt divers Towns there, and though they were repelled from the Castle by the valiant Sir Hugh Tyrrel Captain there, yet they constrained the men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks, to spare the residue of their houses and goods: and departing thence, they set on Land where they saw advantage, burning sundry Towns near to the shore, as Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and then sayling towards Dover, they burnt Hastings, assaulted Winchelsey: but being valiantly detended by the Abbot of Buttel, were forced to retire. After this they landed not far from the Abby of Lewis, at a place called Rottington; where the Prior of Lewis, with Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir John Fallesey, encountering them, were overthrown and taken prisoners. And no less than the French were the Scots also now busie; for coming one morning by stealth, they won the Castle of Berwick: but shortly after, upon knowledge thereof had, they were driven out again by the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham; and all the Scots they found in it, except Alexander Ramsey their Captain, put to the sword. About Michaelmas a Parliament was held at Westminster, wherein Alice Pierce, the late Kings Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her goods confiscate; and two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty were granted: but so, as that two Citizens of London, William Walworth, and John Philpot, should receive and keep it, to see it bestowed for defence of the Realm. In his time, Sir Hugh Calverley, Deputy of Callice, burnt six and twenty French Ships in the Haven of Boloigne. And at the same time a great Navy set out, under the guiding of the Earl of Buckingham, the Duke of Britain, the Lord Latimer, Sir Robert Knolls, and others, with a purpose to intercept the Spanish Fleet; but through tempest was twice driven back. When in the mean time, one Mercer, a Scottish Pirate, came to Scarborough, took there divers Ships, and committed many out-rages: and no order being taken to repel him, a Citizen of London, named John Philpot, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own person encountering them, took the said Mercer, and all his Ships: and returning home, instead of being rewarded for his service, he was called in question for presuming to raise a Navy without advice of the Kings Council: but he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for

it to this day. Indeed reasons of State, though they may be secretly censured, yet they must not openly be controlled, for this were to bring Authority into contempt, and instead of errours to bring in confusion: but yet when wrongs be offered that are publick, every particular person seems to have an interest in taking revenge; and though it may be no manners not to stay the States leasure, yet it can be no offence to do their work for them.

Many actions passed at this time with the French and Scots, some prosperous, and some adverse. The Scots burn Roxborough, this was adverse; but the Earl of Northumberland entering Scotland, with ten thousand men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of March, the chief incendiary; this was prosperous: but when the Northern men would needs make a Road into Scotland, and were encountred by the Scots, and put to flight, this was adverse. Anon after Midsummer, the Duke of Lancaster, with the Earls of Buckingham, Warwick, Stafford and others of the Nobility, with a strong power took the Sea, and landing in Britain, besieged the Town of St. Malo, but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his siege, and return home: this was adverse. And now again, the Scots by night entered secretly into the Castle of Barwick, and slew Sir Robert Baynton, that was Constable there: this also was adverse. But when the Earl of Northumberland, being advertised thereof, came with a power, assaulted the Castle, and after two dayes defence recovered it again: this was prosperous. William Montacute Earl of Salibury, the Kings Lieutenant in Callice forrageth the Countrey round about, and furnisheth Callice with booties of French Cattel. Sir Hugh Calverley and Sir Thomas Piercy made Admirals, put to Sea and take divers ships laden with Merchandize, and one Ship of War; Sir John Hurleston, Captain of Chierbourg in France, issuing forth, assaults a Fortrefe of the French, which was the store-house of their provision; and with much valour takes it: these were prosperous. But when Sir John Clark lying in Garrison in a Castle in Britain, where lay many English Ships in the Haven, had these Ships set upon by the French; where though he shewed incredible valour in the action, yet the Ships were taken, and himself slain: this was adverse. Also in the third year of this Kings Reign Sir John Arundel, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Tho. Piercy, Sir William Elmham, Sir Thomas Banister, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a purpose to pass over into Britain: but were so beaten back with tempest, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir Nicholas Trumpington, Sir Thomas Dale, and above a thousand others were all drowned; only Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Elmham, and certain others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the sumptuousness of those times; for this Sir John Arundel was then said in his Furniture to have two and fifty new suits of apparel of Cloth of Gold and Tissue, all lost at Sea.

This year also there being found inconvenience in having many governours of the King and Kingdom, it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, should

Three in Commission of the Protectorship.

The French enter England and take and burn divers Towns.

The Scots also invade the borders but with little success.

Alice Pierce banished the Realm.

A Subsidy granted but with condition.

1380.

John Philpot a Citizen of London, his worthy act.

But ill rewarded.

Actions with the French and Scots, some prosperous, some adverse.

Sir John Arundel and a thousand others drowned.

His sumptuousness of apparel.

The Earl of Warwick appointed Protector.

should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir *John Annesley* Knight accused *Thomas Katrington* Esq; for betraying the Fortresses of *S. Saviour* to the *French*: which *Katrington* denying, at the suit of *Annesley*, a solemn combat is permitted to be between them; at which combat the King and all the great Lords were present. The Esquire *Katrington* was a man of a mighty stature, the Knight *Annesley* a little man; yet through the justness of his cause, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed, and *Katrington* the day after the Combat dyed. *Fabian* saith, he was drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged for his false accusation. In the beginning of the fourth year of this King, *Thomas* of *Woodstock* Earl of *Buckingham*, the Kings Uncle with divers Earls and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into *France*, to aid the Duke of *Britain*; but the King of *France* at that time dying, the Duke of *Britain* grew to have peace with the new King: whereupon the Earl of *Buckingham* came home again without doing much, but making of Knights, and foraging the Countrey. In this time the *French* and *Spanish* Gallies did much mischief on the coast of *England*: they burnt *Rye*, *Hastings*, and *Portsmouth*; and at last entering the River of *Thames*, they came up to *Gravesend*, where they burnt most part of the Town, and taking many Prisoners and Booties returned into *France*.

A Combat between *Katrington* and *Annesley*

The *French* burn divers Towns in *England*.

1383.

An Insurrection in *Kent*, and the cause.

At this time also, there fell out an Accident of great disturbance to the Realm, for the Commons rose in divers parts, beginning at *Deptford* in *Kent*: and the cause of their rising grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-mony, who coming into the house of one *John Tyler*, and demanding Poll-mony of his wife for a daughter of hers; and she saying that her daughter was not of age to pay, the rude fellow said he would presently see whether that were so or no, and thereupon forcibly turned up her Cloaths: whereat the Mother making an out-cry, her husband being at work hard by and hearing the noise, came in with his lathing staff in his hand, with which he gave the Collector such a blow on the head, that his brains flew out and he presently died. Upon this at the complaint of *Tyler* amongst his neighbours, and withal a factious Clergy-man, one *John Ball*, taking occasion hereat to rip up the ground of this mis-government, and telling the people that this difference of mens Estates, where some are Potentates, and some are Bond-men was against Christian Liberty, taking for his Theme, *When Adam delv'd and Eve span, who was then a Gentleman?* He so incensed them that the Commons, in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in *Kent*, or otherwise in *Essex*, they drew at last into their Faction the Commons of *Sussex*, *Hartfordshire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk* and other Shires; and arresting all such as passed, made them swear to be true to King *Richard*, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that should be called *John*; which they did for the envy they bore to *John* Duke of *Lancaster*. Thus their number still encreased, that by that time they were come so far as *Black-heath*, they were esteem-

They agree to receive no King that should be called *John*, and why.

ed to be a hundred thousand. The first thing they did when they came to *London*, was to send for one *Richard Lion*, a grave Citizen who had been *Tyler's* Master, and his head they struck off, and carryed it upon a pole in Triumph before them. The next day they came to the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster's* house, which they set on fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels, and throwing them into the *Thames*, saying, They were men of Justice, and would not like Robbers enrich themselves with any mans Goods: and when one of their fellows was espyed to thrust a fair silver piece into his bosom, they took him, and cast both him and the piece into the fire. Two and thirty of them were got into the Dukes Wine-Cellar, where they stayed drinking so long, till the rafters of the house on fire, fell upon them, and so covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry seven dayes after, and then perished. From the *Savoy* they went to the *Temple*, where they burnt the Lawyers Lodgings, with their Books and Writings, and all they could lay hands on. Also the House of *Saint John's* by *Smithfield* they set on fire, so that it burnt for the space of seven dayes together. After this they came to the *Tower* where the King was then lodged; and though he had at that time six hundred armed men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durst not but suffer them to enter: where they abused the Kings Mother, offering to kiss her, in such rude manner that she fell into a swoon: and finding in the place *Simon Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor, and Sir *Robert Hales* also Lord Treasurer, they led them to the *Tower-Hill*; and there in most cruel manner struck off their heads, as also of divers others. Neither spared they sacred places: for breaking into the Church of the *Augustine* Friars, they drew forth thirteen *Flemmings*, and beheaded them in the open streets; as also seventeen others out of other Churches. Yet after all these out-rages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all such as would lay down Arms, and go quietly home; which the *Essex* men did, but the *Kentish* men continued still with their Captain *Wat Tyler*. To whom when the King sent Sir *John Newton* to understand what his meaning was, *Wat Tyler*, offended because he came on Horseback, told him it became him to light from his Horse in his presence; and therewith drew out his dagger to strike him. The King perceiving his Knight to be in danger, bade him alight from his horse; but when this would not pacifie him, the Major of *London*, *William Walworth* by the Kings appointment rode to him and arrested him, and gave him such a blow on the head that he astonished him; and then other of the Kings Servants drew their Swords and thrust him through in divers parts of his Body, so as he died there in the place. When the Commons saw this, they cryed out, Our Captain is slain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen years of age, yet had the courage to ride un-

They set up on the *Savoy* the Duke of *Lancaster's* house.

Two and thirty of them burnt drinking in the Cellar.

They came to the *Tower* and abused the Kings Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellor and the Treasurer.

Wat Tyler's insolent carriage before the King.

William Walworth Lord Major kills him.

Sir Robert Knolls daunteth the Rebels.

An insurrection at the same time in Suffolk.

They beheaded the Chief Justice.

An Insurrection at the same time in Cambridge-shire and Norfolk.

The insolency of John Littester their Captain.

to them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead, he would be their Leader himself; and if they would follow him into the Fields, they should have whatsoever they desired. In the meantime the Lord Major *Walworth* had gone into the City, and raised a thousand armed men, and meeting Sir *Robert Knolls* by chance got him to be their leader; who coming into the fields where the Rebels were, so daunted them, that throwing down their Weapons, they cried for mercy: that it was a wonderful thing to see how suddenly Fear overtook Presumption; for scarce their words of insolency were out of their mouths, when they fell to words of most servile submission. And as strange an alteration in those about the King, to see how suddenly Boldness surprised Fear; for scarce they left trembling at the sight of the Rebels, when suddenly upon sight of this aid their fingers itched to be setting upon them, but that the King would not suffer it, because some amongst them were there by compulsion; and to set upon them thus mingled, might as well be the death of the innocent as of the guilty. But to pacifie them the more, the King caused his Charter of Manumission to be sent unto them; which yet stayed them not from committing out-rages at *St. Albans*, and cancelling the ancient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Besides, the sedition was more general, than that the appeasing it in one place could be final; for at the same time there were gathered together in *Suffolk* to the number of fifty thousand, by the setting on of one *John Wraw* a lewd Priest: and these fell to destroying the houses of Lawyers specially; and Sir *John Cavendish* Lord Chief Justice of *England* they beheaded, and set his head upon the Pillory in *St. Edmundsbury*. The like commotion of the Commons was at the same time also in *Cambridgeshire*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and in *Norfolk*, under the guiding of one *John Littester* a Dyer: and to countenance their proceeding the more, they had a purpose to have brought *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* into their fellowship; but he, advertised of their intention, suddenly rose from supper, and got him away: but many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be sworn to them, and to ride with them, as the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *John Brewis*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Sallé*, who not induring their insolencies, had his brains dashed out by a Countrey Clown who was his bondman. The rest terrified by this example, were glad to carry themselves submissively to their Chieftain, *John Littester*, who named himself King of the Commons; and counted it a preferment for any to serve him at his Table, in taking the assay of his meats and drinks with kneeling humbly before him, as he sat at meat. And now these fellows, upon a consultation, send two choice men, namely the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Brewis*, with three of their chief Commons, to the King, for their Charter of Manumission and Enfranchising: who being on their way at *Ichingham*, not far from *Newmarket*, they met with *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their company, and hearing that three of the chief were there present, he presently caused their heads to be struck off; and then

pursuing on towards *Northwalsham* in *Norfolk*, where the Commons stayed for an answer from the King. By that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Launces, and a small number of Archers in his company, his number was so increased, that it came to be a compleat Army; with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took *John Littester* and their other Chieftains, whom he caused all to be executed: and by this means the Countrey was quieted. After this the Major of *London* sat in Judgement upon Offenders, where many were found culpable, and lost their heads; amongst other, *Jack Straw*, *John Kirkby*, *Alane Tredder*, and *John Sterling*, who gloryed that he was the man had slain the Archbishop. Also Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice was appointed to sit in Judgement against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in sundry places put to death: amongst others *John Ball* Priest, their Incendiary. Of whom it is not impertinent to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebel-rabble of *Essex*; by which we may see how fit an Orator he was for such an Auditory: and what strength of perswasion there was in Non-sense.

But is set upon by the Bishop of Norwich; taken and beheaded.

Fifteen hundred of them put to death.

John Ball's letter of Non-sense.

John Sheep St. Mary Priest of *Tork*, and now of *Colchester*, greeteth well *John Nameless*, and *John the Miller*, and *John Carter*, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in *Borough*, and stand together in Gods name; and biddeth *Piers Plowman* go to his work and chastise well *Hob the Robber*, and take with you *John Trewman*, and all his fellows, and no more. *John the Miller* ye ground small, small, small; the Kings Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: know your friend from your foe. Have enough and say ho; and do well and better: Flee sin, and seek peace, and hold you therein: and so biddeth *John Trewman* and all his fellows.

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of *Jack Straw* at his Execution. "When we were assembled (said he) upon *Black heath*, and had sent to the King to come to us; our purpose was to have slain all Knights and Gentlemen that should be about him: and as for the King, we would have kept him amongst us; to the end the people might more boldly have repaired to us, and when we had gotten power enough, we would have slain all Noblemen, and specially the Knights of the *Rhodes*; and lastly, we would have killed the King, and all men of possessions, with Bishops, Monks, Parsons of Churches, only Friars Mendicants we would have spared, for administration of the Sacraments. Then we would have devised Laws according to which the people should have lived; for we would have created Kings, as *Wat Tyler* in *Kent*; and others in other Countries: and the same evening that *Wat Tyler* was killed, we were determined to set fire in four corners of the City, and to have divided the spoil amongst us: and this was our purpose, as God may help me now at my last end. For his service done in this seditious business, the King knighted the Major *Will. Walworth*, and gave him a hundred pounds a year in Fee. Also he knighted five Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waste with the girdle of Knighthood, which was the manner

The Confession of John Straw at his execution.

William Walworth, the Major, how rewarded.

The manner
of Knight-
ing at this
time.

A Dagger
added to
the Arms of
the City.

A difference
between the
Duke of
Lancaster
and the Earl
of Northum-
berland.

1382.

King Rich-
ard marries
the Lady
Anne, sister
to the Empe-
rour Wenceslaus.

William Ufford Earl of
Suffolk dieth
suddenly.

The King
keeps the
Great Seal
in his own
hands.

1383.

manner of Graduating in those dayes : but as *Stow* saith, the manner of Knighting was rather thus ; to cause him to put a Basenet on his head, and then the King with a Sword in both his hands, to strike him strongly on the neck. And to do the City it self honour, the King at this time granted there should be a Dagger added to the Arms of the City ; for till this time the City bore only the Cross without the Dagger.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of Infranchising the Bondmen of the Realm ; and that they should stand in the same condition they were before. In the time of this sedition, the Duke of *Lancaster* had been sent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet ; who so carried the matter, that before the *Scots* heard of the sedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three years. But the Duke coming back to *Berwick* was denied by the Captain *Sir Matthew Redman*, to enter the Town, because of a Commandment given him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any person to enter the same, which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaster* that was then in *Scotland* : but howsoever, this bred such a spleen in the Duke against the Earl, that at his coming home he laid many things to the Earls charge, and the Earl as stoutly answered his Objections : and so far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of Armed men, and themselves in Armour, to the great terrour of the people ; but the King wisely taking the matter into his own hands, made them friends. At which time the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperour *Wenceslaus*, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to *Callice* ; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued. The Lady was brought to *London*, joyned in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queen at *Westminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with great solemnity. After the marriage, the Parliament began again ; in which *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver in behalf of the Common-wealth, certain matters concerning the same, the very day and hour in which he should have done the business, as he went up the stairs towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and dyed, having been merry and well before, to all mens Judgments. About this time the Lord *Scroop* was deposed from the Chancellourship, for refusing to seal some Grants which the King had made ; and the King receiving the Great Seal at his hands, kept it a certain time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased : till at length it was delivered to *Robert Braibroke* Bishop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellour.

Henry Spencer Bishop of *Norwich*, had lately with the Kings leave, raised an Army, and was gone into *France* in behalf of Pope *Urban*, against the Anti-pope *Clement* ; and entring first into *Flanders*, he took and sacked many Towns ; at last besieged *Ypres*, till by an Army of *French* (greater than was thought could have been raised in *France*) he was forced to raise his siege ; and then passing divers places, he came to *Graveling*, from whence he writ to King *Richard*, that

if ever he meant to try Battel with the *French*, now was the time. The King was at that time at *Dayntry* in *Northamptonshire* ; and being at supper when the word was brought him, he instantly rose from the Table, got to Horseback, and rode in Post with such speed, that he came to *St. Albans* about midnight ; where making no stay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Gelding, he hastened forth till he came to *Westminster*, as though he had meant never to rest till he had given Battel to the *French-men*. But after he had taken counsel of his Pillow, his mind was altered, and he thought it better to imploy some other than to go himself ; so the Duke of *Lancaster* is thought the fittest man : but he protracted the time so long in making preparation, that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away. And this indeed is the condition of many, to spend so much time in preparing, that they utterly loose all opportunity of acting ; like to men that are putting on their cloaths so long, till it be time to put them off again. Shortly after a Truce was concluded between *England* and *France*, to endure till the Feast of *St. Michael*, which should be in the year 1384.

The Kings
haste soon
delayed.

A Truce is
concluded
between
England and
France.

Of Acts done after he came of Age.

The *Scots* in this mean time had made Roads into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders ; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, is sent with a mighty Army to repress them : but having entred *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a Battel, they only burnt certain Towns, and then returned.

1384.

About this time an *Irish* Fryer of the order of the *Carmelites* charged the Duke of *Lancaster*, with hainous crimes ; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurp the Crown : shewing the time, the place, and other circumstances of the whole Plot. But the Duke called to his answer, so cleared himself ; at least gave such colours of clearing, that the accuser was committed to the custody of *John Holland* the Kings half-brother, till a day appointed for further Trial. The night before which day, the said Lord *Holland* and *Sir Henry Green* are said to have come to this Fryer, and putting a cord about his neck, tyed the other end about his privy members : and after hanging him up from the ground, laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burst asunder : thereby putting him to a most tormenting death. An act not more inhumane than unadvised ; for though it took away the Accuser, yet it made the Accusation more suspicious.

A Fryer ac-
cusing the
Duke of
Lancaster
with treason,
is secretly
put to am-
iserable death.

At this time though a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet ; but entred and won the Castle of *Berwick*, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was Captain, but had committed the keeping of it to another : for which being blamed, he went not against them with an Army, but took an easier course, for with the sum of two thousand Marks he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendered into his hands again. The King upon some new displeasure, being now incensed against the Duke of *Lancaster*, had a purpose to have him arrested

The *Scots*
win *Berwick*,
but are
bought out
with money.

arrested and arraigned of certain points of Treason, before Sir Robert Tresilian Chief Justice, though he ought to be tried by his Peers: but the Duke having intimation hereof, got him to his Castle of Pomfret, and stood upon his guard; till the Kings Mother (notwithstanding her indisposition of body, by reason of her corpulency) riding to and fro between them, pacified the King, and made them friends.

In the ninth year of King Richard's Reign, the French King sent the Admiral of France into Scotland, with a thousand men of Arms, besides Cross-bows and others, to aid the Scots against the English; with which aid the Scots encouraged enter the English borders. Whereof King Richard advertised, himself with a mighty Army enters Scotland and coming to Edenborough, and finding all the people fled, he set fire on the houses, burnt the Church of St. Giles, only Holy-Rood-House was spared at the Duke of Lancaster's suit, in remembrance of the friendship he had formerly received in that house. The Scots by no means could be drawn to any Battel; but to divert the Kings Army, they entered Cumberland, and besieged Carlisle, where by the valour of Sir Lewis Clifford and Sir Thomas Musgrave they were repelled: and hearing of the Kings Army coming towards them, and fearing to be inclosed, they drew back into Scotland, and the King returned into England. But in this mean while, the English of Callice took many prizes of French Ships at Sea, and many booties also by land, at one time four thousand Sheep, and three hundred head of great Cattel.

This year the King called a Parliament at Westminster, where he created two Dukes, one Marquess and five Earls: Edmund of Langley Earl of Cambridge, the Kings Uncle was created Duke of York: Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, his other Uncle, Duke of Gloucester: Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, was made Marquess of Dublin: Henry of Bullingbrook, Son of John of Gaunt, was created Earl of Derby: Edward Plantagenet, Son to the Duke of York, was made Earl of Rutland, Michael de la Pool Chancellor of England, was created Earl of Suffolk: and Thomas Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, was made Earl Marshal. Also by Authority of this Parliament Roger Mortimer Earl of March, Son and Heir of Edmund Mortimer, and of the Lady Philip, eldest Daughter and Heir to Lionel Duke of Clarence, third Son to King Edward the third, was established Heir apparent to the Crown of the Realm, and shortly after so proclaimed: but going into Ireland to his Lordship of Ulster, was there by the wilde Irish slain. This Roger Earl of March had issue, Edmund, Roger, Anne Alice, and Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a Nun: The two Sons died without issue: Anne his eldest Daughter was married to Richard Earl of Cambridge, Son to Edmund of Langley, which Richard had issue by the said Anne, a Son called Richard, that was after Duke of York and Father to King Edward the fourth: also a Daughter named Isabel married to the Lord Bouchier. Also this year Henry of Bullingbrook Earl of Derby, married the Daughter and Heir of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, in whose right he was afterward made Duke of Hereford.

This year also King Richard holding his Christmas at Eltham, Leo King of Armenia came hither to him, who in fear to have his Kingdom conquered by the Turks, was come into Christendom to seek for aid: but his chief errand into England was to have procured a Peace between the two Kings of England and France; but their spleens were so great against one another, that it was not in the power of his Physick to cure them.

At this time the Duke of Lancaster, taking with him his Wife the Lady Constance, and a Daughter he had by her named Katherine, and two other Daughter which he had by his former Wife, sailed into Spain. He was attended in his journey with the Lord Lucy, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Bassett, Willoughby, Fitz-Walter, Poynings, Bradston, and many other Lords and Knights, to the number of fifteen hundred men of Arms; whereof a thousand at least were Knights, and Esquires. The King at his taking leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he should be called King of Spain: and the Queen likewise gave another Crown of Gold to the Duchesse. He landed first at Brest, and freed that Castle from the French. From thence he sailed, and arrived at the Groyne in Spain, where he remained a month; and then went to Compostella, where he stayed a while: In which time his Constable Sir John Holland won divers Towns. At Manson, the King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster met; where a marriage was concluded between the said King of Portugal, and the Lady Philip Daughter to the Duke: which marriage shortly after was consummated, and the Lady sent into Portugal honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at Compostella all the Winter. At March the King of Portugal and he entred the Confines of Castile, where they took many Towns; and passing over the River of Dure, entred into the Country Del-Campo: But the Spaniards not willing to come to a Battel, but meaning to weary them out with delays; the English not used to such hot air, fell daily into many Diseases, which the Duke seeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this action the Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Richard Burley, a Knight of the Garter; the Lord Poynings, and Sir Henry Percy, Cousin-german to the Earl of Northumberland; also the Lord Talbot; and in all twelve great Lords, fourscore Knights, two hundred Esquires, and of the meaner sort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duchesse his Wife went into Portugal; and after some stay there, they sailed to Bayon, in the Marches of Gascoigne, where he rested a long time after. In which mean while there were offers made for a Marriage to be had between the Duke of Berry, Uncle to the French King, and the Lady Katherine, Daughter to the Duke of Lancaster: which the King of Spain understanding, he began to doubt, lest if that marriage went forward, it might turn to his disadvantage; and thereupon, by earnest suit, at length concluded a Peace with the Duke of Lancaster, on this wise, That his eldest Son Henry should marry the Lady Katherine, the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, and be intituled Prince of Austargus: and in consideration of this

The Duke of Lancaster goes with a great train into Spain, whom King Richard commands to be called King of Spain

The King of Portugal marries a Daughter of the Duke of Lancaster

Many Lords about the Duke dye of sickness

The King of Spain's eldest Son marries the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter

1386.
King Richard with a mighty Army enters Scotland and burns some Towns and returns.

Dukes and Earls created.

Roger Mortimer proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown His Issue.

this marriage, and that all claims should cease, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend, It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive yearly the sum of ten thousand Marks, during the lives of him and his Duchefs: and to have in hand the sum of two hundred thousand Nobles.

A Navy of 1287. Ships prepared by the French to invade England.

But by William Beauchamp Captain of Callice, some of them taken and the rest distressed.

Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, is created Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Pool a Merchants Son is made Earl of Suffolk and Lord Chancellor.

The King takes the Government upon himself.

At this time, the French had a purpose to invade England, with no less a hope than to make a Conquest; and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy: so as in the month of September, there were numbred about *Sluis*, *Dam*, and *Blankerke*, 1287. Ships, besides those which were rigged in Britain by the Constable, who had caused an Inclosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in England, they might therewith inclose their Field, and so lodge at more surety. But it so fortuneed that the Lord William Beauchamp Captain of Callice, took two of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the said inclosure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gunpowder and other Instruments of War; and after that again, two Ships more, laden with parcels of the said inclosure, which King Richard caused to be reared and set up about *Winchelsey* Town. At last the aforesaid Army came into *Flanders*, and arrived at *Sluis*; where after some stay, they were so distressed for Victuals, that in the end of November they were glad to be gone, and return into France.

At this time, in a Parliament, Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, and Marquess of Dublin, was created Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Pool a Merchants Son, had lately been before created Earl of Suffolk, and made Chancellor of England. And now begins King Richard to enter (I may say) upon the Confines of his Destiny. His gracing of undeserving men, and disgracing of men deserving, if they were not the causes, they were at least the occasions of his own disgracing, and destruction in the end. He was now come to full age to do all himself, which was indeed to be of full age to undo himself; for the faults of his younger years might have the excuse to be but errors: but the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no defence. And to hasten the pace of his destiny the faster, the ill counsel which before was but whispered in his ear, was now scarce forbore to be given him aloud. It is told him that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controuled, as in former times he had been; That to be crost of his will by his Subjects, was to be their subject. It is no Sovereignty, if it be not absolute. At the instigation of which Counsel, the King in a Parliament now assembled, fell to expostulate with the Lords, asking them what years they thought him to be of? who answering, that he was somewhat more than one and twenty; Well then (said he) I am out of your Wardship, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdom as freely as your selves at the like years enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favourites should have remembred, that though the King may not be controuled, where he can command; yet he may be opposed where he can but demand, as now indeed he was: for when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his Wars, he was answered,

That he needed no Subsidy from his Subjects, if he would but call in the debts which the Chancellour owed him: and if he were so tender of him, that he could not find in his heart to do it himself, they would do that work for him: and thereupon charged him with such crimes, that all his Goods were confiscated, and himself adjudged to dye, if the King so pleased: though some write, his sentence was only to pay a Fine of twenty thousand Marks, and a thousand pounds yearly beside. Upon this provocation, the opposite side seek present revenge. It is devised, that the Duke of Gloucester as principal, and other Lords that crossed the Kings courtes, should be invited to a supper in London, and there be murdered. In the execution of which plot the former Lord Major, Sir Nicholas Brembar, had a special hand: but the present Major Richard Exton, moved to it by the King, would by no means consent; and thereupon the plot proceeded not. But for all these harsh strains, and many such other that passed this Parliament, a Subsidy was at length granted to the King, of half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but with condition, that it should not be issued, but by order from the Lords: and the Earl of Arundel was appointed to receive it. But before this time both Houses had directly agreed, that unless the Chancellour were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The King advertised hereof, sent to the Commons that they should send unto *Eltham* (where he then lay) forty of their House to declare their mindes unto him: but upon conference of both Houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, should in the name of the Parliament go unto him; who coming to the King, declared, that by an old Statute the King once a year might lawfully summon his Court of Parliament, for reformation of all corruptions and enormities within the Realm: and further declared, That by an old Ordinance also it was enacted, That if the King should absent himself forty dayes, not being sick, the Houses might lawfully break up, and return home. At this the King is said to say, Well, we perceive our people go about to rise against us; and therefore we think we cannot do better than to ask aid of our Cousin the King of France, and rather submit us to him than to our own Subjects. To which the Lords answered, they wondered at this opinion of his Majesty, seeing the French King was the ancient Enemy of the Kingdom, and he might remember what mischiefs were brought upon the Realm in King John's time, by such a course. By these and the like perswasions the King was induced to come to the Parliament: and soon after John Fortham Bishop of Durham is discharged of his Office of Lord Treasurer, and in his place was appointed John Gilbert Bishop of Hereford, a Frier of the order of Preachers: Also Michael de la Pool Earl of Suffolk, is discharged of his Office of Chancellour; and Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, by consent of Parliament, placed in his room. Also by order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were chosen to have oversight under the King, of the whole Government of the Realm: of which thirteen there

The Chancellour is censured by the Parliament.

A plot to murder the Duke of Gloucester and others that opposed the King.

But stopped by Richard Exton Major.

The Parliament requires to have the Chancellour removed.

If the King absent himself from the Parliament forty dayes, it may lawfully break up.

The Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellour are discharged of their Offices.

Thirteen Lords appointed to govern the Realm.

there were three of the New Officers named ; as the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellour, the Bishop of Hereford Lord Treasurer, and Nicholas Abbot of Waltham, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal : The other ten were, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund of Langley Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Richard Earl of Arundel, Richard Lord Scroop, and John Lord Devereux. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Also in this Parliament it was granted that Robert de Vere, lately before created Duke of Ireland, should have and receive to his own use 30000 Marks which the French men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord Charles de Bloys ; but it was granted upon this condition, That before the next Easter he should pass over into Ireland, to recover such Lands as the King had there given him : so desirous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the Kings presence. But though the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done, either against the Lord Chancellour, or against the Duke of Ireland, or against Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York ; and received them into more favour than ever he had done before.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, all they had done was presently again undone.

The English Admiral takes 100 Ships all laden with Rochel Wines.

In his tenth year, about the beginning of March, Richard Earl of Arundel, appointed Admiral, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the Earl of Devonshire, and the Bishop of Norwich, went to Sea, with a warlike power of men and Arms, to watch for the Fleet of Flanders, that was ready to come from Rochel with Wines ; and meeting with them, they set upon them, took of them to the number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with Wines : so as Wine grew so plentiful, that it was sold for thirteen shillings four pence the Tun ; and the best and choicest for twenty shillings. Besides this, they landed in Flanders, where they relieved and fortified Brest, and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy service of the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Simon Burley and Sir Richard Sturrey, who continued still about the King, seemed rather to envy than to commend ; insomuch that when the Earl of Nottingham, that had ever been the play-fellow, and of equal age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of Ireland with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance : and therefore indeed, not by the King with any good countenance, because not by the Duke of Ireland with any good welcome.

1387.

The Duke of Ireland puts away his lawful Wife, near a kin to the Duke of Gloucester : and marries a Bohemian Maid. Which the Duke of Gloucester offended at,

About this time the Duke of Ireland sought to be divorced from his lawful Wife, Daughter to the Lady Isabel, one of King Edward the third's Daughters ; and took to Wife one Lancerona, a Vintners Daughter of Bohemia, one of the Queens Maids : at which indignity, the Duke of Gloucester, that was Unkle to the Lady thus forsaken, took great displeasure ; which the Duke of Ireland understanding, studied how by some means he might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester out of the way. Easter was now past,

the time appointed for the Duke of Ireland's going over into Ireland ; when the King with shew to bring him to the waters side, went with him into Wales : and in his company Michael de la Pool Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice, and divers others who there consulted how they might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, with divers others of that Faction. But when the King had remained in those parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of Ireland with him ; and so his Voyage into Ireland was clean forgotten. About the same time Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice, came to Coventry, where he indicted two thousand persons. The King and the Queen came to Groby, and thither came by his Commandement, the Justices of the Realm, Robert Belknap Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, and William Borough, Knights : to whom it was propounded, to answer to these Questions following :

it is plotted to dispatch him out of the way.

First, Whether the new Statute and Commission made in the last Parliament, were against the Kings Prerogative, or no ? To which they all answered, It was.

Questions propounded by the King to the Judges, against the Lords : who all answer as the King would have them.

Secondly, how they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and Commission to be made ? They answered with one assent, that they deserved death, except the King would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission ? They answered they ought to lose their lives, unless the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished, that compelled the King to the making of that Statute ? They answered, they ought to suffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceed to any other ? They answered, That in this the King should overrule ; and if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart ; They all answered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the Kings will, impeach Officers and Justices, upon their Offences, in Parliament, or no ? It was answered, They might not ; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein Edward the Second was Indicted in Parliament, might be sent for ; by Inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised ? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgement given in Parliament against Michael de la Pool were erroneous and revocable : They answered, It was erroneous and revocable ; and that if the Judge

Judgement were now to be given, the Justices would not give the same.

In witness of the Premises, the Justices aforesaid, to these Presents have set their Seals, in the presence of *Alexander* Archbishop of York, *Robert* Archbishop of Dublin, *John* Bishop of Durham, *Thomas* Bishop of Chester, *John* Bishop of Bangor, *Robert* Duke of Ireland, *Michael* Earl of Suffolk, *John* Ripon Clerk, and *John* Blake.

At this time the *Londoners* incurred much obloquy; For, having before been pardoned by the King of some crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his desires: and thereupon being impanelled, they indicted some Lords of many crimes informed against them. But not only the Justices aforesaid, but all other Justices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this time to *Nottingham*; the chief cause was, to understand what power of men they could assure the King of to serve him against the Lords: and further, that whereas he meant shortly to call a Parliament, they should so use the matter, that no Knight or Burgeses should be chosen, but such as the King and his Council should name. To which the Sheriffs made answer, that it lay not in their power to assemble any forces against the Lords, who were so well beloved: And as for choosing Knights and Burgeses, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their antient liberties, and could not be hindered. But yet the King and the Duke of *Ireland* sent into all parts of the Realm, to raise men in this quarrel against the Lords; whereof the Duke of *Glocester* being advertised he came secretly to conference with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*: who upon consultation determined to talk with the King, with their Forces about them, and the King on the other part, took advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon sent the Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, to the Castle of *Rygate*, to take the Earl of *Arundel*, who lay there at that time: but howsoever it fortun'd, they failed of their purpose. After this he sent others to apprehend him, but he being warned by a Messenger from the Duke of *Glocester*, conveyed himself away by night; and by morning was come to *Haringey Park*, where he found the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earl of *Warwick* with a great power of men about them. The King hearing of this Assembly at *Haringey Park*, called his Council, to hear their opinion what was fit to be done. Some were of opinion, that the King should assemble his friends, and joyning them with the *Londoners*, give them Battel; the chiefest of this mind was the Archbishop of York. Others thought best, the King should seek to appease the Lords with fair promises, till a fitter opportunity to suppress them. But the King not yet resolved what course to take, caused only order to be taken that no Citizen of *London* should sell to the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earl of *Arundel*, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or furniture of War, under a great pain. But for all this the Lords proceeded in their course, and sent

the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *John Lovel*, the Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *John Devereux*, requiring to have delivered to them such as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm; and further to declare, that their assembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and two or three other about the King, perswaded him to offer Callice to the King of *France*, to have his assistance against the Lords. Withal, the King sent to the Major of *London*, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Major answered; that he thought it could make fifty thousand men at an hours warning. Well then (said the King) go and prove what will be done. But when the Major went about it, he was answered; They would never fight against the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realm. At the same time the Earl of *Northumberland* said to the King: Sir, there is no doubt but these Lords have alwayes been, and still are your true and faithful Subjects, though now distemper'd by certain persons about you, that seek to oppress them; therefore my advice is, that you send to them, to come before your presence in some publick place: and I verily believe they will shew such reasons of their doings, that you will hold them excused. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* Lord Chancellor, and other of the Bishops there present, approved all of the Earls advice; whereupon the King sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely* to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to *Westminster*; on Sunday then next following: which upon oath given by the Archbishop and the Chancellor, that no fraud nor evil practice should be used against them, they were content to do. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, they heard of an Ambush laid to entrap them at the *Mews*; and thereupon stayed, so as they came not at the time appointed. Whereupon the King asking why they came not according to their promise: It was answered, Because he kept not his promise: there being an Ambush of a thousand armed men laid to surprize them at the *Mews*. The King hearing this was astonied, and swore he knew of no such thing, and commanded presently the place should be searched: but it was true, an Ambush was laid; but not at the *Mews*, but in a place about *Westminster*, where Sir *Thomas Tryvet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brember* had assembled them. This one action might have made the King sensible of his favourites abusing his Authority; but that where affection makes the construction, all things are taken in a good sense. Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant Dormant, to prosecute the Kings ends without the Kings knowledge? Yet the Lords after this, receiving a safe conduct from the King, came to *Westminster*; of whose coming when the King heard he apparelled himself in his Royal Robes, and with his Scepter in his hand, came into the great Hall; before whom the Lords upon their knees presented themselves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand. Then the

The Lords require to have some about the King delivered to them

What power the City could make upon a sudden.

No man to be gotten to fight against the Lords.

The King would have no Burgeses chosen to the Parliament but such as he should name, but this could not be.

The King seeks to apprehend the Duke of *Glocester*, and others.

The King requires the Lords to come unto him; but they hearing of an Ambush laid for them, forbore.

But upon safe conduct from the King they came, and the King receiveth them in show kindly.

Lord

Lord Chancellour making a speech; wherein he blamed them for raising of Arms, and requiring to know the cause; they answered, They had done it for the good of the King and Kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King. Upon this the King himself spake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by strong hand. Have not I (saith he) sufficient men to beat you down? truly in this behalf I make no more account of you than of the basest Skulion in my Kitchen. Yet after these great words he lift up the Duke of Gloucester, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the rest also to rise; and then led them courteously to his Chamber, where they sate and drank together. And finally it was concluded they should all meet again, as well these Lords, as those they accused at the next Parliament; which the King promised to call speedily, and each party to receive there according to Justice, and in the mean time all parties to be in the King's protection. But when the Favourite-Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, they neither durst nor would put themselves to the hazard of such a meeting; and therefore the Duke of Ireland, and the rest of that faction left the Court to be out of the way: But the King not enduring their absence, appointed Thomas Molineux Constable of the Castle of Chester, to raise an Army, and to safe-conduct the Duke of Ireland to him. But they being come as far as Rad-coat Bridge, were encountred by the Earl of Derby; and the Duke of Ireland not daring to join Battel with him, fled, and being to pass a River, cast away his Gantlets and Sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his horse the spur, leapt into the River, and so escaped: but when these things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till news came he was got into Holland; where being no very welcom guest, he went from thence into the Bishoprick of Utrecht, and after two or three years scrambling about in manner of a fugitive, at Lovain in Brabant he ended his life. A man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Princes favour, if with that favour he had not grown proud, and in that pride, injurious and insulting over others no less deserving than himself. He was valiant enough against any man but the Earl of Derby, and of him indeed both the Genius of the Duke of Ireland, and of King Richard himself seemed to stand in fear; for neither of them durst meet him in the field, though encouraged to it by those about them.

About this time the Duke of Suffolk, doubting some plots laid to surprize him, fled over to Callice in disguise, shaving his beard, and counterfeiting himself a Poulterer, to sell certain fowl which he had gotten; but being come to Callice, was by the Lord William Beauchamp, Deputy of the Town, sent back into England: whom the King notwithstanding permitted to go at large, to make it be thought he was more afraid than hurt, more suspicious than he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten matter enough against the King, at least to justifie their Arms; and thereupon with an Army of forty thousand men, they came to London, where after some debate, they were received: and then the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Derby and Nottingham, went to

the King in the Tower. To whom, after humble salutations, they shewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of Ireland, to levy an Army for their destruction: likewise the Letter which the French King had written to him, containing a safe conduct for him to come into France, there to do acts to his own dishonour and the Kingdoms.

This done, upon the Kings promise that he would come the next day to Westminster to treat further of these matters, the Lords departed; only the Earls of Nottingham and Derby, at the Kings instance, stayed all night: but before the King went to bed, his mind was clean altered for keeping his promise to meet the Lords the next day at Westminster: which the Lords understanding, they sent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promise, they would choose another King, that should hearken to the faithful counsel of his Lords. This touched the King so to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, how much it concerned the good of the Kingdom, that those Traitors so often spoken of, should be removed from the Court. To which the King, though much against his will, yet at last condescended; And thereupon presently Alexander Nevil Archbishop of York, and Thomas Rushoke, Bishop of Chichester, and Confessor to the King, were expelled the Court: who not willing to come to after-reckonings, fled no man knew whither. They expelled also John Fordham, Bishop of Durham, Lord Treasurer; the Lord Zouch of Haringworth, the Lord Burvel, the Lord Beaumont, Albery de Vere, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Adderbury, John Worth, Thomas Clifford, and John Lovel, Knights: but constrained to put in sureties to appear at the next Parliament. Also certain Ladies were expelled the Court, as the Lady Poynings, the Lady Mouling, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were also arrested and committed to several Prisons, Sir Simon Burley, William Elmham, John Beauchamp, Steward of the Kings House, Sir John Salisbury, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir James Berneys, Sir Nicholas Dagworth, and Sir Nicholas Brembar, Knights. Also Richard Clifford, John Lincoln, Richard Mitford, the Kings Chaplains: Nicholas Sclake, Dean of the Kings Chapel, and John Blake a Lawyer.

Shortly after the Parliament began, (called afterward, the Parliament that wrought wonders.) On the first day whereof, were arrested as they sate in their places, all the Justices (but only Sir William Shipwith;) as Sir Roger Fulthorpe, Sir Robert Belknappe, Sir John Cary, Sir John Holt, Sir William Brook, and John Alaston, the Kings Serjeant at Law; and were all sent to the Tower, for doing contrary to an Agreement made the last Parliament. Also in the beginning of this Parliament, Robert Vere Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevil Archbishop of York, Michael de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Tresilian Lord Chief Justice of England, were openly called to answer Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Richarda Earl of Arundel, Henry Earl of Derby and Thomas Earl of Nottingham, upon certain Articles of High Treason: and because none of them appeared, it was ordained by the whole consent

They threaten to choose a new King.

Hereupon the King removes or puts in prison all those whom the Lords required.

The Parliament that wrought Wonders.

Where all the Judges but one are arrested and sent to the Tower.

1388.
It is concluded that at the next Parliament all parties should be heard.

The Duke of Ireland flies into Holland, and after two or three years died at Lovain.

The Earl of Derby a terror both to the Duke of Ireland, and to the King himself.

The Lords with an Army of forty thousand, came to the King at London, and shew their grievance.

of Parliament, that they should be banished for ever, and all their Lands and Goods seized into the Kings hands (their intailed Lands only excepted.) Shortly after the Lord Chief Justice *Robert Tresilian*, was found in an Apothecaries house in *Westminster*: where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of *Glocester*, who caused him the same day to be had to the Tower, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged.

Robert Tresilian Chief Justice, hanged at *Tyburn*, by the Duke of *Glocester*.

Divers others executed.

All the Judges banished the Realm.

The King bound by Oath to stand to such order as the Lords should take.

On the morrow after Sir *Nicholas Brember* was brought to his answer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Ax which himself had caused to be made for beheading of others. After this Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berneys*, lusty young men, were drawn and hanged; as also Sir *John Beauchamp*, Lord Steward of the King's House, *John Blake* Esquire: and lastly, Sir *Simon Burley*, Son to the great Sir *John Burley*, Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*; whose death the King took more heavily and more painfully than all the rest. Also all the Justices were condemned to die, but by the Queens intercession they were only banished the Realm, and all their Lands and Goods confiscate, only a small portion of money was assigned them for their sustentation. Finally in this Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the King, that he should stand unto, and abide such rule and order as the Lords should take: and this Oath was required also of all the Inhabitants of the Realm.

In the latter end of the King's eleventh year, the Earl of *Arundel* was sent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and Men of War: with whom went the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Devonshire*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Camois*, Sir *William Elmham*, and divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of *Britain* against the King of *France*: but before they came, the Duke of *Britain* was reconciled to the King of *France*; and so needing not their aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a year of doing nothing, unless we reckon some petty In-roads of the *Scots*: and that Sir *Thomas Tryvet* died with a fall off his Horse: and that Sir *John Holland*, the Kings Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of *Huntington*: and that there was contention in *Oxford*, between the Northern and the Southern Scholars, which was pacified by the Duke of *Glocester*.

1389.
A Truce for three years between England, France, and Scotland.

William Wickham Bishop of *Winchester* made Lord Chancellor.

In his twelfth year, Commissioners were appointed to meet at *Balingham*, betwixt *Callice* and *Boloigne*, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: and after long debating, a Truce was at last concluded, to begin at Midsummer next, and to last three years. But now the King to shew his plenary Authority of being at full age, removed the Arch-bishop of *York* from being Lord Chancellor, and put in his place *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*: also he removed the Bishop of *Hereford* from being Treasurer, and put another in his place: The Earl of *Arundel* likewise unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed and the Admiralty of the Sea, was removed, and the Earl of *Huntington* put in his room.

About this time the Lord *John Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, as he was practising to learn to Just,

was stricken about the privy parts, by a Knight called Sir *John St. John*: of which hurt he soon after died. In whose Family, It is memorable, that for many Generations together, no Son ever saw his Father, (the Father being alwaies dead before the Son was born.) The Original of this Family was from *Hastings* the Dane, who in the Reign of King *Alured*, long before the Conquest, about the year 890. came with *Rollo* into *England*. But howsoever, in this *John Hastings* ended the then honourable Titles of the *Hastings*; for this man dying without issue, his Inheritances were dispersed to divers persons: The honour of *Pembroke* came to *Francis at Court*, by the Kings gift: the Baronies of *Hastings* and *Welford* came to *Reynold Gray* of *Ruthin*; the Barony of *Abergavenny* was granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*.

A strange accident in the family of the *Hastings*, Earls of *Pembroke*, and the original of their Family.

About this time *John Duke of Lancaster* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, receiving at the Kings hands the Rod and the Cap, as investitures of that Duchy. Also the Duke of *York's* Son and Heir was created Earl of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year a Royal Jufts was proclaimed to be holden within *Smithfield* in *London*, to begin on Sunday next after the Feast of *S. Michael*, which being published; not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, in *Almain*, in *Flanders*, in *Brabant*, and in *France*, many strangers came hither: amongst others *Valeran* Earl of *S. Poll*, that had married King *Richard's* Sister; and *William* the young Earl of *Ostervant*, Son to *Albert de Baviere* Earl of *Holland* and *Heinault*. At the day appointed there issued forth of the Tower, about three a clock in the afternoon, sixty Coursers apparelled for the Jufts; and upon every one an Esquire of Honour, riding a soft pace: After them came forth four and thirty Ladies of Honour, (*Froissard* saith threescore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a Knight with a Chain of Gold. These Knights being on the Kings part, had their Armour and Apparel garnished with White-Harts, and Crowns of Gold, about their necks; and so they came riding through the streets of *London* unto *Smithfield*. The Juft lasted divers daies, *Fabian* saith, four and twenty: All which time the King and Queen lay at the Bishops Palace by *Paul's Church*, and kept open house for all comers.

1390.
A Royal Jufts held in *Smithfield*, and the solemnity of it.

In his fifteenth year the Duke of *Lancaster* went into *France*, having in his train a thousand horse; and met the King of *France* at *Amiens*, to treat of a Peace between the two Kingdoms: but after long debate, a Truce only was concluded for a year.

1392.

About this time the King required the *Londoners* to lend him a thousand pounds: which they refused to do; and not only so, but they abused an *Italian Merchant*, for offering to lend it: This moved the King to some indignation: to which was added the complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens, against the Servants of the Bishop of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer; for that where one of the Bishops Servants, named *Walter Roman*, had taken a horse-loaf out of a Bakers Basket as he passed in the streets, and ran with it into his Lords house; the Citizens thereupon assaulted the house, and would not be quieted, till the Major and Aldermen were fain to come, and with much ado appeased them. Upon complaint hereof

The King displeased with the City of *London*, and why: and pacified.

The liberties of the City are seized, and a Warden is appointed to govern it.

hereof, urged against the Citizens, by the Bishop of Salisbury Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Arundel Arch-bishop of York Lord Chancellor, the Major and Aldermen, and divers other substantial Citizens are arrested; the Major is committed to the Castle of Windsor, and the other to other Castles; the liberties of the City are seized into the Kings hands, and the authority of the Major utterly ceased, the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, first Sir Edmund Derligrug, and afterward Sir Baldwin Raddington: till at length, by the special suit of the Duke of Gloucester, the King was contented to come to London, to so great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on Horse-back, clad all in one Livery, and presented the King and Queen with many rich gifts; yet all gave not satisfaction, to have their liberties restored, till they afterwards paid ten thousand pounds. This it is to provoke a Lion. It may be fortune enough to us, if by any means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not be torn in pieces.

1393.

In his sixteenth year, the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, are once again sent into France, to treat of a Peace: but when they could not agree with the French Commissioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four years; though perhaps a further agreement had then been made, but that the King of France fell newly again into his old fit of Frensie, which called away the French Commissioners from further Treaty.

1375.

All Irish men commanded to avoid the Realm, and way.

In his eighteenth year, a Proclamation was set forth, That all Irish men should avoid this Realm, and return home. The occasion was, because so many Irish were come over, that Ireland in a manner was left unpeopled: insomuch, that where King Edward the third had received from thence yearly the sum of thirty thousand pounds, the King now laid forth as much to repel Rebels. Whereupon at Michaelmas King Richard went himself into Ireland, attended with the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of March, Nottingham and Rutland, the Lord Thomas Piercy Lord Steward, and divers others of the English Nobility; to whom came in the great O'neal King of Meth, Bryan of Thomond King of Thomond, Arthur Macmur King of Leymster, and Conhur King of Cheveney and Darpe: and there King Richard stayed all that Winter, and after Christmas called a Parliament. At which time also the Duke of York, Lord Warden of England, in the King's name called a Parliament at Westminster; to the which was sent forth of Ireland the Duke of Gloucester, that he might declare to the Commons the Kings great occasions for supply of money: whose words so far prevailed, that a whole tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity.

King Richard goes into Ireland.

1397.

A famous Interview between the two Kings of England and France, and the manner of it.

In his twentieth year was a famous Interview between the two Kings of England and France: where was set up for King Richard a rich Pavilion, a little beyond Guysnes, within the English pale; and another the like for the French King, on this side Arge. The Distance betwixt the two Tents was beset on either side with Knights armed with their swords in their hands, four hundred English on one side, and four hun-

dred French on the other. The two Kings before their meeting took a solemn Oath for assurance of their faithful and true meaning, to observe the sacred laws of amity one toward another, in this interview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the same place where they met, there should be builded at both their costs a Chapel for a perpetual memory, which should be called, the Chapel of our Lady of Peace. On Simon and Jude's day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath, upon the holy Evangelists, to observe and keep them. This done, the French King brought his Daughter Isabel, and delivered her to King Richard, who shortly after at Callice married her; and upon the seventeenth of January, following, she was Crowned Queen at Westminster. A match of great honour, but of little conveniency, and less profit; for the Lady being but eight years of age, there could be no hope of Issue for a long time, which was King Richard's greatest want; and as little supply of his wants otherwise, her Portion perhaps scarce paying the charges of his journey to fetch her, which cost him three hundred thousand Marks.

King Richard married Isabel the King of France's daughter, being but eight years of age.

The Duke of Lancaster, in the thirteenth year of King Richard's reign, had been created Duke of Aquitain; but when the Gascoigners would not receive him, shewing reasons why that Dukedom ought not to be separated from the Crown of England, his Grant was revoked, and so it remained still in Demesne of the Crown.

At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of Lancaster caused to be legitimated, the Issue he had by Katherine Swinford, before he married her; of whom Thomas Beaufort was created Earl of Somerset.

The Duke of Lancaster's issue by Katherine Swinford, legitimated by Parliament.

This year also, the King receiving the money back, which had been lent to the Duke of Britain, upon Brest, delivered up the Town unto him; and thereupon, the English souldiers that were there in Garrison were all discharged and sent home: who, at a Feast which the King kept at Westminster, coming in companies together into the Hall; as soon as the King had dined, and was entring into his Chamber, the Duke of Gloucester asked him, if he did mark those men that stood in such troops in the Hall: yes marry (said the King) who were they? They were (said the Duke) those Souldiers, who by your rendring up of Brest have been sent home, and now must either starve or steal; and therewithal, very unadvisedly in words, taxed the King with unadvisedness of his deed. To whom the King in great anger replied, Why Uncle, do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to sell my Land? By St. John Baptist, No: But could I refuse to render the Town, when tender was made me of the money lent upon it? Indeed nothing could more discover the Duke of Gloucester's either weakness if he knew not that Brest was but only a mortgage; or injustice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, though the money were tendred, to have kept it still; but such is the course of many, to take part with the Politicks against the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjustly, when doing justly

The Duke of Gloucester with unadvised words moves the King to anger.

ought to be their chiefeft end. However it was, the multiplying of words about this matter, kindled in the King fuch a difpleafure againft the Duke, that it could never afterwards be quenched, but by his blood. And firft he complained to his other two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, of his undutiful behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother perhaps might let fall fome unadvised words, but they knew his heart to be true and faithful. Yet doubting how far the King might prefs upon them to answer for their Brothers faithfulness, they retired from Court: which gave the Dukes enemies time to incense the King farther againft him.

The Duke of Gloucester and other Lords confpire to feize upon K. Richard, but are difcovered.

It happened that the Duke of Gloucester had with him one day at his houfe, the Abbot of *St. Albans* that was his Godfather, and the Prior of *Westminster*; and after dinner falling in talk with them, amongst other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Vision the night before? To which the Prior was loth at firft to make a direct Answer; but at laft, being earnestly requested, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confefled that he had a Vision indeed, which was, that the Realm of *England* fhould be destroyed through the mifgovernance of King *Richard*. By the *Virgin Mary* (faid the Abbot) I had the very fame Vision. Whereupon the Duke prefently difclofed to them all the fecrets of his mind; and by their devices contrived an Affembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at *Arundel* Caftle that day fortnight: at which time he appointed to be there himfelf, with the Earls of *Derby*, *Arundel*, *Marfhall*, and *Warwick*, alfo the Arch-bifhop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of *St. Albans*, the Prior of *Westminster*, with divers others. And accordingly all thefe met at *Arundel* Caftle, at the day appointed; where receiving firft the Sacrament, by the hands of the Arch-bifhop of *Canterbury*, to be affiftant each to other, in all fuch matters as they fhould determin, They refolved to feize upon King *Richard*, and upon the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *York*, and commit them to Prifon: and all the other Lords of the Kings Council, they determined fhould be drawn and hanged. But the Earl *Marfhall*, that was Deputy of *Callice*, and had married the Earl of *Arundel*'s daughter, difcovered all their counfel to the King; who thereupon, by a plot devised by his Council, took his Brother the Earl of *Huntington* with him, and rifing from fupper, rode that night to the Duke of Gloucesters houfe at *Plafhey* in *Effex*. When the King came thither, the Duke was in bed; but informed of it, caft his Cloak about his fhoulders, and came down, bidding the Kings grace, with all reverence, welcom. The King courteoufly requested him to go and make himfelf ready, for that he muft needs ride with him a little way, to confer of fome bufinefs. The Duke prefently made him ready and came down; and as foon as the King and his company was gone a little way from the houfe, and the Duke with him, the Earl *Marfhall* arrefted the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was fent to *Callice*: where after fome time he was difpatched of his life, either ftangled, or elfe

The King by a wile, feizeth upon the Duke of Gloucester, and fends him prefently to *Callice*, where foon after he loft his life.

fmothered with Pillows, as fome write. At the very fame time was the Earl of *Arundel* apprehended by the Earls of *Rutland* and *Kent*: the Earl of *Warwick* alfo when the King had invited him to dinner, and fhewed him very good countenance, was taken and arrefted in the place: as likewife at the fame time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord *John Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyney*. Shortly after, the King procured them to be indicted at *Nottingham*, fuborning fuch as fhould appeal them in Parliament; namely *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl *Marfhall*, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Somerset*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord Spencer*, and the Lord *William Scroope* Lord Chamberlain: and in the mean time, the King fent for a power of *Cheshire* men, to keep Watch and Ward about his Perfon.

Divers other Lords committed to the Tower.

On the 17 of *September*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as alfo of the hard dealing which they had ufed towards the Queen, who was three hours at one time on her knees, before the Earl of *Arundel*, for one of her Efquires, named *John Calverley*, who neverthelefs had his head fmitten from his fhoulders: and all the answer fhe could get, was this, Madam, pray for your felf and your Husband, and let this fuit alone. Thofe that fet forth the Kings grievances in this Parliament, were *John Bushie*, *William Bagot*, and *Thomas Green*. The caufe of affemblyng the Parliament was fhewed, That the King had called it for reformation of divers tranfgreffions againft the peace of this Land, by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick* and others. Then Sir *John Bushie*, Speaker of the Parliament, made request on behalf of the Commonality, that they might be punifhed according to their defervings: and fpecially the Arch-bifhop of *Canterbury*, who then fat next the King, whom he accused of high Treafon. When the Arch-bifhop began to answer, Sir *John Bushie* befought the King, That he might not be admitted to answer, left by his great wit and cunning he might lead men away to believe him. And here Sir *John Bushie* in all his talk did not attribute to the King titles of honour due and accuftomed, but fuch as were fitter for the Majefty of God than for any earthly Prince. And when the Arch-bifhop was constrained to keep filence, Sir *John Bushie* proceeded; requiring on the behalf of the Commons, That the Charters of Pardon, granted to the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, fhould be revoked. The King for his part protefted that they were drawn from him by compulfion; and therefore befought them to deliver their opinions, what they thought thereof. Whereupon, the Bifhops firft gave their fentence, that the faid Pardons were revokable, and might be called in; but pretending a fcrupulofity, as if they might not with fafe confciences be prefent, where Judgement of blood fhould pafs, they appointed a Lay-man to be their Prolocutor for that turn. The Temporal Lords likewife gave their fentence, That the Pardons were revokable: only the Judges and Lawyers

Sir John Bushie Speaker of the Parliament, attributes divine titles to the King.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, give their opinions one way, and the Judges and Lawyers another.

The Arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
is banished.

The Earl of
Arundel is
beheaded.

A Miracle
reported of
him after
his death,
but found a
fable.

Chester made
a Principa-
lity.

Dukes and
Earls crea-
ted.

What Arti-
cles are first
to be hand-
led in Parlia-
ment.

The whole
authority of
Parliament
conferred
upon cer-
tain persons.

Lawyers were not of this opinion. But how-
soever the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* is here-
upon condemned to perpetual Exile, and ap-
pointed to avoid the Realm within six weeks.
Also the Earl of *Arundel* is by the Duke of *Lan-*
caster, who sat that day as High Steward, con-
demned of Treason, and on the *Tower-hill* be-
headed. There went to see the execution, di-
vers Lords, amongst whom was the Earl of
Nottingham, that had married his Daughter;
and the Earl of *Kent*, that was his Daughters
Son: to whom, at the place of his execution he
said, Truly it would have becomed you rather
to be absent, than here at this business; but the
time will come ere long, that as many shall
marvel at your misfortune, as they do now at
mine. After his death, a fame went, that his
head was grown to his body again: whereup-
on, the tenth day after his burial, his body by
the Kings appointment was taken up, and then
found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord *Tho-*
mas Beaucamp Earl of *Warwick* was brought
forth, and charged with the like Treasons; but
by the intercession of the Duke of *Lancaster*,
and other Lords, after confession of his fault,
was only confin'd into the Isle of *Man*. Like-
wise the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyny* were
only banished; or (as *Fabian* saith) condemned
to perpetual Prison. The Parliament after this
was held at *Shrewsbury*; where, for the love
the King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons
of the Shire of *Chester*, he caused it to be Or-
dained, that from thenceforth it should be cal-
led and known by the name of the Principality
of *Chester*: and herewith intituled himself
Prince of *Chester*. At this Parliament also, cal-
led the Great Parliament, he created five
Dukes, and a Duchefs; one Marques, and four
Earls. The Earl of *Derby* was created Duke of
Hereford; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of
Norfolk; the Earl of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albe-*
marle; the Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Surrey*; the
Earl of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exeter*; and the
Lady *Margaret Marshal*, Countess of *Norfolk*,
was created Duchefs of *Norfolk*; the Earl of
Somerset was created Marques of *Dorset*; the
Lord *Spencer* was made Earl of *Glocester*; the
Lord *Nevil*, Earl of *Westmerland*; the Lord
Scroop, Earl of *Wiltshire*: and the Lord *Thomas*
Piercy Lord Steward of the Kings House, was
made Earl of *Worcester*; and for the better main-
tenance of their estate, he divided amongst them
a great part of those Lands that belonged to the
Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *War-*
wick. Also in this Parliament, the Judges gave
their opinions, That when Articles are pro-
pounded by the King to be handled in Parlia-
ment, if other Articles be handled before those
be first determined, that it is Treason in them
that do it. And in this Parliament, the King
brought it so about, that he obtained the whole
power of the Parliament to be conferred upon
certain persons, namely, *John* Duke of *Lanca-*
ster, *Edmund* Duke of *York*, *Edmund* Duke of
Aumerle, *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke
of *Exeter*, *John* Marques of *Dorset*, *Roger* Earl
of *March*, *John* Earl of *Salisbury*, and divers
others, or to any seven or eight of them; and
these, by vertue of this Grant, proceeded to
conclude upon many things, which concerned

generally the things of the whole Parliament, to
the great prejudice of the State, and a dangerous
example in time to come: A general Pardon was
also granted for all offences, to all the Kings
subjects, but only to fifty, whose names he would
not exprefs; but reserved them to his own
knowledge, That when any of the Nobility of-
fended him, he might at his pleasure name him
to be one of the number excepted, and so keep
them still within his danger. And for the more
strengthening the Acts of his Parliament, the
King purchased the Popes Bulls, containing
grievous censures and curses to them that should
break them. And now the Heads of the oppo-
site Faction having lost their heads, and all
things as well settled as could be desired, the
King was secure, as thinking himself safe; and
he had indeed been safe, if Time and Fortune
were not Actors in Revenge, as well as men:
or rather, if a superiour power did not inter-
pose, whose waies are as secret as himself is in-
vincible.

It now fell out, (though Writers differ what
it was fell out) for some write, that *Thomas*
Mowbray accused the Duke of *Hereford*; others,
that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* accused *Thomas*
Mowbray Duke of *Norfolk*, for speaking words
sounding highly to the Kings dishonour; to
which the Duke of *Norfolk*, being called to an-
swer, charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the
King, that he lyed falsly. Whereupon a Com-
bat was agreed upon between them. The King
laboured to make them friends, but not pre-
vailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and
the place to be at *Coventry*; where at the day and
hour appointed the Duke of *Hereford*, mounted
on a white Courser, barded with green and blew
Velvet, imbroidered sumptuously with Swains
and Antelops of Goldsmiths work, approached
the Lists. Of whom the Marshal, being the
Duke of *Surrey*, demanding who he was? he an-
swered; I am *Henry* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Here-*
ford, that am come hither to do my endeavour
against *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, as
a Traitor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm,
and me: Then incontinently he swore upon the
holy Evangelists, that his quarrel was true and
just; and thereupon required to enter the Lists,
where, in a Chair of green Velvet he sat down
and reposed himself. Then came the Duke of
Norfolk, his Horse barded with Crimson Vel-
vet, imbroidered richly with Lions of Silver, and
Mulberry-trees; and when he had taken his
Oath before the Constable the Duke of *Au-*
merle, that his quarrel was just, he entered the
Lists, and sat him down in his Chair of
Crimson Velvet, curtained about with white
and red Damask. Then the Marshal viewed
their Spears, to see that they were of equal
length; and the Heralds proclaimed, on the
Kings behalf, they should mount on Horse-
back, and address themselves to the Combat:
but when they were set forward, and had their
Spears in their Rests, the King cast down his
Warder, and the Heralds cryed, Stay, Stay.
Then the King caused their Spears to be taken
from them, and deliberated with his Council,
what was fit to be done in so weighty a cause.
After two long hours it was at last concluded,
that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* should within
fifteen

A general
pardon, but
only to fifty,
and why.

1398.

Thomas
Mowbray
Duke of
Norfolk, and
Henry Duke
of *Hereford*,
accused
each other.

Whereupon
a Combat is
agreed upon
between
them, and in
what man-
ner.

But the King interposed and banished the Duke of Norfolk for ever: the Duke of Hereford for six years.

fifteen daies to depart out of the Realm, and not return before ten years were expired, upon pain of death; and that *Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk* should likewise avoid the Realm, and never return into *England*, upon the like pain. It is observable, that this Censure was passed against the Duke of *Norfolk*, the very same day twelve month in which he had taken order to put the Duke of *Glocester* to death at *Callice*, whereof he was then Governour. When these Judgements were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them swear that the one should never come in place where the other was. After this, the Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Almain*, and from thence went to *Venice*; where after some time he died with sorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his leave of the King, had four years of his banishment released; and then went to *Callice*, and from thence to *Paris*: where, of the *French King* he was so kindly received, that by his favour he had obtained in marriage the only daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French King*, if King *Richard* by Messengers had not hindered him. The Duke might have made his banishment, in manner of a visitation, if he had gone into *Spain*; for there he had two sisters married, the one to the King of *Portugal*, the other to the King of *Spain*, to whom his coming would have been most welcome: but he chose rather to make his stay in *France*, as the place where he might soonest have intelligence out of *England*; and indeed before a year came about, he heard of the death of his Father, the Duke of *Lancaster*: and heard withal that King *Richard* had seized into his hands, all the Lands descended upon him, contrary to his promise.

The delinquencies of great men punished only with banishment; and the danger of it.

The Duke of Hereford is solicited to return into England.

It was a custom in those daies, to punish the delinquencies of great men by banishment out of the Realm, a custom not more grievous to the Subject than dangerous to the Prince: for by this course they had means to work so closely in their minds of revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdom was in danger to be blown up before their working could be perceived. An example whereof was never more plainly seen than at this time, in the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Hereford*; For they in their banishment meeting often together, and aggravating the grievances of King *Richard's* Government, fell at last to consult by what means he might best be removed, seeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their consultation about it, as if Fortune her self meant to do their work for them, solicitations came from many parts of *England*, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to assist him. The Duke heated before by the Arch-bishop's instigation, and now set on fire by this solicitation, gives Fortune no leisure to alter her mind, by delaying the time; but without further deliberation prepares to be going: and taking with him the Arch-bishop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramston*, Knights; *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt*, Esquires, and about some threescore other persons, as many as he could rea-

dily get, in three Ships which the Duke of *Britain* lent him, he put to Sea: where hovering about the Coast a while, to mark the countenance of the shores, he landed at last, about the beginning of *July*, at *Ravensthorpe* in *Yorkshire*. Which no sooner was known, but there repaired to him the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Ross*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*; and shortly after, at *Doncaster*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son Sir *Henry Percy*, with the Earl of *Westmerland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common sort: of whom though some had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that for any cause of his coming, but made a solemn protestation, that he came only to take possession of the inheritances descended upon him from his Father, which King *Richard* most unjustly, and contrary to his promise, had seized into his hands: for this was a reason had no objection: the other he reserved, till his power should not need to regard objections. And indeed, no snow-ball ever gathered greatness so fast by rolling, as his Forces increased by marching forward; for by that time he came to *Berkley*, he had got a mighty Army: and within three daies after, all the Kings Castles in those parts were surrendered to him. The Duke of *York* left Governour of the Kingdom, used his best means to raise forces to resist him; but found few willing to bear Arms against him: whereupon, and perhaps hearing withal that the Dukes coming was but only to take possession of his Inheritance, he thought good to go to *Berkley* to him, to have there some communication about it. At *Berkley* at that time was arrested the Bishop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burleigh*, Knights; *Lawrence Drew*, and *John Golefer*, Esquires. From *Berkley* the two Dukes went forwards towards *Bristow*, where in the Castle were the Lord *William Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Treasurer of *England*; Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *Henry Bushy*, who were taken and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaster*: and the day after arraigned before the Constable and Marshal, found guilty of Treason for misgoverning the King and the Realm, and presently had their heads smitten off. Sir *John Russel* also was taken there; but he feigning himself to be out of his wits, escaped for that time.

All this while King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, where he performed Acts in representing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongst other of the great Lords, the Duke of *Lancaster's* Son *Henry*, he there for his towardliness in service, knighted him. By which it appeared that he had no great fear of the Father, when he graced the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own absence out of *England* had not given him advantage. Six weeks were now passed after the Dukes arrival in *England*; in all which time King *Richard* had no notice of it, by reason the winds were contrary to come forth of *England*: But as soon as he heard it, and in what hostile manner he proceeded, he then determined to return instantly into *England*; and had done it but that the Duke of

Aumerle

1399.
He Lands with three Ships at Ravensthorpe in York-shire.

He pretends his coming to claim the inheritance descended upon him from his Father.

1399.
Many Lords repair to him, and all the Kings Castles are surrendered to him.

The Lord Scroope Treasurer of England; with Sir Henry Green and Sir Henry Bushy, have their heads smitten off.

King Richard being in Ireland, had no notice in six weeks of the Dukes arrival in England.

Hearing it, he prepares presently to return.

Hearing it he prepares presently to return: but is otherwise counselled by the Duke of Lancaster.

He sends the Earl of Salisbury before, and promises to come himself within six days. The Earl provides an Army of forty thousand; but when the King came not at his time, they all disbanded and went away.

The King coming over and finding the Army disbanded, falls to despair, and secretly the next night gets him to Conway Castle.

Aumerle his Principal Counsellour (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors; or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all means perswaded him to stay so long till things fitting for his journey might be made ready. It was King *Richard's* ill luck to hearken to this ill counsel: but yet he presently sent the Earl of *Salisbury* into *England*, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within six days at the most. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the number of forty thousand men: but the six dayes passed and no news of the King; which made the Souldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of *Salisbury's* perswasion, they were contented to stay for some dayes longer, and when the King came not in that time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went home. At length, about eighteen days after that the King had sent away the Earl of *Salisbury*, he took shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, and divers others of the Nobility; with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlile*; and landed at *Barklowly* in *Wales*. He had about him some *Cheshire* men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing; but when he heard that all the Castles from the Borders of *Scotland* and *Bristow* were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him, and specially that his principal Counsellours had lost their heads at *Bristow*; then, *solvuntur frigore membra*, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licensed every man to be gone, and so shift for himself. The Souldiers besought him to be of good cheer, swearing they would stand with him to the death: but this encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he stole from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Stephen Scroop* and some half a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earl of *Salisbury* determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better stay. Here the Earl of *Worcester* Steward of the Kings house, broke his white staff, and without delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*; who understanding that King *Richard* was returned out of *Ireland*, he left the Duke of *York* at *Bristow*, and came back with his power to *Berkely*, and from thence the next day came to *Glocester*, and then to *Rosse*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford*, and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: on the Sunday following he went to *Leyminster*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him: from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh*, and Sir *John Leigh*, and many others, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their service; thither also came to him the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Bardolph*, forth of *Ireland*: From *Shrewsbury* he went to *Chester*, and from thence sent for his Son and Heir, and likewise for the Duke of *Glocester's* Son and Heir (whom King *Richard* had left in custody in *Ireland*) with all speed to come into *England*,

but the Duke of *Glocester's* Son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, died of the plague; the sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his Mothers death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to the King, who upon safe conduct coming to him, declared, that if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of *Lancaster* of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees, and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutiful services. Yet upon this conference with the Earl, some say the King required only, that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he would resign his Crown; and that upon the Earls Oath that this should be performed, the King agreed to go with the Earl to meet the Duke: but after four miles riding, coming to the place where they laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint* to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but only the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *Nicholas Ferebye*, and *James d' Artois* a *Gascoigne*, who still wore a white Hart, the Cognifance of his Master King *Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earl of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the Walls where he stood, went down to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he took them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured not to have any hurt as touching his person. After this the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himself, all armed; and being within the first gate he there stayed till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth, and sat down in a place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw him, he came towards him bowing his knee; and coming forward, did so the second time, and the third, till the King took him by the hand and lift him up, saying, Dear Cousin, you are welcome. The Duke humbly thanking him, said: My Sovereign Lord and King, the cause of my coming at this present is, (your Honour saved) to have restitution of my Person, my Lands, and Heritage: whereto the King answered, Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception. After this coming forth of the Castle, the King called for Wine; and after they had drunk, they mounted on horseback, and rode to *Chester*, the next day to *Nantwich*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, and then to *Lichfield*; and there rested Sunday: after that they

The Duke of Lancaster offers conditions to the King.

Which the Earl of Northumberland undertakes upon his Oath should be performed. Hereupon the King goes to meet the Duke, but is entrapped in an Ambush, and carried to Flint Castle.

1399.

The Dukes reverence to the King in coming to him.

But yet is
bely car-
ried away
and com-
mitted to
the Tower.

Articles de-
livered to
the Parlia-
ment against
King Ri-
chard.

He is by
Parliament
deposed.

they rode forward, and lodged first at *Coventry*, then at *Daintree*, then at *Northampton*, next day at *Dunstable*, then at *St. Albans*, and so came to *London*. In all which journey they suffered not the King to change his apparel, but made him ride still in one sute of rayment; and that but a simple one, though he in his time was exceeding sumptuous in Apparel, having one Coat which was valued at thirty thousand Marks: and in this sort he was brought the next day to *Westminster*, and from thence the next day had to the *Tower*, and committed to safe Custody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaster*, but in the name of King *Richard*; in which many heinous points of Mis-government were laid to his charge, and were ingrossed up in three and thirty Articles, the chief were these.

That he had wastefully spent the Treasure of the Realm.

That without Law or Justice, he had caused the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel to be put to death.

That he had borrowed great Summs of money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the same, and yet not one penny ever paid.

That he had said, The Laws of the Realm were in his head, and his breast: by reason of which fantastical opinion he destroyed Noblemen, and impoverished the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament at his pleasure.

That most tyrannously he said, That the lives and goods of all his Subjects were in his hands, and at his disposition.

That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the state of the Kingdom; they being busied about the same Commission, he went about to appeach them of high Treason.

That by force and threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at Shrewsbury, to condescend to his way, for the destruction of divers of the Lords.

That he caused his Fathers own Brother, the Duke of Gloucester, without Law to be attached and sent to Callice, and there without reason, secretly murdered.

That notwithstanding the Earl of Arundel, at his arraignment pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard, but was shamefully and suddenly put to death.

That he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men, to make War upon his Lords; and suffered them to rob and spoil, without prohibition.

That though he had made Proclamation, That the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treason, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treason to their charge.

That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords partakers, to be again intolerably Fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the assent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.

Upon these, and some other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be deposed from all Kingly Honour, and Princely Government. And thereupon, the King being advised by his own servants, rather voluntarily to resign the

Crown, than by compulsion to be forced to it, on the Munday before the nine and twentieth day of *September*, in the year 1399. he made a solemn resignation, before divers Lords and others, sent to him for that purpose; and an instrument of his resignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himself, and then subscribed it: and withal, made it his suit, that the Duke of *Lancaster* might be his Successour, and King after him; and for a sign of his desire hereof, he took his signet Ring of Gold from his finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Lancaster*; that never man who had used a Kingdom with such violence, gave it over with such patience, or rather such willingness, that he seemed rather to affect it, than that he was any way forced to it. This Resignation of King *Richard* being shewed to the Parliament, both Houses gave their assent; and then Commissioners were appointed to pronounce openly the sentence of his deposing, which was done by the Bishop of *Asaph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

And now it is easie to be observed, what a wonderful concurrence of fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of *Lancaster*, and against King *Richard*, happened together; whereof if any one had been missing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in such manner as he was: For first, if it had not happened that King *Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been possible for him to compass his design as he did: And then if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he had not by misfortune of weather been kept six weeks from hearing of the Dukes arrival, he had not given him so large a time for raising of Forces; and so more easily might have resisted him: Or after King *Richard* heard of the Dukes arrival, if he had followed the Earl of *Salisbury*, and not stayed so many daies longer than he promised, he had found an Army ready to receive him, sufficient at least to have given a stop to the Dukes proceedings: Or when at last he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withal his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battel, as his Souldiers themselves would have had him to do, he could not choose but have made a better end of his business than now he did. But when all is done, there is no warding the blows of Fortune; or to say better, no resisting the Decree of Heaven: but seeing that Decree is an *Abyssus* to us, and may perhaps but be conditional, we shall manifestly be Traitors to our selves, if we use not our uttermost endeavours to divert it: that it may truly be said, King *Richard* lost his Crown, more by his own Treason, than by the Treason of any other.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, in a Parliament held at *Glocester*, was granted to be paid by the Merchants, upon every sack of Wooll a Mark, for this present year; and for every pounds-worth of Wares brought from beyond Sea, and sold here, six pence of the buyer. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, a Subsidy was granted to be levied of the great men

He voluntar-
ily resigns
his Crown to
the Duke of
Lancaster.

A Subsidy granted where the Commons are spared.

men of the Realm, to the end the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid twenty Marks; every Earl six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Miter, as much: every Monk three shillings four pence: also every Justice, Sheriff, Knight, Esquire, Parson, and Vicar, were charged after a certain rate; but no Commons of the *City*. Also this year in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity; but with this condition, that from henceforth, which was in *March* 1380. till the Feast of *St. Michael*, which should be in the year 1381. there should be no more Parliaments: but yet was not observed. In his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kind of Subsidy was granted; of every Priest Secular or Regular, six shillings eight pence; and as much of every Nun; and of every man or woman, married or not married, being sixteen years of age (beggars only excepted) four pence. In his fifth year a Subsidy was granted by the Merchants of certain Customs of their Wools which they bought and sold, called a Maletot, to endure for four years. In his seventh year was granted him one Moiety of a Fifteenth by the Laity: and shortly after a Moiety of the Tenth by the Clergy. In his ninth year, half of a Tenth, and half of a Fifteenth by the Laity. In his eleventh year there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his twelfth year at a Parliament was granted of every sack of Wool, forty shillings; whereof ten shillings to be applied presently to the Kings use; the other thirty to remain in the hands of Treasurers, towards the charges of Wars, if any should happen. Also there was a Subsidy granted, of six pence in the pound; whereof, four pence to the use last mentioned; the other two pence to be at the Kings pleasure. In his fifteenth year, at a Parliament, was granted a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, towards the charges of *John Duke of Lancaster*, sent into *France*. In his eighteenth year a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity, towards his own journey into *Ireland*. In his twentieth year the Clergy granted him a Tenth, to be paid that year. In his one and twentieth year, upon pretence of having aided the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* against him, he caused blank Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Countrey to seal; whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatsoever he required. In his two and twentieth year a Fifteenth and a half was granted; and for the Customs of Wools fifty shillings upon every sack, of *English* men born, and three pounds of strangers.

A Maletot what it was.

Blank Charters commanded to be sealed by Gentlemen, that he might charge them afterward at his pleasure.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN his second year, in a Parliament at *Glocester*, it was enacted; That Merchant-strangers might buy and sell in Gros, or buy Retail, within this Realm. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, it was ordained, that the Privileges and Immunities of the Abbey of *Westminster* should remain inviolate; but with this Proviso, against those that took Sanctuary with

purpose to defraud their Creditors, That their Lands and Goods should be liable to their Debts. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Major of *London*, upon suggestion that the Fishmongers used great deceit in uttering of their Fish, obtained to have it Enacted, That from thenceforth, none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that sold any provision of Vi-
tuals should be admitted Major of the City: but in the Parliament next following were restored to their liberty again, saying that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all transgressions of their Customs should be tried at the Majors Court. In his eleventh year, King *Richard* created *John Beauchamp of Holt*, Baron of *Kedermister*, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made: for before this time Barons were alwayes made by calling them to Parliaments by the Kings Writ.

Barons first made by Letters patents.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the second year of this Kings Reign, there came messengers from the new elected Pope *Urban*, to require the Kings aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismaticks, that had elected another Pope, whom they named *Clement*: which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his aid for them, but through perswasion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Urban's* request was granted, and *Clement* rejected. In his fourth year *John Wickliffe* set forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such sort as the Church of *Rome* did then teach. In his sixth year, *Henry Spencer*, Bishop of *Norwich* received Bulls from Pope *Urban*, to grant all priviledges of the *Crusado* to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much opposition agreed, that it should go forward: and thereupon the Bishop not only gathered much money from such as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in person; as namely, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Farington*, the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, and divers others. The money raised by contribution, came to 20000. Franks, and the Army to 3000. Horse, and 15000 Foot; with which Forces, the Bishop passing over into *Flanders*, won the Towns of *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, and *Newport*: but at last encountered by a mighty Army of the *French*, he was put to the worst, and returned into *England*. In the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, an Act was made that none should pass the Seas to purchase promotions or provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also in this year *Thomas* the late Earl of *Lancaster*, by reason of miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this time also the *Wicklewists* marvellously increased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest opposer was the Bishop of *Norwich*. In his thirteenth year Proclamation

Divers Lords and others undertake the cross.

Thomas late Earl of Lancaster, Canonized for a Saint.

was made, that all beneficed men abiding in the Court of *Rome*, should return into *England* by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices: and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewise. Also about this time a Statute was made, that no Ecclesiastical person should possess Manours, Houses, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatsoever at the hands of the Froffee, without the Kings Licence and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth year, the *Wickliffs* were persecuted, and Excommunication pronounced against them by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In this Schism of the two Popes, the *French* Clergy wrote in behalf of *Clement* their Pope, and sent it into *England*: the Clergy of *England* on the contrary wrote in behalf of Pope *Urban*, and so nothing was agreed.

The *Wickliffs* were persecuted.

Works of Piety in his time.

IN the twentieth year of this Kings Reign, *William Bateman* Bishop of *Norwich* builded *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge*. In the third year of his Reign, *John Philpot*, Major of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poor people, to every of them seven pence the week for ever; and as any of those thirteen persons dieth, the Major appointeth one to succeed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth year of his Reign, King *Richard* used the great Hall at *Westminster* to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his time, *Simon* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, slain by the Rebels upon *Tower-Hill*, built the West-gate of *Canterbury*, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long Wall. *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, or *Arundel*, being Bishop of *Ely*, built the great Gate-house of *Ely* House in *Holborn*; and being after Bishop of *Canterbury*, he built a fair Spire Steeple at the West end of his Church there, called to this day, *Arundel Steeple*, and bestowed a tunable ring of five Bells upon the same.

Trinity-Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Arundel Steeple in *Canterbury* by whom built.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, so great a mortality afflicted the North parts of *England*, that the Country became almost desolate. In his sixth year, on the 24th day of *May*, there happened so great an Earth-quake, or (as some write) a Water-shake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one against the other. In *July*, in the year 1389, whilst the King was at *Sheene*, there swarmed in his Court such multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmishing with one another, that in the end they were swept away with Brooms by heaps, and Bushels were filled with them. In his twelfth year, in *March*, first there were terrible Windes; afterwards followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth, that a bushel of Wheat was sold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was sold for six pence, and Wool was sold for two shilling a stone. In his fourteenth year, on *Christmas* day, a Dolphin was taken at *London-Bridge*, being ten foot long, and a monstrous grown Fish. In his eighteenth year, an Exhalation, in likeness of fire ap-

The price of Wheat and Wool in a dearth.

A Dolphin taken at *London-Bridge*. A strange Exhalation.

peared in the night in many places of *England*; which when a man went alone, went as he went, and stayed as he stayed; sometimes like a Wheel, sometimes like a Barrel, sometimes like a Timber-log: but when many went together, it appeared to be a far off. Also in a Parliament time there was a certain Image of Wax made by *Necromancy* (as was said) which at an hour appointed, uttered these words.

An Image of Wax, made by *Necromancy*, spake certain words.

The Head shall be cut off; the Head shall be lift up aloft; the feet shall be lift up above the Head: and then spake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the *Marvellous* Parliament, not long before the Parliament that wrought Wonders. In his one and thirtieth year, a River not far from *Bedford*, suddenly ceased his course, so as the channel remained dry by the space of three miles; which was adjudged to signify the revolting of the Subjects from their natural Prince. In his two and twentieth year, almost through all *England*, all Bay-trees withered, and afterwards grew green again; which was supposed to import some strange event. About the year 1280. the making of Guns was found by a *German*, which may well be reckoned amongst casualties, seeing it was found by casualty; for this *German* having beaten Brimstone in a Mortar to powder, and covered it with a stone, it happened that as he struck fire a spark chanced to fall into the powder; which caused such a flame out of the Mortar, that it raised the stone a great height: which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempered the powder with some other ingredients, and so finished that deadly Engine. The first that used it were the *Venetians* against the Inhabitants of *Genoa*.

All Bay-Trees withered: and after grew green again.

Guns found about this time by a *German*.

Of his Wives.

KING *Richard* in his time had two Wives, the first was *Anne* Daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth, and Sister to the Emperour *Wenceslaus*; who lived his Wife ten years, and died without issue at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, in the year 1392. Whose death King *Richard* took so heavily, that he caused the buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defaced; as though to revenge himself upon the place, could ease his mind, and mitigate his sorrow. His second Wife was *Isabel*, Daughter of *Charles* the sixth King of *France*; She was married to him at eight years of age, and therefore never cohabited. After King *Richard*'s death she was sent home, and married afterward to *Charles* Son and Heir to the Duke of *Orleanse*.

Of His Personage and Conditions.

HE was the goodliest personage of all the Kings that had been since the Conquest; tall of stature, of straight and strong limbs, fair and amiable of countenance; and such a one as might well be the Son of a most beautiful Mother. Concerning his conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, than in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flatterers in his youth. He was of a credulous disposition,

disposition, apt to believe, and therefore easie to be abused. His greatest transgression was, that he went with his friends *ultra aras*, where he should have gone but *usque ad aras*. His greatest imbecillity, that he could not distinguish between a flatterer and a friend. He seemed to have in him both a French Nature and an English; violent at the first apprehension, calm upon deliberation. He never shewed himself more worthy of the Government, than when he was deposed as unworthy to Govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not so dear unto him, as a private quiet life: which if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Burial.

Starved.

Murdered.

King Richard after his Resignation, was conveyed to the Castle of Leeds in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret; where the common fame is, that he was served with costly meat, like a King, but not suffered once to touch it, and so died of forced Famine: But Thomas Walsingham referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himself, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King Richard's doings, saith, that King Henry sitting one day at his Table said sighing, Have I no faithful friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This speech was specially noted by one Sir Piers of Exton, who presently with eight persons in his company went to Pomfret, commanding the Esquire that took the Assay before King Richard, to do so no more, saying, Let him eat now, for he shall not eat long. King Richard sitting down to dinner, was served without Assay; whereat marvelling, he demanded of his Esquire, why he did not his duty; Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by Sir Piers of Exton, who is newly come from King Henry. When King Richard heard that word, he took the Carving Knife in his hand, and stroke the Squire on the head, saying, The Devil take Henry of Lancaster, and thee together: And with that word Sir Piers entred the Chamber, with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King Richard perceiving this, put the Table from him; and stepping to the foremost man, wrung the Bill out of his hands, and slew four of those that thus came to assail him: but in conclusion was felled with a stroke of a Poll-axe, which Sir Piers gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: Though it be scarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without shewing any warrant, should be admitted to do such a fact. Sir Piers having thus slain him, wept bitterly: a poor amends for so hainous a trespass. King Richard thus dead, his body was embalmed, and covered with lead, all save the face, and then brought to London; where it lay at Pauls three dayes together, that all men might behold it, to see he was dead. The Corps was after had to Langley in Buckinghamshire, and there buried in the Church of the Friars Preachers: but afterward by King Henry the fifth, it was removed to Westminster, and there honourably entombed, with Queen Anne his Wife; and that beautiful Picture of a King, sit-

ting Crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper end of the Quire in S. Peters at Westminster, is said to be of him: although the Scots, untruly write, that he escaped out of Prison, and led a solitary and vertuous life in Scotland; and there died, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Friers at Sterling. He lived three and thirty years, reigned two and twenty and three months.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Valour in his time were so many, that to reckon them all would be a hard task; and to leave out any would be an injury: yet to give an instance in one, we may take John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whose valour was no less seen abroad than at home: In France, in Germany, in Spain; in all which places, he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned men we may name these: William Thorne an Augustine Frier of Canterbury, an Historiographer: Adam Merimouth, a Canon of Pauls Church in London, who wrote two Historical Treatises; one intituled *Chronicon 40. annorum*; another *Chronicon 60. annorum*. William Packington sometimes Secretary to the Black Prince, an excellent Historiographer. William Badby a Carmelite Frier, Bishop of Worcester, and Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster: John Bourg, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge: William Sclade, a Monk of Buckfast Abby in Devonshire: John Thorisby Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor of England, and a Cardinal: William Berton Chancellor of Oxford, an adversary to Wickliffe: Philip Pepinton Abbot of Leicester, a Defender of Wickliffe: Walter Brit, a Scholar of Wickliffe's, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments: John Sharp, a great adversary to Wickliffe, who wrote many Treatises: Peter Pateshul, a great favourer of Wickliffe. Marcel Ingelno, an excellent Divine, one of the first Teachers in the University of Heydelberg: Richard Withee a learned Priest, and an earnest follower of Wickliffe: John Swasham Bishop of Bangor, a great adversary to the Wicklevists: Adam Eston, a great Linguist, and a Cardinal: John Trevisa, a Cornish man, and a secular Priest, who translated the Bible: Bartholomew, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; Polychronicon of Ranulph Higden, and divers other Treatises: John Moon, an English man, but a Student in Paris, who compiled in the French Tongue, *The Romant of the Rose*; translated into English by Geoffry Chaucer, and divers others.

The Romant of the Rose translated into English by Geoffry Chaucer, by whom composed.

The Majors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,
Sir Nicolas Brember was Major.
Nicholas Twisford, Andrew Pikeman, Sheriffs.

In his Second year,
John Philpot was Major.
John Boscham, Thomas Cornwallis, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Hadley was Major.
John Helisdon, William Barra, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
William Walworth was Major.
Walter Doget, William Knightbode, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
John Northampton was Major.
John Rotu, John Hinde, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Northampton continued Major.
Adam Bramme, John Sely, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar was Major.
Simon Winchcome, John More, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Major.
Nicholas Exton, John French Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Major.
John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Nicholas Exton was Major.
William Stondon, William More, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Nicholas Exton continued Major.
William Venor, Hugh Falstafe, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Nicholas Twiford was Major.
Thomas Austen, Adam Carlebul, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
William Venor was Major.
John Walcot, John Love, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Adam Bamme was Major.
John Francis, Thomas Vivent, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John Hinde was Major.
John Shadworth, Henry Vamere, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Stondon was Major.
Gilbert Masfield, Thomas Newington, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hardley was Major.
Drew Barintin, Richard Whittington, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir John Froysh was Major.
William Bramston, Thomas Knolls, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir William More was Major.
Roger Ellis, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Adam Brown was Major.
Thomas Wilford, William Parker, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Sir Richard Whittington was Major.
John Wodcock, William Ascham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Sir Drew Barintin was Major.
John Wade, John Warner, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

Of his coming to the Crown.

An. Dom.
1399.

King Henry
claims the
Crown as
descended
from King
Henry the
third.

He is Crow-
ned the very
day wherein
the year be-
fore he had
been bani-
shed.

After the Resignation of King *Richard*, and the sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* riseth up from his seat; and first, making the Sign of the Cross upon his forehead and breast, he said, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: I Henry of Lancaster claim the Crown of England, as descended by right line from King Henry the third: And having thus spoken, he sat down again. Upon this the Archbishop conferred with the Lords, and having heard their opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would joyn with the Lords, in choosing Henry of Lancaster for their King; who all with one voyce cryed, Yea, Yea: whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand led him to the Royal Seat: and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings, cap. 9. Vir dominabitur in populo: wherein he declared what a happiness it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdom and Valour, and shewed the Duke of Lancaster to be such an one; and as much the defects in both, of the late King Richard. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election; and testified to them, that he meant not to take advantage against any mans estate, as coming in by Conquest: but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawful succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation; accordingly, upon the 13 day of October following, the very day wherein the year before he had been banished, he was Crowned at Westminster, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with all Rites and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation he was anointed with an Oyl which a religious man had given to Henry the first Duke of Lancaster, together with this Prophecie, That the Kings anointed with this Oyl, should be the Champions of the Church. This Oyl, coming to the hands of King Richard, as he was looking amongst his jewels, going then into Ireland, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Archbishop of Canterbury told him, it was not lawful to be anointed twice: whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to Flint, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the*

Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. The day before the Coronation, the King in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the *Bath*, whereof four were his own Sons, *Henry, Thomas, John, and Humphrey*, all then alive; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices as belonging to their Tenures, to which, upon shewing their right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earl of *Northumberland* he made Constable of *England*; the Earl of *Westmerland* was made Lord Marshal; Sir *John Serle*, Chancellour; *John Newbery* Esquire, Treasurer: and Sir *Richard Clifford* was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord *Henry* his eldest Son, being then about thirteen years of age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*, and soon after also Duke of *Aquitain*: and the Crown was by Parliament Entailed to King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

Anointed
with a spe-
cial Oyl.

After this a Parliament is holden; in which the Acts made in the eleventh year of King *Richard* were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth year were wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attainted, were restored to their Lands and Honours: whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of *Arundel*'s son recovered his Inheritance; and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored to their liberty and estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of *Westmerland* the County of *Richmond*, and to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*, to be holden of him by bearing the sword wherewith he entered into *England*. And now was the time for shewing of spleens. Sir *John Bagot* then Prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of *Aumerle* for speaking words against the Duke of *Lancaster*, now King: also the Lord *Fitz-water* accused him for the death of the Duke of *Glocester*. The Lord *Morley* appealed the Earl of *Salisbury* of Treason, and one *Hall* accused the Duke of *Exeter*, for conspiring the Death of *John of Gaunt* the King's Father: but King *Henry* having entered a Throne in a storm, was willing now to have a calm; and therefore laying aside the ones Accusations, he accepted of the others Excuses, and received

Accusations
against ma-
ny, but con-
nived at by
the King.

King Henry
acquaints
foreign
Princes by
what Title
he came to
the Crown.

ceived the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Exeter* into as much favour, as if they had never been accused.

And to qualifieth the hard opinion with foreign Princes might conceive of King *Richard's* Deposing, he sent Ambassadors into divers Countreys, to make it known, by what title, and by what favour of the people he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of *Rome* he sent *John Trenevant* Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyney* Knight, and *John Cheyney* Esquire: into *France* he sent *Walter Sherlow* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester*: Into *Spain* he sent *John Trevor* Bishop of *Asaph*, and Sir *William Parre*: and into *Germany* he sent the Bishop of *Bangor*, and certain others. Most of these Princes seemed either not to regard what was done, or were easily perswaded that all was done well: only *Charles* King of *France* was so distemper'd with this indignity offered to his son in Law King *Richard*, that by violence of his passion he fell into his old pangs of Frensie, but somewhat recovered, he resolved to revenge it; wherein many Lords of *France* shewed themselves forward, but specially the Earl of *St. Paul*, who had married King *Richard's* half sister: yet having prepared an Army in readines, when afterward they heard of King *Richard's* death, they dissolved it again, as considering the time was then past. The *Aquitains* also, and specially the Citizens of *Burdeaux*, as being the place where King *Richard* was born, were mightily incensed: but Sir *Robert Knolls* Lieutenant of *Guyen*, and afterward *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester*, being sent to them by the King, so perswaded them, that with much ado they continued in obedience.

It was about this time moved in Parliament, what should be done with King *Richard*, (for he was not as yet murdered:) whereupon *Thomas Merck* Bishop of *Carlisle*, a learned man and wise and who had never given allowance to the deposing of King *Richard*, now that he was in a place of freedom of speech, rose up and said:

The Bishop
of *Carlisle's*
bold speech
in behalf of
King *Richard*,
and
against King
Henry.

"My Lords, The matter now propounded
"is of marvellous weight and consequence;
"wherein there are two points chiefly to be
"considered; the first, Whether King *Richard*
"be sufficiently put out of his Throne: the se-
"cond, Whether the Duke of *Lancaster* be
"lawfully taken in. For the first, how can that
"be sufficiently done, when there is no power
"sufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot,
"for of the Parliament the King is the head;
"and can the body put down the Head? You
"will say, But the head may bow it self down;
"and may the King resign? It is true; but
"what force is in that which is done by force?
"and who knows not that King *Richard's* Re-
"signation was no other? But suppose he be
"sufficiently out, yet how comes the Duke of
"*Lancaster* to be lawfully in? If you say by
"Conquest, you speak Treason; for what Con-
"quest without Arms? and can a Subject take
"Arms against his lawful Sovereign, and not
"be Treason? If you say, by Election of the
"State, you speak not reason; for what power
"hath the State to elect, while any is living

"that hath right to succeed? But such a Suc-
"cession is not the Earl of *Lancaster*, as descen-
"ded from *Edmund Crouchback*, the edler son
"of King *Henry* the Third, though put by the
"Crown for deformity of his body; for who
"knows not the falseness of this allegation?
"seeing it is a thing Notorious, that this *Edmund*
"was neither the elder brother, nor yet crook-
"backt, (though called so for some other rea-
"son) but a goodly personage, and without
"any deformity. And your selves cannot for-
"get a thing so lately done, who it was that in
"the fourth year of King *Richard* was decla-
"red by Parliament to be Heir to the Crown,
"in case King *Richard* should die without issue.
"But why then is not that claim made? because
"*Silent leges inter arma*, What disputing of Ti-
"tles against the stream of Power? But how-
"soever it is extreme injustice, that King *Richard*
"should be condemned, without being
"heard, or once allowed to make his de-
"fence. And now, my Lords I have spoken
"thus at this time, that you may consider of it
"before it be too late; for as yet it is in your
"power to undo that justly, which you have
"unjustly done.

Much to this purpose was the Bishop's speech; but to as little purpose as if he had gone about to call back Yesterday. The matter was too far gone; and scarce a person there present, that had not a hope of either a private or a publick benefit by that which was done. Yet against this speech of the Bishop there was neither Protesting nor Excepting; It passed in the House as but one mans opinion; And as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much severity against any member of that Parliament which had so lately shewed so much indulgence towards him; nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to use their liberty of speech with more moderation hereafter, the Bishop was arrested by the Marshal, and committed to prison in the Abby of *S. Albans*, but afterward without further censure set at liberty, till upon a conspiracy of Lords, wherein he was a party, he was condemned to dye, though through extremity of grief he prevented execution. But as for King *Richard* and *Edward Mortimer* Earl of *March*, enough was spoken by the Bishop in both their behalfs to undo them both; and indeed King *Richard* was soon after made away: the Earl secured himself by retiring far off, to his Lordship of *Wigmore*; avoiding the danger of Contention, by not entering the Lists of Aspiring. But although the Divine Providence, for causes hidden from humane knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the house of *Lancaster*; yet in the third Generation after, the elder, the House of *Clarence* recovered its right in King *Edward* the Fourth: that we may know it is but staying the leisure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Person, or by Proxie.

But whether incited by this speech of the Bishop, or otherwise out of the rancor of envy in some, and malice in others, it was not long after, before there grew in the minds of many both Lords and other, a malignant inclination towards

But did
King *Richard*
more
hurt than
good.

1400.

A Conspiracy of Lords, begun in the house of the Abbot of Westminster.

Which was to invite the King to a Justs at Oxford, and there to seize upon him.

How discovered.

towards King Henry; and came first to be a Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of Westminster. This Abbot was a kind of a Book-statesman, but better read in the Politicks of Aristotle than of Solomon; who remembering some words of King Henry, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earl of Derby, That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much; and fearing, lest being now King, he should reduce his words into act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick beforehand, than to stand to the hazard of a curing afterward: and thereupon invited to his house the discontented Lords; as namely John Holland Duke of Exeter, Thomas Holland his brothers son, Duke of Surrey, Edward Duke of Aumerle, John Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Spencer Earl of Gloucester, John Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Thomas Blunt, and Maudlin one of King Richard's Chapel: who after dinner conferring together, and communicating their spleens against King Henry one with another, they resolved at last, both to take away the Kings life, and of the way how to do it. The device was this: They would publish a solemn Justs, to be holden at Oxford, at a day appointed, and invite the King to honour it with his presence; and there, in the time of acting the Justs, when all mens intentions should be otherwise busied, they would have him be murdered. This device was resolved on; Oaths for secrecy were taken; and Indentures sextipartite for performing conditions agreed upon between them, sealed and delivered. The Justs are proclaimed; the King is invited, and promiseth to come; secrecy of all hands kept most firmly to the very day. But though all other kept counsel, yet Fortune would not, but she discovered all; For it fortuned, that as the Duke of Aumerle was riding to the Lords to Oxford, against the day appointed, he took it in the way to go visit his Father the Duke of York: and having in his bosome the Indenture of Confederacy, his Father as they sat at dinner chanced to spy it, and asked what it was? to whom his son answering, It was nothing that any way concerned him; By S. George saith his Father, but I will see it; and therewithal snatching it from him, read it; and finding the Contents, and reviling his Son for being now the second time a Traitor, before to King Richard, and now to King Henry, he commanded his Horses instantly to be made ready, and with all the speed he could make, rode to Windsor, where the King then lay: but the younger years of his son out-rid him, and came to the Court before him; where locking the Gates, and taking the Keys from the Porter, pretending some special reason, he went up to the King, and falling on his knees, asked his Pardon. The King demanding, for what offence? he then discovered the whole Plot: which he had scarce done, when his Father came rapping at the Court-gates, and coming to the King, shewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his son. This though it amazed the King, yet it informed him of the truth of the matter, whereof he was before doubtful; and thereupon lays aside his journey to see the Justings of others in jest, and takes care

that he be not justled in earnest out of his Throne himself. In the mean time the confederate Lords being ready at Oxford, and hearing nothing of the Duke of Aumerle, nor seeing any preparation for the Kings coming, were certainly perswaded that their Treason was discovered. Whereupon falling into consideration of the case they were in, they found there was no place left for them of Mercy, and therefore were to stand upon their Guard, and provide the best they could for their safety. To which purpose, the first thing they did was to apparel Maudlin in Princely Robes, a man as like to King Richard in countenance and personage, as one man lightly can be to another, and to give forth that he was King Richard escaped out of Prison, thereby to countenance their proceedings: The next thing was to dispatch messengers to the King of France, and require his assistance. This done they set forward in Battel-array towards Windsor, against King Henry; but finding him gone to London before they came, they then deliberated what course to take: Some advised to set King Richard at liberty, before their counterfeit Richard should be discovered; Others thought best to follow the King to London, and set upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this division of Advices, when they could not do both, they did neither; but as men amazed marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to Colbrook: by which time the King had gathered an Army of twenty thousand, and was marching towards them: but they not thinking so well of their cause, that they durst put it to the trial of a battel; or perhaps staying for aid out of France, withdrew themselves back to Sunning near to Reading, where the young Queen lay: to whom their coming gave some flashes of comfort, but quenched before they were thoroughly kindled: and from thence they march to Cicester; where the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury took up their lodging in one Inn; the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Gloucester in another. And now a strange Accident, beyond the reach of all consultation, gave a period to their Design; for who would think that a private company durst oppose those Lords having their Army so near them? Yet the Bayliff of the Town (upon Intelligence no doubt that these Lords were up in Arms against the King,) taking with him a company of Townsmen, in the night assaulted the Inn where the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury lay; who thus assaulted made shift to defend themselves till three a clock in the afternoon: but then, being in danger to be taken, a Priest, one of their company set divers houses in the Town on fire, thinking thereby to divert the Assailants from prosecuting the Lords to save their houses; but this inflamed them the more; and so hotly they pursued their assault, that they wounded the Duke and the Earl to death; who dying that night, their heads were stricken off and sent up to London. With them also were taken, Sir Bennet Shelly, Sir Bernard Brocas, Sir Thomas Blunt, and eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who were sent to Oxford, where the King then lay,

The Lords provide an Army but are by the King dispersed.

By what accident.

lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of Exeter in the other Inn, hearing of this assault fled out of the backside towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to the rescue; but the Souldiers having heard a clamour, and seeing fire in the Town, supposing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a sudden fear disperfed themselves and fled: which the Duke seeing, he also with Sir John Shelly, fled into Essex, where wandering and lurking in secret places, he was at last apprehended as he sat at supper in a friends house, and led to Plashey, and there shortly after beheaded, the place, where by his counsel and countenance, the Duke of Gloucester formerly had been apprehended: That we may observe how the Divine Providence in revenging of injuries, takes notice, and makes use of the very circumstance of place where the injuries are done. The Earl of Gloucester fled towards Wales, but was taken and beheaded at Bristow. Maudlin the counterfeit King Richard, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered; with Mr. Ecreby, another of King Richard's Chaplains. Divers other Lords and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of mean persons, were in other places put to death; that so much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cause, hath scarce been heard or read of. The Abbot of Westminster, in whose house the plot was contrived, hearing of these misfortunes, as he was going between the Monastery and his Mansion, fell suddenly into a Palsie, and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. About this time also, a strange piece of Treason is reported to have been practised against the Kings life: that there was found in his bed-cloaths an Iron with three sharp spikes standing upright; that when the King should have laid him down, he might have thrust himself upon them. But seeing there is no farther mention of inquiring after it, it seems to have been but an idle rumour not worth believing.

Maudlin the counterfeit King Richard is hanged and quartered.

Another Treason is practised against the King.

1402.
Owen Glendour stirreth up the Welch to rebel.

But now that the hot English blood was well allayed, the Welch blood springs up as hot; For now Owen Glendour an Esquire of Wales, brought up at the Innes of Court in London, partly out of a desire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived) in a suit for lands in controversie between the Lord Grey of Ruthin and him, but chiefly out of an humour of aspiring, endeavoured to draw the Welchmen to a general defection, telling them, that the English being at variance amongst themselves, now was the time to shake off their yolk, and to resume their own ancient Laws and Customs. To whose persuasions the Welch men hearkening, made him their King and Captain; and he having gotten a competent Army, sets first upon his Old Adversary Reynold Lord Grey of Ruthin, and takes him prisoner; yet with promise of releasement, if he would marry his daughter, which offer though the Lord Grey at first not only refused, but scorned, yet out of necessity at last he was contented to accept; when notwithstanding his deceitful Father in law trifled out the time of his enlargement till he died. But the Welchmen growing confident upon this success, break into the borders of Herefordshire, making spoil

and prey of the Country as freely as if they had leave to do it; for indeed none opposed them but only the Lord Edmund Mortimer, who had formerly withdrawn himself to the Castle at Wigmore; and having assembled the forces of the Countrey, and joyning battel with them, was taken Prisoner, and then fettered and cast into a deep and vile Dungeon. It was thought if Glendour had as well known how to use his victory, as to get it, he might at this time have put the English yolk into a great hazard to be shaken off: but he having killed 1000. of the English, thought he had done enough for that time, and so giving over the pursuit, retired. The inhumanity of the Welch Women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead carcasses of the English, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privy parts and noses; whereof the one they thrust into their mouths, the other they pressed between their buttocks. Many noble men, specially his Kinmen the Piercies solicited King Henry to deliver Mortimer; but the King was deaf of that ear, he could rather have wished both him and his two Sisters in Heaven, for then he should be free from conceal'd Competitors.

These affronts were at this time suffered in the Welch, because the King was now employed in a more dangerous service with the Scots; for they taking advantage of the distraction in the Kingdom (as it was alwayes their custom to do) had made an In-ride into the Countrey of Northumberland; and suddenly one night set upon the Castle of Werk, took and spoiled it, and then returned. In revenge whereof, the English invaded and spoiled certain Islands of the Orkneys. Then the Scots set forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir Robert Logan; but before he came to any action, he was encountred, and the greatest part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such affronts, as often happen between troublesome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in being between the Nations: but at last it brake out into an open war upon this occasion. Robert King of Scots had offered to match his Son David with a Daughter of George Earl of Dunbarre, and had received money of him in part of her portion; and afterward, would neither suffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the money: but married his son to a Daughter of Archibald Earl of Dowglass. Upon which indignity, George of Dunbarre, flies into England to King Henry, and with his aid, makes divers incursions into Scotland: Whereupon Robert King of Scots sent to King Henry, that if he would have the Truce between them to continue, he should deliver to him George of Dunbarre. King Henry answered, that he had given him a safe conduct, and could not now recall it with his Honour; but as for continuing the Truce, King Robert might do in that what he thought best. Upon this answer, the King of Scots presently proclaimed War against him; But King Henry as ready in that matter as he, stayed not for King Robert's invading of England: but himself with a puissant Army invaded Scotland, burning Castles and Cities, and not sparing Churches and Religious Houses. About the

The Peace between England and Scotland, how it brake out into open War.

the end of September, he besieged the Castle of Maydens in Edingburgh; where Prince David, and the Earl of Douglass were: At which time, Robert D. of Albany, who in the King of Scots sickness managed the business, sent an Herald to K. Henry, protesting upon his honour, That if he would stay but six dayes he would give him battel. King Henry rewarded the Herald, and stayed; but six times six dayes passed, but neither the Duke of Albany, nor any other for him appeared. And now Winter came on, victuals grew scant, and which was worst, a mortality began in the English Camp; for which causes, King Henry removed his siege, and returned into England. As soon as he was gone, Sir Patrick Hepborne a Scottish man, having a good opinion of his valour, thought to do great matters; and with a competent Army of the men of Lough-dean, he invaded Northumberland, making great spoil, and loading his Souldiers with prey and prisoners: but in the Retreat marching loosly, and licentiously, was set upon by the Earl of Northumberland Vice-Warden, at a Town called Neshie, where Hepborne himself and all the flower of Lough-dean, were slain; Sir John and William Cockburne, Sir Will. Basse, John and Tho. Hablington, Esquires, and a multitude of Common Souldiers taken Prisoners: On the English part few slain, and none of any rank or quality. In revenge whereof, Archibald Douglas with an Army of twenty thousand entred Northumberland; but in a place called Hamildon, were encountred by the English, under the leading of Henry L. Percy, surnamed Hotspurre, and George Earl of March, who put them to flight; and after the slaughter of Ten thousand of them, took five hundred prisoners: whereof the chief were Mordack Earl of Fife, (Son of the General, who in the fight lost one of his Eyes) Thomas Earl of Murrey, Robert Earl of Angus, the Earls of Athol and Mentith; and amongst the slain, were Sir John Swinton, Sir Adam Gourdon, Sir John Levison, Sir Alexander Ramsey, and three and twenty other Knights.

The French and Owen Glendour, but without success

In this mean time, Glendour of Wales had solicited the King of France for aid, who sent him Twelve hundred men of quality; but the windes were so contrary, that they lost twelve of their Ships, and the rest returned home. The English deriding this ill success of the French, so exasperated the French King, that presently after, he sent twelve thousand, who landed safely, and joyned with the Welsh; but as soon as they heard of the English Armies approach, whether mistrusting their own strength, or suspecting the Welsh-mens faithfulness, they ran to their Ships and disgracefully went home.

King Henry marries the Lady Jane de Navarre, the relict of John Montford surnamed the Conqueror.

King Henry's Ambassadors lately sent into Britain to fetch the Lady Jane de Navarre, Dutchesse of Brittain, the relict of John de Montford surnamed the Conqueror, with whom the King by Procurations had contracted Matrimony, in the beginning of February returned with her in safety: The King met her at Winchester, where the seventh of February the marriage was solemnized.

About this time some affronts were offered by the French. Valerian Earl of S. Paul, with 1700 men landed in the Isle of Wight, where he burnt two Villages and some few Cottages, but hearing the people of the Island to have assembled, he made haste to his Ships, and returned home. Also John Earl of Clermont (the Heir of Bourbon)

won from the English the Castles of St. Peter, St. Mary, and the New-Castle: The Lord de la Brett, won the Castle of Calasin; places of great consequence to the English.

And now to make King Henry sensible that a Crown can hardly ever sit easie upon the head, if it be not set on right at first, a new Conspiracy is hatching against him. The Piercies Earls of Northumberland & Worcester, with Henry Hotspur, began about this time to fall off from K. Henry, their reason was, First, because the King at their request refused to redeem their kinsman Mortimer from Glendour's slavery; and then because he denied them the benefit of such prisoners as they had taken of the Scots, at Hamildon, or Neshie: whereupon they went of themselves, and procured Mortimer's delivery, and then entred into a League offensive and defensive with Glendour; and by their Proxies, in the house of the Archdeacon of Bangor, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their hands and seals, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all England from Severn and Trent, South and Eastward was assigned for the portion of the E. of March: all Wales & the lands beyond Severn Westward, were assigned to Owen Glendour: and all the remainder of land from Trent Northward, to be the portion of the Lord Percy. In this, as Glendour perswaded them, they thought they should accomplish a Prophecie; as though K. Henry were the Mould-warp cursed of Gods own mouth, and they were the Lion, the Dragon and the Wolf, which should divide the Land among them. In this mean time King Henry, not acquainted with this Conspiracy, caused a proclamation to be made, intimating that the Earl of March, had voluntarily caused himself to be taken Prisoner, to the end, the Rebels having him in their custody, might pretend some colour for their Conspiracy; and therefore he had small reason to take care for his deliverance. Hereupon the Piercies assisted with a Company of Scots, and drawing to their party the Earl of Stafford and Richard Scroope Arch-Bishop of York, and many others, purposed to joyn with the Captain of the Welsh; but first they framed certain Articles against the King, and sent them to him in writing; That he had falsified his Oath given at his landing, swearing, That he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crown. That most traiterously he had taken Arms against his Sovereign Lord, imprisoned him, and then most barbarously caused him to be murdered. That ever since the death of King Richard he had unjustly kept the Crown from his kinsman Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, to whom of right it belonged. That upon no occasion he had imposed divers Taxes upon the people. That by his Letters he procured Burgeses and Knights of the Parliament to be chosen; for which causes and many other, they defied him, and vowed his destruction, and the restoring of the Earl of March to his right. King Henry could not but know, that all these Articles against him were true; yet seeing the knowing it hindered him not from seeking to get the Crown when he had it not, it could less hinder him from seeking to keep it now that he had it: and if he were able, being a private man, to get it from a

Another Conspiracy hatching against King Henry, and why.

Articles framed by the Lords against King Henry, and sent unto him.

1403.

King Henry with an Army encounters the Lords where Henry Hotspur is slain; the Earl of Worcester taken prisoner, with divers others.

King Henry slays 36 of his adversaries with his own hands.

The Earl of Worcester beheaded.

Owen Glendour lurking in the Woods, is famished.

King, he was likely to be more able, being now a King, to keep it from private men; and as for any objections that Conscience could make, he had enough to answer them all: For, if his Title were good against K. Richard, by his Resignation, it was good against Mortimer by his swearing Allegiance; and upon these grounds, with a minde as confident as if all circumstances were of his side, he raised an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no means joyn with the Welsh, and about Shrewsbury on Saturday S. Mary Magdalens Eve he encountered them: in which fight though the Scots and Henry Hotspur shewed much valour, yet the victory rested on the Kings side; Hotspur himself was slain, the Earl of Worcester was taken prisoner, together with Sir Richard Vernon, Sir Theobald Trussel, the Baron of Kinderton; and the rest fled. On the Kings part (besides the Earl of Stafford, who had that morning revolted from the Conspirators) were slain, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir John Clifton, Sir John Cockayne, Sir Nicholas Causell, Sir Walter Blunt, Sir John Calverley, Sir John Maffie of Puddington, Sir Hugh Mortimer, and Sir Robert Causell, all which had been but that morning dubbed Knights, with Sir Thomas Wendsley, who dyed afterwards of his wounds; of Common Souldiers about 1600:

but of the Conspirators above 6000, whereof 36 the King slew with his own hands; but was once unhorsed by Douglass, who in his presence slew Sir Walter Blunt, with divers others, that day in all things attired like to the King; for which exploit, Douglas (being after by the fall of his Horse taken prisoner) was by the Kings command carefully attended, and without Ransom set at liberty. In this battel, the young Prince Henry, though wounded in the face with an Arrow, yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting still. After this Victory, the King caused publick thanks to be given to God, and then caused the Earl of Worcester to be beheaded, and many other of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on London Bridge: And then the King sent his Son Henry Prince of Wales, with his whole Army into that Countrey; but before his coming, Owen Glendour was abandoned by all his Company: and lurking in the Woods, was there famished: many of his associates were taken and put to death. Whilest the Prince was in Wales, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, of his own accord, came and submitted himself to the King, protesting his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treason and Rebellion; whose excuse the King received for the present with gentle language, the rather for that he had the possession of Berwick Castle and other places of strength in his power: but yet he wiped not off the score of his Misdemeanors out of his mind.

And now with the fourth year of his Reign ended all the great Troubles of this King Henry the fourth: those that follow are but such accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The Britains under the leading of the Lord of Du Castile, spoiled the Town of Plymouth. In revenge whereof, the Western-men, under command of William Wilford, set forth a Fleet, which arriving in Britain, took forty Ships

laden with Oyl and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again, the French landed a thousand men in the Isle of Wight, where they got together a great booty of Cattel; but the Islanders coming upon them took away their booty, and made many of them leave their Carcasses for a booty to the Island. Yet the French would not leave so, but a while after, as having gotten new spirits, they cast Anchor before the Isle of Wight; and require no less than to have the Island into their possession: but a resolute answer of the Islanders frighted them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French King, in a vaunting style, sent a challenge to King Henry to meet him in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company. To which the King answered, That for his own valour it had sufficiently been tried; and for this Challenge of the Dukes, neither the person nor the cause were worthy of his undertaking. Upon this refusal of the Kings, divers taunts and jeers were bandied between them, till at last the Duke in great passion falls upon Vergie a Town in Guyen, but after three months assaulting it, being valiantly defended by Sir Robert Antfield and 300 Englishmen, he was glad to give over with loss, and return into France. Presently upon this the Admiral of Britain, accompanied with the Lord Du Castile, and Thirty sail of Ships, attempted to land at Dertmouth in Devonshire, but were repelled, and the Lord Du Castile, and two of his Brothers, and four hundred of his men were slain, besides two hundred taken prisoners; of whom the Lord Baqueville Marshal of Britain, was one. After this five hundred men of Arms, five hundred Cross-Bowes, and a thousand Flemmings, under the Conduct of the Earl of St. Paul, laid siege to the Castle of Marck, three leagues from Callice; but first by Sir Philip Hall Captain of Callice, and after by Sir Richard Alton Lieutenant of the English pale, they were forced to retire and flie; The Earl of St. Paul escaped to St. Omers, but left many of his men of quality behind him, and more taken Prisoners. After this, Thomas D. of Clarence, the Kings second Son and the Earl of Kent, with competent Forces entred the Haven of Sluce, where they burnt four Ships riding at Anchor, and returned to the relief of Callice, besieged at that time by the French; and in the way took three Carricks of Genoua richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of Rye. And these were the Troubles of this King abroad. About this time a Parliament was assembled at Coventry; which by some was called, the Lay-mens Parliament, because the Sheriffs were appointed, that none should be chosen Knights for the Counties, nor Burgresses for the Cities and Towns, that had any skill of the Laws of the Land.

But now at home the Reliques of the former Northern Rebellion began to revive; for now Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, Richard Scroop Arch-Bishop of York, Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshal, the Lords Hastings, Faulconbridge, and Bardolf, with divers others, conspired at a time appointed, to meet upon Yorks-would-Downs, and there bid defiance to King Henry. Articles of Grievances were framed, and set up in all publick places, which drew multi-

1404

The Duke of Orleans sends a challenge to King Henry: and how he answers it.

1405

Another Conspiracy against King Henry.

multitudes to be partakers of the enterprize. But now *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmerland*, with the Lord *John* the Kings third Son, the Lord *Henry Fitz-Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Humphrevile* make head against them; and coming into a Plain in the Forest of *Galltree*, they fate down right against the Arch-Bishop and his Forces, which were twenty thousand; and *Westmerland* perceiving the Enemies Forces to be far more

Rue by a policy of the Earl of *Westmerland* defeated.

than theirs, he used this Policy: he sent to the Arch-Bishop, demanding the reason why he would raise Forces against the King? Who answering, That his Arms were not against the King, but for his own defence, whom the King upon the instigation of Sycophants, had threatened: withal he sent him a scrowl of their grievance, which *Westmerland* read, and seemed to approve, and thereupon desired a conference with him. The Arch-Bishop more credulous than wise, perswaded the Earl Marshal to go with him to the place appointed to confer. The Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Westmerland* seeming to commiserate the Souldiers, having been in armour all day, and weary, wished the Arch-Bishop to acquaint his party as he would his, with this their mutual agreement; and so shaking hands, in most Courtly friendship drank unto him. Whereupon the Souldiers were willed to disband, and repair home; which they had no sooner done, but a Troop of Horse, which in a colourable manner had made a shew to depart, wheeled about, and afterward returned: and being come in sight of the Earl of *Westmerland*, arrested both the Arch-Bishop and the Earl Marshal, and brought them both Prisoners to the King at *Pomfret*; who passing from thence to *York*, the Prisoners likewise were carried thither, and the next day both of them beheaded. At *Durham* the Lords *Hastings* and *Fauconbridge*, with two Knights, were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolfe*, fled first to *Berwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David* Lord *Flemming*: whereupon the King gave Summons to the Castle of *Berwick*; which at first they refused to obey, but upon the planting and discharging of a Piece, they presently yielded without composition: and here *William Graystock*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blinkensop*, Knights, and five other were presently put to execution, and many others committed to several Prisons. About this time *James* Son and Heir of *Robert* King of *Scotland*, a child of nine years old, attended by the Earl of *Orkney*, as he was sailing into *France*, was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windsor*, the 30 of *March*, 1408. and the King sent them to the *Tower* of *London*.

The Arch-bishop of *York* and *Monbray* Earl Marshal beheaded.

1408.

Northumberland and *Bardolfe*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raise a power against King *Henry*, returned back into *Scotland*; and after a year with a great power of *Scots* entred *England*, and came into *Yorkshire*, making great spoil and waste as they passed: but Sir *Thomas Rokesby* Sheriff of *York*, levying the forces of the County, upon *Bramham-Moor* gave them Battel; in which *Northumberland* was slain, *Bardolfe* taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. About this time also, Sir *Robert Umphrevile* Vice-Admiral of *England*, with

The Earl of *Northumberland* slain.

ten men of War entred *Scotland*, burnt their *Galiot*, and many other ships over against *Leith*, and brought away with him fourteen tall Ships laden with Corn and other staple commodities, which at his return he sent into the Markets round about; and thereby brought down the prizes of all things, and purchased to himself the name of *Mend-market*.

Sir *Robert Umphrevile* called *Mend-market*, and why.

The Prince had been a Student in Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellor of that University, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, and lastly made a Cardinal, by the title of *Eusebius*. From *Oxford* the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worcester* was made his Governour: but coming afterward to be at his own disposing, whether being by nature valorous, and yet not well stayed by time and experience; or whether incited by ill Companions, and emboldened by the opinion of his own greatness, he ran into many courses so unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be King once. It is said he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Fathers Rents, and in the person of a thief set upon them and robbed them. Another time, when one of his Companions was arraigned for Felony before the Lord Chief Justice, he went to the Kings Bench Barr and offered to take the Prisoner away by force; but being withstood by the Lord Chief Justice, he stepped to him, and struck him over the face; whereat the Judge nothing abashed, rose up and told him, That he did not this affront to him, but to the King his Father, in whose place he fate; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the Fleet. You would have wondered to see how calm the Prince was in his own cause, who in the cause of his Companion had been so violent; for he quietly obeyed the Judges sentence, and suffered himself to be led to Prison. This passage was a little pleasing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of such courage, and a Son of such submission: but yet for these and such other pranks he removed him from being President of the Council, and placed in it his third Son *John*. This made the Prince so sensible of his Fathers displeasure, that he thought it necessary to seek by all means to recover his good opinion; which he endeavoured to do by a way as strange as that by which he lost it; for attiring himself in a garment of blue Sattin, wrought all with eylet-holes of black silk, at every hole the needle hanging, by which it was sowed, and about his arm a thing in fashion of a hounds Collar, studded with S.S. of Gold, he came to the Court at *Westminster*: to whom the King (though not well in health) caused himself, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privy Chamber; where in presence of but three or four of his Privy Council, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his unwonted habit and coming; who answered, That being not onely his Subject but his Son, and a Son so tenderly always regarded by him, he were worthy of a thousand deaths, if he should intend or but imagine, the least offence to his Sacred Majesty; and therefore had fitted himself to be made a sacrifice: and therewithal reached his dagger, holding it by the point to

1410.

Prince *Henry*'s disorderly courses.

He strikes the Lord Chief Justice, who commits him to the Fleet.

In what manner the Prince presents himself to his Father.

The King makes his son John Duke of Bedford, and his son Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester; also Sir Thomas Beaufort he made Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundel Duke of York.

1412.

King Henry takes upon him the Crusado.

his Father, For (said he) I desire not to live longer, than I may be thought to be what I am and shall ever be, your faithfull and obedient Vassal. With this or the like answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his Sons neck, and with many tears imbracing him, confessed that his ears had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising faithfully, That from thenceforth no reports should cause any dis-affection towards him. The King about this time, made his Son John, Duke of Bedford, and his Son Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester; he made also Sir Thomas Beaufort Earl of Dorset, and the Earl of Arundel he created Duke of York.

The rest of King Henry's dayes, from this time forward, being scarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home, unless perhaps he might be troubled in mind for having shed so much English and Noble blood; for expiation whereof, or else to the end he might joyn Valour and Devotion in one Action together, which hitherto he but used singly, he took upon him the Crusado; and at a Council in White-Fryers, order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to Jerusalem: But it was otherwise decreed in Heaven, and yet not so otherwise, but that he ended his life in Jerusalem, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

IN the very beginning of his Reign, it might pass instead of a Taxation, that he found in King Richard's Coffers, in money and Jewels, to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds. In his fourth year, an extraordinary Subsidy was granted him; twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and of every one that had twenty shillings a year in Land, twelve pence, and upward, according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward, according to that rate; but with caution and protestation, That it should not hereafter be drawn for a precedent; and that no Record thereof should be made. In his sixth year the Clergy granted to the King a Tenth. In his seventh year, the Clergy granted a tenth and a half, and the Commons two fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth year of his Reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every year, wherein there was no Parliament kept, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity; to which demands the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not. In his seventh year, a Parliament began which lasted almost a whole year, in which a Subsidy was at last granted; so sharp, that even Priests and Fryers who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

Of Laws and Ordinances made in his time.

IN this Kings dayes, burning and execution by fire for Controversies in Religion was first put in practice.

Controversies in Religion first punished by burning.

Also in the first year of his Reign, an Act was made, That no person of what degree soever, should after that day alledge for his excuse, any constraint or coarcting of his Prince, for doing of any unlawfull act; and that such excuse, after that day, should stand him in no stead.

Also an Act was made, That no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their household and menial Servants. In his twelfth year, the King caused a new Coin of Nobles to be made, which was of less value than the old Noble by four pence.

Also that all Rapiers, and other Fishers from any of the Sea-coasts should sell their Fish in Cornhill and Cheapside themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again.

Also this King instituted the Dutchy Court, which he did in honour of the House of Lancaster, to the end the Lands belonging to the Dutchy, might in all following times be distinguished and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his sixth year, the King called a Parliament at Coventry, and sent Process to the Sheriffs, that they should choose no Knights nor Burgeses that had any knowledge in the Laws of the Realm; by reason whereof, it was called, the Unlearned Parliament. In his seventh year, the Mayor of London, for preservation of Fish, obtained, that all Wears which stood between London and seven mile beyond Kingston; as also such as stood between London and Gravesend, should be pulled up and taken away.

The Dutchy Court instituted by K. Henry.

The unlearned Parliament, and why so called.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

BY reason of discord between John of Gaunt, and Wickham Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop either in durance, could not, or in fear, durst not come to the Parliament House, at a time when the King required a supply of mony; but the Clergy unanimously affirming, that without their Brother, the Bishop of Winchester's presence, they neither can nor will consult of any thing, he is presently sent for, and by the King secured; In the Parliament last mention'd the Commons presented a Petition to the King and the upper House, desiring that the King might have the Temporal possessions of the Bishops and Clergy; the value whereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenances for a hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred Hospitals for maimed Souldiers. They craved likewise, that Clerks convict should not be delivered to the Bishops Prison; and that the statute made in the second year of the King against Lollards might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition, and in Person commanded them from thenceforth, not to presume to trouble their Brains about any such business, for he was resolved to leave the Church in as good state as he found it. In the twelfth year of his Reign certain learned men in Oxford, in their Sermons maintained the Opinions of Wickliffe, but the Bishops and Doctors of the University inhibited and condemned them. In his time was great Schism in the Church, by reason of two Anti-Popes; but afterwards in an assembly of Cardinals and Bishops, a third man was elected, named Alexander the fifth, who had been trained up at Oxford.

The Temporal possessions of the Clergy required to be given to the King; and how great it was.

A Schism in the Church, by two Anti-Popes.

Works

Works of Piety done in his time.

The Conduit in Cornhill begun to be built.

Whittington Colledge by whom founded. Newgate by whom builded.

William Wickham Bishop of Winchester, his Works of Piety.

He builded New Colledge in Oxford.

Also the like Colledge in Winchester.

John Gower the famous Poet his Work of Piety. The Stocks in the Poultry builded. Guild-hall in London began to be builded.

King Henry founded a Colledge at Battlefield in Shropshire, where he overcame the Lord Henry Percy. In his third year, the Conduit upon Cornhil was begun to be built. Also in his time Sir Robert Knolls made the stone Bridge of Rochester in Kent; and founded in the Town of Pomfret a Colledge and an Hospital: He also re-edified the body of the White-Fryers Church in Fleet-street; where he was afterward buried: Which Church was first founded by the ancestors of the Lord Grey of Codnor. In the eighth year of his Reign, Richard Whittington Mayor of London erected an house or Church in London, to be a House of Prayer, and named it after his own name, Whittington Colledge; with lodgings and weekly allowance for divers poor people. He also builded the Gate of London, called Newgate, in the year 1420. which was before a most loathsome prison. He builded also more than half of St. Bartholomews Hospital in West-Smithfield, and the beautiful Library in the Gray-Fryers in London, now called Christs Hospital: He also builded a great part of the East end of Guild-Hall, and a Chappel adjoining to it, with a Library of Stone, for the custody of the Records of the City. But he that exceeded all at this time in Works of Piety, was William Wickham Bishop of Winchester; his first Work was the building of a Chappel at Titchfield, where his Father, Mother, and Sister Perrot were buried: Next he founded at Southwick in Hampshire, near the town of Wickham, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of Southwick, a Chauntry, with allowance for five Priests for ever: He bestowed Twenty thousand Marks in repairing the Houses belonging to the Bithoprick: He discharged out of prison in all places of his Diocess, all such poor Prisoners as lay in execution for Debt, under Twenty pounds: He amended all the High-ways from Winchester to London, on both sides the river. After all this, on the fifth of March, 1379. he began to lay the foundation of that Magnificent Structure in Oxford, called New-Colledge, and in person laid the first stone thereof; in which place before, there stood St. Neot's Hall, built by K. Alfred at St. Neot's in-treaty; and for the affinity of the name, came to be called New-Colledge. In the year 1387. on the 26. of March, he likewise in person laid the first Stone of the like foundation in Winchester, and dedicated the same, as that other in Oxford, to the memory of the Virgin Mary. The Grocers in London purchased their Hall in Cunny-hope-Lane for 320 Marks; and then laid the foundation thereof on the tenth of May. King Henry founded the Colledge of Foderingbey in Northamptonshire; to which King Henry the fifth gave Land of the Pories of Monks aliens, by him suppressed.

John Gower the famous Poet, new builded a great part of St. Mary Overies Church in Southmark, where he lies buried. In the second year of this King, a new Market in the Poultry, calen the Stocks, was builded for free sale of Foreign Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelfth year the Guild-Hall of London was begun

to be new edified; and of a little Cottage made a goodly house, as now it is. Also in this Kings time John Colepepper, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas founded a free Schooll with competent yearly maintenance in West Peckham in Kent.

Casualties happening in his time

IN his third year, in the month of March, appeared a blazing Star; first betwixt the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beams towards the North: fore-shewing perhaps the effusion of blood that followed after in Wales and Northumberland. In the same year at Danbury in Essex, the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Fryer; who entering the Church, put the people in great fear, and the same hour with a Tempest of Whirl-wind and Thunder, the top of the Steeple was broken down, and half the Chancel scattered abroad. In his seventh year, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the Banks in Kent, that it drowned Cattle without number. Also this year the Town of Royston in Hartfordshire was burnt. In his ninth year was so sharp a Winter, and such abundance of Snow, continued December, January, February and March, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

The Devil appears in the likeness of a Gray-Friar.

A Snow that continued four Months.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, the first was Mary, one of the Daughters and Heirs of Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton; she died before he came to the Crown, in the year 1394. His second Wife was Jone, Daughter to Charles the first King of Navarre, she being the Widow of John de Montford surnamed Streaty, or the Conqueror, Duke of Britain; who dyed without any issue by King Henry, at Havering in Essex, the year 1437. In the fifteenth year of King Henry the sixth, and lieth buried by her Husband at Canterbury. He had four Sons and two Daughters; of his Sons, Henry his eldest was Prince of Wales, and after his Father, King of England. His second Son was Thomas Duke of Clarence, and Steward of England; who was slain at Beaufort in Anjou, and died without issue. His third Son was John Duke of Bedford; he married first with Anne Daughter of John Duke of Burgundy; and secondly with Jacoba Daughter of Peter of Luxemburg, Earl of St. Paul, but died also without issue. His fourth Son was Humfrey, by his Brother King Henry the fifth created Duke of Gloucester, and was generally called the good Duke: he had two Wives, but died without issue, in the year 1446, and was buried at St. Albans; though the vulgar opinion be, that he lies buried in St. Pauls Church. Of King Henry the fourths Daughters, Blanch the elder was married to Lewis Barbatus, Palatine of the Rhene, and Prince Elector: Philippa his younger Daughter, was married to John King of Denmark and Norway.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

Concerning his body, He was of middle stature, slender limbs, but well proportioned. Concerning

Concerning his mind, of a serious and solid disposition, and one that stood more upon his own legs than any of his Predecessors had done: in cases of difficulty not refusing, but not needing the advice of others; which might confirm but not better his own. He was neither merry nor sad, but both: best pleased when he was opposed, because this was like to do him good, by sharpening his invention; most angry when he was flattered, because this was sure to do him hurt, by dulling his Judgment. No man ever more loved, nor less doated upon a Wife than he. A good Husband, but not uxorious; that if there be reins to that passion, we may know he had them. It may be thought he affected the Crown, not so much out of Ambition as out of Compassion, because the oppressions of his Countrey he could not so well help being a Subject, as a King; for otherwise we may truly say, he was a loser by the Crown, being not so great for a King, as he was before for a Subject. The Crown rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever since been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why else would he take upon him the *Crusado*, having been told by a skilful Soothsayer, That he should dye in *Jerusalem*? but it seems he did not believe him.

Of his death and Burial

IN the forty sixth year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a spirit to be idle, he took upon him the *Crusado*, and great provision was made for his Journey to *Jerusalem*: but alas, his Journey to *Jerusalem* required no such provision, for being at his Prayers at St. Edward's shrine, he was suddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Westminster's* house; where recovering his Senses, and finding himself in a strange place, he asked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbot's house, in a Chamber called *Jerusalem*: Well then (said he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the *Jerusalem* where a Soothsayer told me I should dye. And here he died indeed, on the 20. day of *March*, in the year 1413. when he had lived six and forty years, reigned Thirteen and a half. It is worth remembering, That all the time of his sickness, his will was to have his Crown set upon his bolster by him; and one of his fits being so strong upon him, that all Men thought him directly dead; the Prince coming in, took away the Crown: when suddenly the King recovering his senses, missed his Crown; and asking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it: whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down, said, *Sir, to all our Judgments, and to all our griefs, you seemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown as being my Right: but seeing to all our Comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully than I took it, and pray God you may long live to wear it your self.* Well (saith the King sighing) what right I had to it, God knows. But (saith the Prince) if you dye King, my Sword shall maintain it to be my Right against all opposers. Well (saith the King) I refer all to God: but I charge thee on my Blessing, That thou administer the Laws

He dies of
an Apoplexy.

His Ad-
vise
the Prince.

indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to do Justice, or be sparing of mercy. And then turning about, said, *God bless thee, and have mercy on me.* And with those words gave up the Ghost. His body with all Funeral Pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there solemnly buried.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour in his time, of whom there was store, I shall need to say no more than what hath already been said in the body of the story; only I cannot but remember Sir Robert Knolls, who was born of mean parentage, made himself famous over all Christendom; and dying at a Manner of his in *Norfolk*, was brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the White-Friers in *London*, which himself had re-edified. But for men of Learning, I must set in the first place, *William Wickham*, a man of no Learning, yet well worthy to hold the place. In relating of whose life, I must have leave to expatiate a little. His Fathers name was *John Long*, or as some say, *Perot*; but as *Campion* proveth, *Wickham*; and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was Parish-Clerk of *Wickham* in *Hampshire*, where he taught Children to write: In which quality his Son *William* proved so excellent, that *Nicholas Wod-dal*, Constable of *Winchester* Castle, took him from his Father, and kept him at School, first at *Winchester*, afterward at *Oxford*; till himself being made Surveyor-General of the Kings Works, he sent for this *William* to serve him as his Clerk: who in short time grew so expert in that imployment that *Adam Tarleton* Bishop of *Winchester*, commended him to the King, who imployed him presently in surveying his Fortifications at *Dover*, and *Queenborough* Castles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *Windfor* Castle, and his Houses of *Henly* and *East-Hampstead*. And here first Envy rose up against him, for having caused to be Engraven on a stone of a Wall at *Windfor* Castle, these words, *This made William Wickham*. Some that envied his rising, complained to the King of his insolency, as arrogating to himself, that excellent piece of Building to be done at his charge: but *Wickham* called before the King about it, made answer, That his meaning was not, neither by any indifferent Construction could it import, that *Wickham* made that Building, but that the same Building made *Wickham*, as being a means of the Kings great favour toward him: This answer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his favour; and being now entred into the Ministry, was first made Parson of *St. Martins* in the Fields, then Minister of *St. Martins le Grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provost of *Wells*, and Rector of *Manybens* in *Devonshire*; so as at one time he had in his hands so many Ecclesiastical Livings, that the value of them in the Kings Books amounted to eight hundred seventy six pounds, thirteen shillings: besides which, he was honoured with many Temporal places of great profit and respect, as to be his principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the Kings Revenues in *France*, and some other Offices. After which

William Wickham his
parentage
and rising.

the

the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, means was made to the King to bestow that place upon him. And here, the second time, did envy rise up against him, informing the King that he was a man of little or no learning, and no way fit for such a dignity; Whereupon the King made stay of granting it: but when *Wickham* came before the King, and told him, That what he wanted in personal learning, he would supply with being a founder of Learning: This so satisfied the King, that he bestowed the place upon him. After this he was made Lord Treasurer of *England*; and here the third time did envy rise up against him: for the King requiring of his Subjects a supply of money, it was answered, That he needed no other supply than to call his Treasurer to accompt. This blow strook deep upon the Bishop; for he was presently charged to give accompt for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds: and whilst he was busie in preparing his accompt, all his Temporalities, upon importunity of *John of Gaunt*, were seized into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*, and himself upon pain of the Kings displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this case he dismisseth his Train, and sendeth copies abroad of his accompt, if it might be received; but was hindred by the working of *John of Gaunt* against him, upon this ground (as was thought:) Queen *Philippa* Wife to King *Edward* the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, told *Wickham*, that *John of Gaunt* was not the lawful Issue of King *Edward*, but a supposititious Son: for when he was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a Daughter, knowing how desirous the King was to have a Son, she exchanged that Daughter with a Dutch Woman for a Boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same time with the Queen. Thus much she confessed, and withal made the Bishop swear, That if the said *John of Gaunt* should at any time either directly or indirectly attempt the Crown; or that rightfully, through want of Issue, it should devolve unto him; that then he should discover this matter, and make it known unto the King and Council. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding *John of Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his supposed Mother, advising him not to seek higher than a private state; for else he was bound by an Oath to make it known to all the World. Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the Son of *John of Gaunt* not only aspiring, but possessed of the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and joyn at least with the Bishop of *Carlisle*, in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that *Wickham* was a Temporizer, or that *John of Gaunt* was a most patient man, to suffer the affront of such an indignity, with less than the death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortal grudge to the Bishop; who had no way to withstand such an Enemy, but by making *Alice Pierce* his friend, by whose means, after two years, he was restored to all his Livings; and afterward King *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* banished, by the means

John of Gaunt said to be a supposititious son.

of a greater friend than *Alice Pierce* (his full purse) he obtained in the second year of King *Richard*, a general Pardon under the great Seal of *England*; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and died in the fourth year of this King *Henry* the fourth, being then of the age of above 80 years, and lieth buried in the Church of *St. Swithins* in *Winchester*, in a Monument of his own making in his life-time, leaving for his Heir *Thomas Perrot*, the Son of his sister *Agnes*, married to *William Perrot*.

Another great example of the volubility of Fortune in Professors of Learning, was *Roger Walden*, who dyed in the ninth year of this King: He was at first a poor Scholar in *Oxford*; and the first step of his rising, was, to be a Chaplain in the Colledge there of *St. Maries*; from thence by degrees he got to be Dean of *York*; and after this, a high step, to be Treasurer of *England*; and yet a higher after that upon the banishment of *Thomas Arundel*, to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: But being now at the top, he came down again: for in this Kings time, *Thomas Arundel* being restored to the Arch-Bishoprick, *Walden* was not only put out of that place, but was called to accompt for the Treasureship; and though he shewed his *Quietus est*, yet all his Temporalities were seized, and his person imprisoned, till by the mediation of the now Arch-Bishop *Arundel*, he was made Treasurer of *Callice*, and after promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

Roger Walden his rising and fall.

The next place after these is justly due to *Geoffrey Chaucer*, and *John Gower*, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of *English* Poets in all the times after. *Chaucer* dyed in the fourth year of this King, and lieth buried at *Westminster*: *Gower*, in this Kings ninth year, and was buried at *St. Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*. And now come others to be remembered, who lived and died in this Kings time. *Hugh Legate* born in *Hartfordshire*, a Monk of *St. Albans*, who wrote *Scholies* upon *Boetius de Consolatione*. *Nicholas Gorham*, born also in *Hartfordshire*, a *Dominick Fryer*, and the French Kings Confessor, though an *English* man, *Walter Disse*, so called of a Town in *Norfolk*, where he was borne, Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*. *Lawrence Holbeck*, a Monk of *Ramsay*, who wrote an *Hebrew Dictionary*. *John Cotton* Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*. *Richard Scroop*, brother to *William Scroop* Lord Treasurer of *England*, made Archbishop of *York*; and writing an invective against King *Henry*, lost his head. *William Thorpe*, an earnest follower of *John Wickliffe*, for which he was committed to *Saltwood Castle*, where he died. *Stephen Patrington*, born in *Yorkshire*, and *Robert Mascall*, a *Carmelite* Frier of *Ludlow*; both of them Confessors to King *Henry* the Fifth. *Boston* a Monk of the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatises. *John Purvey*, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and compelled to recant. *Thomas Rudburn* Bishop of *St. Davids*, who wrote a Chronicle. *Nicholas Riston* who considering the strife between the then Anti-Popes, wrote a Book, *De tollendo Schismate*. *Robert Wansham* a Monk in *Dorsetshire*, who wrote a Book in Verse,

Verse; Of the Original and Signification of words; Robert Wimbeldon an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde Rationem Villicationis tue.*

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Time.

In his first year,
Sir Thomas Knolls was Mayor.
William Waldren, William Hende, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir John Francis was Mayor.
John Wakel, William Ebot, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir John Shadworth was Mayor.
William Venor, John Fremingham, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Walcot was Mayor.
Richard Marlow, Robert Chichely, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir William Ascham was Mayor.
Thomas Falconer, Thomas Pool, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Hinde was Mayor.
William Louth, Stephen Spilman Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir John Woodcock was Mayor.
Henry Barton, William Cromer, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir Richard Whittington was Mayor.
Nicholas Watton, Geoffry Brooke, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir William Stondon was Mayor.
Henry Pontfraet, Henry Halton, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir Drew Barentine was Mayor.
Thomas Buck, William Norton Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Marlow was Mayor,
John Law, William Chichely, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir Thomas Knolls was Mayor,
John Penne, Thomas Pike, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir Robert Chichely was Mayor.
John Rainvel, William Cotton, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
William Waldren was Mayor.
Ralph Lovenham, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

The R E I G N of
K I N G H E N R Y
 The F I F T H.

An. Dom.
 1412.

King Henry
 hath homage
 sworn to
 him before
 he was
 Crowned.

Being once
 Crowned, he
 discharged
 all his dis-
 orderly
 Compani-
 ons.

A Subsidy
 granted him
 without
 asking.

The Bishops
 shew him
 his right to
 the Crown
 of France.

HENRY of Monmouth (so called from the place in *Wales*, where he was born) eldest Son of King *Henry* the Fourth, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance, before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predecessors: and afterwards on the ninth of *April*, in the year 1412. he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Solemnities in such case accustomed: And as the Scripture speaks of *Saul*, *That as soon as Samuel had anointed him King, he had a new heart given him, and he became another man than he was before*: so was it with this King *Henry*. For presently after his Coronation, he called before him all his Companions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him, strictly charging them not to presume to come within ten miles of his Court, until such time as they had given good proof of their amendment in manners; and lest any of them should pretend want of maintenance to be any cause of their taking ill courses, he gave to every one of them a competent means whereby to subsist. And knowing (as he did) the fashion of the *Scots* and *Welsh*, that in times of change they would commonly take advantage to make Inroads upon the Borders, he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in fit places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing or repelling any such Incursions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidy was granted without asking, and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old string, of taking away the Temporalities of the Clergy: and the Bishops fearing how it might take in the Kings ears, thought it best to divert him, by striking upon another string, which they knew would be more pleasing to him, which was, to shew him the great right he had to the Crown of *France*. And thereupon *Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a long Narration deduced the King's right from *Isabel* Daughter to *Philip* the Fourth, married to King *Edward* the Second; from whom it descended by direct line to his Majesty, and no hinderance of enjoying it, but pretension of the *Salique* Laws; which (said he) was neither according to the Law of God, nor yet intended at first to that Nation: and though his Predecessors by reason of their Incumbran-

ces forbore to prosecute their claim, yet he being free from all such incumbrances, had no less power than right to do it. This indeed struck upon the right string of the Kings inclination; for as he affected nothing more than true glory, so in nothing more than in Warlike Actions. Hereupon nothing was now thought of, but the Conquest of *France*. First therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of *Semy-de-Luces*, and quarters the Three *Flower-de-Luces*, as the Kings of *France* then bare them; and that he might not be thought to steal advantage, but to do it fairly, he sent Ambassadors to *Charles* the sixth, then King of *France*, requiring in peaceable manner the surrender of the Crown of *France*: which if he would yield unto, then King *Henry* would take to Wife his Daughter *Katharine*; but if he refused to do it, then King *Henry* would with Fire and Sword enforce it from him, or lose his life. The Ambassadors sent, were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord Grey, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with five hundred Horse; who coming to the Court of *France*, were at first received and feasted, with all the honour and shew of kindness that might be: but as soon as their Message was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their entertainment was altered, and they were sent away with as little Complement, as they were before received with Honour; only told, That the King would speedily make answer to the King their Master by his own Ambassadors; and speedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of *Vendosme*, *William Barotier* Archbishop of *Bourges*, *Peter Fresnel*, Bishop of *Lyseaux*, with others, were arrived in *England*, as soon almost as the *English* were returned. But being come, the Archbishop of *Bourges* made a long Oration in the praise of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady *Katharine*, and 50000 Crowns with her in Dower, besides some Towns of no great importance. To which King *Henry* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made answer, that these offers were trifles, and that without yielding to his Demands, he would never desist from that he intended. And with this Answer the *French* Ambassadors were dismissed. It is said, That about this time, the Dauphin (who in the King of *France* his sickness managed the State) sent to King *Henry* a Ton of Tennis Balls, in derision of his youth, as fitter to play with them, than to manage Arms; which

He quarters
 in his Arms
 the three
 Flower-de-
 Lucies.
 He sends
 Ambassadors
 into France
 to claim the
 surrender of
 the Crown.

The King of
 France re-
 turns answer
 by his Am-
 bassadors.

The Dauphin of France sends King Henry a Ton of Tennis Balls in derision, and King Henry's Answer.

A Treason discovered against King Henry.

Richard Earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scroop, Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Grey Earl of Northumberland put to death.

1415.

King Henry passeth with an Army into France.

His Devotion.

King Henry took in such scorn, that he promised with an Oath, It should not be long ere he would toss such Iron Balls amongst them, that the best Arms in France should not be able to hold a Racket to turn them. And now all things are prepared and in a readiness for the King's Journey into France, his men shipped, and himself ready to go on Shipboard; when suddenly a Treason was discovered against his Person, plotted by Richard Earl of Cambridge, Henry Lord Scroop of Masham, Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Grey Earl of Northumberland, and plotted and procured by the French Agents. These being apprehended, and upon examination confessing the Treason, and the money (which was said to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received, were all of them immediately put to death. From this Richard Earl of Cambridge, second Son of Edmund of Langley, did Richard afterward Duke of York claim and recover the Crown from the Lancaster Family. This Execution done, and the wind blowing fair, King Henry weighs Anchor, and with a Fleet of 1200 Sail, (Grafton saith but 140 Ships) but Enguerant saith, 1600. attended with Six thousand Spears, and 14000 Foot, besides Engineers and Labourers, he puts to Sea; and on our Lady Eve landed at Caux, where he made Proclamation, That no man upon pain of death should rob any Church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed: and from thence passing on, he besieged Harflew; which when no succour came within certain dayes agreed upon, the Town was surrendered and sacked. Of this Town he made the Duke of Exeter, Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant, Sir John Fastoffe, with a Garrison of 1500 men. It is said, that when King Henry entred Harflew, he passed along the streets bare-foot, until he came to the Church of St. Martin; where with great devotion he gave most humble thanks to God for this first atchieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and coming to the River of Soame, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he passed on to the Bridge of St. Maxena, where 30000 French appearing, he pitched his Camp, expecting to be fought with, and the more to encourage his men, he gave the Order of Knighthood to John Lord Ferrers of Groby, Reynold Graystock, Piercy Tempest, Christopher Morisby, Thomas Pickering, William Huddleston, Henry Mortimer, John Hosbaldon, Philip Hall: but not perceiving the French to have any mind to fight, he marched by the Town of Amyens to Bower, and there staid two dayes, expecting Battel; and from thence marched to Corby, where the Peasants of the Countrey, with certain men of Arms sent from the Dauphin, charged the right wing of the English, which was led by Hugh Stafford Lord Bouchier, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by John Bromeley of Bromeley, a Commander in the Lord Stafford's Regiment, who with his own hand slew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, displayed the same, with sight whereof, the English were so encouraged, that they presently routed the French, and put them to flight; which valiant exploit, the Lord Stafford recompensed,

by giving to Bromeley an Annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his Lands in Staffordshire. After this the King marched towards Calice, so strictly observing his Proclamation against Church-robbing; that when one was complained of for having taken a Silver Pixe out of a Church, he not only caused the same to be restored, but the Souldier also to be hanged: which point of Discipline both kept the rest from offending in that kind, and drew the people of the Countrey, under-hand to relieve his men with all things necessary. The French King hearing that King Henry had passed the River of Soame, by advice of his Council, (who yet were divided in Opinion) sent Montjoy the French King at Arms to desie King Henry, and to let him know he should be fought with; which King Henry, though his Army was much infected with Fevers, whereof the Earl of Stafford, the Bishop of Norrich, the Lord Moline, and Burnel, were lately dead: yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his message, and first having cleared a passage over a Bridge, where of necessity he was to pass, on the 22 of October, he passed over with his Army. At which time the Duke of York that led the Rereward, had discovered the Enemy to come on apace; whereof he sent word to the King, who thereupon made a stand: and appointing his Officers what course to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the Battel should begin. The French Army was divided into three Battels; in the first were placed Eight thousand men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and Fifteen hundred Cross-bows, the Wings consisting of Two thousand two hundred men at Arms. This Battel was led by the Constable of France himself, the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Erve, Richmond and Vendosme, the Lord Dampier, the Lord Admiral of France, the Admiral Buciqualt, and others. The middle Battel, wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of Barre and Alanfon, and by the Earls of Vaudemont, Salings, Blamont, Grantpee, and Rousey. In the Rereward were all the Remainder of the French Forces, guided by the Earls of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauconbridge, and the Lord Lonrey, Captain of Ardy. The Frenchmen thus ordered, being six times, some say ten times as many as the English, (who were not above nine thousand) thought of nothing but of the booty they should get. In the mean time King Henry having made choice of a piece of ground half fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had rested the night before, on both sides having strong hedges and ditches, begun there to order his Battel; but first he appointed an ambush of two hundred Archers, which upon a Watchword given, should discharge their whole flight upon the whole flank of the Enemies Horse. The Vaunt-guard consisting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of York, who out of an Heroick courage made suit for that place; with whom were joyned the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The main Battel was led by the King himself, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men: with him were the Duke of Gloucester his Brother

His strict Discipline.

The French Army, how marshalled.

Six times as many as the English.

King Henry's Army how marshalled.

A Policy.

The Duke of York slain.

The prisoners taken were all slain; how justified.

ther, the Earl Marshal, Oxford, and Suffolk. The Rereward was led by Thomas Duke of Exeter, the Kings Uncle, consisting of all sorts of weapons, the horsemen, as wings guarded the companies on both sides. The King to prevent the fury of the French Cavalry, by the direction of the Duke of York, appointed divers stakes studded with Iron at both ends, of six foot long, to be pitched behind the Archers, and appointed Pioneers to attend to remove them, as they should be directed. These things thus ordered, publick Prayers were humbly made, and the On-set was presently given by the French Horsemen; whereupon Sir William Orpington, according to direction, caused the Bow-men behind the hedges to let flie their Arrows, which so galled the French Horses, that either they cast their Riders, or through their unruliness, so opened their Ranks, that the Right wing of the English Horse had way to come in upon the French Foot; and withal, the French Horse disorderly retiring, they were miserably trodden down and dis-ranked by their own company. Upon which, the King with his main Battel came on with such resolution, that himself in person charged the Duke of Alanson, by whom he was well-near unhorsed; but afterward, having first slain two of the Dukes men, he charged the Duke again, and with his Sword beat him from his Horse; whom the King's Guard, notwithstanding the King cryed out to the contrary, slew outright: and with his fall the main Battel of the French first gave ground, then turned their backs, and lastly cast away their weapons and fled. But then certain of the French Horsemen that first ran away, led on by Robert Bondile and the Captain of Agincourt, meaning to wipe away the blot of running away from Souldiers, by fighting with Boyes, set upon the Pages and Landresses that were left in the Camp; who gave such a lamentable shriek, that King Henry verily thought some fresh forces had been come: whereupon he caused all the Arrows that were sticking in the field to be gathered, and the stakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be again used: amongst which the Duke of York's body was found, miserably hacked and defaced: the sight whereof, together with danger of a second Charge, made King Henry give order, the Prisoners should be all slain, except only some principal men, whom he caused to be bound back to back, and so left. For which fact, though done in cold blood, yet the King could not justly be taxed with cruelty, seeing the number of the Prisoners was more than of his own Souldiers; and nothing could give assurance of safety, but their slaughter. But all was not yet done; for the Earls of Marle and Fauconbridge, with six hundred men at Arms, who had stood still all day, began now to stir, and gave a brave charge upon King Henry's Army: but being but few, and their horses galled with the stakes, they had only the honour to dye bravely; and indeed they slew more of the English, than the whole Army had done before. And now at last, the King being satisfied by the scouts, that no Enemy was more to be seen, he asked what the place was called? and being told, Agincourt; Well then (said he) this shall be

from henceforth called the Battel of Agincourt. This Battel was fought at Agincourt. 1416. His devotion after the Victory.

and presently he caused the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thanks; causing the Clergy there present, to sing the Psalm of David, *In exitu Israel de Agypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one at the verse, *Non nobis Domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, should kneel down, and the horsemen bow their bodies: and then singing *Te Deum* and other Holy Hymns, they marched to the Enemies Camp, where the Souldiers had liberty given them to take the spoil.

A great Victory no doubt, but yet a victory by which the English gained not one foot of ground in France, more than they had before; and which Monshelet attributeth not so much to the valour of the English, as to the indiscretion of the French, who had so straightened the Vanguard of their Army, and pent them up so close together, that they had not room to draw out their Swords; so true is that saying, *Quos Deus vult perdere dementat*. The next day after the Battel, French Heralds came to ask leave to bury their dead, and had it, and the English Heralds appointed to make search, made return, That there were slain of the French above Ten thousand, whereof 126 were of the Nobility bearing Banners; of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-Armour, seven thousand eight hundred seventy four, whereof 500 were knighted the night before the Battel, and of common Souldiers, about 1600. Amongst the slain of the Nobility, were Charles le Brets, High Constable; Jaques of Chatillon, Admiral of France, the great Admiral of France, the Master of the Cross-Bows, the Duke of Alanson, Brabant, and Barres, the Earls of Navers, Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grand-pee, Roussey, Fauconbridge, Foys, and L'estruck. There were taken Prisoners, Charles Duke of Orleans, John Duke of Bourbon, the Lords Danvert, Fosseux, Humiers, Roy, Carvny, Fancourd, Noel, Bouciqualt; to the number in all of Fifteen hundred. On the English part were slain, Edward Duke of York, and the Earl of Suffolk, and not full Six hundred in all; but (saith Caxton) not above six and twenty in all; and Paulus Aemilius saith, besides the two Lords, only two Knights, and but ten private Souldiers in all: a Miracle rather than a Victory. But not only King Henry was the death of the French Lords before named, in the field with his Sword: but of another great Prince at home, with his Victory; for Lewis the Dauphin, eldest Son of Charles the sixth, King of France, presently upon it, without any other cause apparent, fell sick and died. Yet King Henry, to make his Enemies the better contented with their overthrow, and to take away the envy of his Victory, at his return into England with his Prisoners, which was on the sixth of November following, presently gave strait order, That no Ballad or Song should be made or sung, more than of Thanksgiving to God for his happy Victory and safe return; but without words of either disgracing the French, or extolling the English. At his entrance into London, the City presented him with a Thousand pounds, and Two Basons of Gold worth five hundred pounds more. The bodies of the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were brought

An error of the French in ordering their Battel, cause of the overthrow.

The number of French slain in the Battel.

And who of the Nobility.

The small number of the English that were slain.

The Dauphin with grief died.

brought into *England*, and the Dukes buried at *Fodringham* in *Northamptonshire*, the Earls at *New-Elme* in *Oxfordshire*.

The Empe-
rour *Sigis-
mund* comes
into Eng-
land.

1417.

Harflew be-
sieged by
the Earl of
Arminiack.

Five hun-
dred French
Ships sunk
by the Eng-
lish.

Harflew re-
scued by the
Duke of
Bedford.

About this time the Emperour *Sigismund*, Cousin-german to King *Henry*, having been first in *France*, came accompanied with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Ambassadour from the French King, into *England*; for whom there were thirty great Ships sent from the King to waft him over: but approaching to land at *Dover*, the Duke of *Glocester*, with a company of Gentlemen, having their Swords drawn, stept up to the knees in water, saying to him, That if he came as the Kings Friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any Jurisdiction, they would resist him: whereupon the Emperour renounceth all Imperial Authority, and is thereupon admitted to Land, and received with as much honour as could be done him; and afterward together with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Winchester*, is elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and sate in their Cells at the solemnity of the Feast. A principal cause of the Emperour's coming, was to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*; wherein he had brought King *Henry* to a good degree of inclination; till news came of the besieging of *Harflew* by the French, and of the Earl of *Arminiack*'s setting upon the Duke of *Exeter*, being Governour there: and then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it. Not that he disliked they should treat of Peace with their Swords in their hands, as all wise men would do; but that to treat of Peace, and in the time of the Treaty to do acts of Hostility, was an affront to all honesty, and not to be tolerated with any patience.

And now the Earl of *Arminiack* having set down before the Town, the Vice-Admiral of *France* brought up the whole Navy of the French, with intent whilst the Earl should assail it by land, to have entred the Town by the waters side: but of this purpose the valour and diligence of the Duke of *Exeter* prevented them. As soon as King *Henry* had Intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being dissuaded by the Emperour, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Sail, to the rescue of *Harflew*; who upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*: whereupon, *Norbon* the French Admiral set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven: and here began a fight, which was resolutely maintained on both sides, until the English having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other of the French, and taken three great Carricks of *Genova*, won the Harbour; and at last, though with some opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harflew*, and made the Earl of *Arminiack* glad to raise his siege. Upon the news hereof, the Emperour desisted from mediating any further for Peace with *France*; and entering into a League Defensive and Offensive with King *Henry*, wherein only the Pope was excepted, on the 19. of October he departed towards *Germany*,

whom King *Henry* accompanied to *Calice*, whither the Duke of *Burgundy* came to confirm the League concluded on before by the Earl of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Artois* only. In the mean time the French had hired divers Carricks and other great Ships of the *Genoeses* and *Italians*, which joyning with the French Fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Jaques* Bastard of *Burbon*, to hinder all succours from coming to *Harflew*; but *John* Earl of *Huntington* (Son to the Duke of *Exeter* beheaded at *Chichester*) being sent to scowr the Coasts, encountred with him, and after a long fight took him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the money for the half years pay of the Fleet, and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the mouth of the River, and then returned to the King at *Southampton*. And now upon the Twenty third of *July*, in the fourth year of his Reign, the King himself, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glocester*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Somerfet*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroop*, *Matrevers*, *Bourchier*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Ferrers* of *Chertley*, *Fanbope*, *Grey* of *Codnor*, *Sir Gilbert* *Umpbreville*, *Sir Gilbert* *Talbot*, and an Army consisting of Twenty five thousand five hundred twenty eight fighting men, besides a Thousand Artificers and Pioneers, took shipping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of *August* landed in *Normandy* near to the Castle of *Tonque*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of *August* had it yielded to him; at which time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the Castle of *Alberwilliers*, which the King gave to him and his heirs, being the first Land given by the King in *France*.

At the winning of *Tonque*, the King made eight and twenty Knights; and from thence marched with his Army to *Caen*; where to prevent the Citizens from falling out, he cast up a Mount; and then making many assaults, but finding them to do little good, he caused his Pioneers to undermine the Walls: which being done, upon the fourth of *September*, he offered the Besieged their lives, if they would submit; which they refusing, he thereupon made a shew of a general assault, whilst many of his men entred the city under the foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first: and then coming upon the backs of those that defended the Walls, easily overcame them; and then the wholly Army entred without resistance. The next day the King caused all the principal men of the Town to come before him at their Senate-house, where some of them for their stubborn refusing the grace he had offered them, were adjudged to death, and the rest fined. The spoil of the Town was distributed amongst the Souldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while; but being advertised that the King had sworn to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender, he gave twelve Hostages, That if he were not relieved before the Twentieth of *September*, he would then give it up; which not coming, he performed; and so the King had possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

And now *Charles* the new Dauphin, being but seven-

The Empe-
rour enters
League Of-
fensive and
Defensive
with King
Henry.

King *Henry*
with a great
Army passeth
into
France, and
besiegeth
Tonque Ca-
stle, and
takes it.

Difference
between the
Duke of
Burgundy
and the
Dauphin,
makes easie
way for
K. Henry's
proceedings

seventeen years of age, and bare of money, had got into his possession all the Jewels, Plate, and Money of the Queen his Mother; which so incensed her against him, that to do him a spight, she placed the Duke of Burgundy in chief authority about the King, who by reason of his infirmity, was unable himself to manage the State; and the Duke having now the Sword in his hand, meant first to repress the growing boldness of the Dauphin, and afterward to repel the common Enemy: And the Dauphin likewise, envying the Dukes advancement above him, meant first to take down his swelling greatness, and afterward to fall upon the foreign Adversary. And thus while private respects were preferred before publick, whilst the Duke and the Dauphin had their first intentions one against another, not looking after King Henry, but in the second place, after their own turns served, an easie way was left for King Henry's proceedings, and he went on at his pleasure with small opposition. He sent the Duke of

Warwick and the Lord Talbot besieged the strong Castle of Damfront: the Duke of Clarence took Courton and Burney; and many other being taken, as Chambois, Bachelotyn, Harcourt, Fantgernon, Crevener, Anvyillers, Bagles, in all of them he placed Captains and Garrison, and particularly in Fresny, Sir Robert Brent, lately made Viscount: The Duke of Gloucester also, with the Earl of March, and the Lord of Cadnor, took in all the Ile of Constantine, except Cherbourg, and thence returned to the King, but was sent back to take in that City also; which after some time, when no Relief came, was, together with the Castle, likewise surrendered; although by this time the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled, and began to joyn their Forces to make resistance. And now the Duke of Exeter the King's Uncle, with a supply of Fifteen thousand men out of England, came to the King, who presently took in the City of Eureux; and the Earl of Ryme, the strong Castle of Mille le Vesco.

The next thing attempted was the siege of Roan, a City strongly fortified, both with Walls and Ditches; and to which there was no convenient passage, but by the City of Lovies; to this City therefore he first layes siege, which when relief came not within a time agreed on, was surrendered; and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a Stone-bridge, which hindered the approach to Roan, being exceeding strongly guarded: For this, King Henry divided Floats of Wicker covered with Beasts Hides, by which the Duke of Clarence with his Quarter passed the River, and then laid siege to the Town on that side; and for the other side, he had other devices made with Hogheads and Pipes, fastned to Fir-poles and Barges, with which he passed his men over at pleasure; and in the mean time he caused divers of his Souldiers that could swim, to make shew of passing the River three miles off another way; with which the French men being deluded, drew all their Forces thither, and by this means the Fort being left unfurnished of sufficient guard, was presently forced to surrender, and the Souldiers were taken to the Kings Grace. The Bridge being thus gained, the Duke of Exeter was sent, and with him Windsor the Herald, to summon the Citizens to surrender the Town; who not onely gave proud answers, but also made a sally forth, though with the loss of Thirty of their men. Upon this obstinacy of theirs, the King presently orders his siege, his own quarter was the Charteux, the Duke of Clarence at St. Gervase, the Duke of Exeter at Port St. Dennis, and every great Commander had his quarter assigned, so as the City was begirt round, and a great chain of Iron set upon piles, and a strong wooden Bridge for passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earl of Kilmayne with sixteen hundred Irish, came to the King; and had their quarter assigned them, who behaved themselves with great valour. The Kings Cousin-german, the King of Portugal, sent likewise a Navy of Ships to the mouth of the River Seyne, which stopped all passage of succour to Roan. Many policies and practices were used.

King Henry
besiegeth
Roan.
His policies
in the siege.

1418.

Clarence, who took in the City of Bayeux, as likewise the Duke of Gloucester the City of Lyons; whilst himself remaining still at Caen, put out of the City the Natives that were impotent or young Infants, to the number of 1500. and in their places put English people, and finding a great mass of money and Plate, deposited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caused the same upon proof, to be respectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Sovereign; which moderate and just dealing won him more hearts, than the force of his Arms had won him knees; specially with the Normans, who are easier to be drawn with gentleness and love, than forced by violence and compulsion. From hence the King marched the first of October to Corfye Castle, which within three dayes yielded. The fourth of October he came to Argenton, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewise surrendered. The Town of Alansb endured eight dayes siege, but in the end did as other their Neighbour-Towns had done. From Alanson the Earl of Salisbury was sent to Fayles, to view the strength thereof, whom the King presently followed, where the besieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the second of January, then to yield up the Town. No Relief coming, the Town was yielded up, and soon after upon the like terms, the Castle. From hence the King returned to Caen, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made; That if the Inhabitants of Normandy that were fled, returned not by a day assigned, he would then grant their Lands to his Souldiers: and thereupon he gave to the Duke of Clarence, during his life, the Vicounties of Auge, Orver, and Pontius, with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the King lay at Bayeux, whilst his Navy still kept the Seas, and daily took many French Ships, but on the sixteenth of July such a Tempest took them, that they were driven to fall in with Southampton; and yet, with all their diligence, could not so save themselves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carricks laden with Marchandize were in the very Haven drowned. In the mean time the Earl of

King Henry's
liberal dealing
with the
Citizens of
Caen.

But nothing
prevailed,
till at last,
Famine.

used against the City, but none prevailed, till famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 210000 persons at the beginning of the siege, and the siege continuing long, it grew to that extremity, that the Citizens drank nothing but vinegar and water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cats and Dogs, and such like: Great numbers of the poorer sort were thrust out of the City, who not suffered to pass the *English* Army, miserably perished; only upon *Christmas-Day*, in honour of Christs Birth, the King relieved and suffered to pass as many as were at first put out, but not others that were put out the second time, but suffered them to perish.

In this distress, a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their misery, yet stood upon such high terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for eight dayes was granted them; the Eight dayes ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves, they crave one day longer, and neither in that day could any thing be agreed on: Then they crave four dayes more, in which the multitude and common people so pressed the Magistrates, and Governours of the City, that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of *January*, the City was surrendred, and the Inhabitants themselves, and all their Goods were yielded to the Kings mercy; the Duke of *Exeter* was appointed to take possession, who accordingly entred with his Souldiers. The next day after, being *Friday*, the Twentieth of *January*, the King himself made his Entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishops, sixteen Barons, and others, & was by the Clergy conducted to our Ladies Church; where after publick Thanksgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgeses and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, That all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, should enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retain their Possessions: whereupon many came in, and many Towns were surrendred. In this time of the Kings lying at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Hunflew*, *Munster de Villiers*, *Ewe*, and *New-Castle*; the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon*, and *Naunt*; and the Earl of *Warwick*, *la Roche Guyon*.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* seeing the great successes of King *Henry*, could think of no better way for his own safety, than to make a reconciliation between the two Kings; to which end, Ambassadors are sent to procure their meeting: at which time, King *Henry* for their service already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gascoigne* Captain *le Beauiff*, Earl of *Longueville*; Sir *John Gray* Earl of *Tankerville*; and the Lord *Bourchier* Earl of *Eme*. Upon the last of *May*, King *Henry* accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Glocester*, and *Exeter*, his Uncle *Beaufort*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Earls of *March*, and *Salisbury*, and a Thousand men at Arms, entred the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The *French* Queen (her Husband being taken with the Frenzy) with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and the Earl of *St. Paul*, and a company of Ladies; amongst whom, as a bait to intangle the Kings affection, was the Kings

Daughter, the beautiful Lady *Katharine*; with whose sight, though the King was marvellously taken, yet he made no shew thereof, till other things should be agreed upon; but the Dauphin having made means to the Duke of *Burgoyne* to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon at their parting; the King told the Duke, That he would have both the Lady, and all his other demands; or else drive the King of *France* out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom. Upon this, the Duke thought it best to agree with the Dauphin; and upon this, the sixth of *July*, Articles of their Reconcilement are signed and sealed. In the mean time the Earl of *Longueville* surprized the Town of *Pontboyse*, but had scarce been able to make good the surprize, if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his succour. From thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there stayed two dayes; but perceiving no shew of sally to be made, he returned to *Pontboyse*, whither the King himself came; and from thence marching on, took in the Castle of *Vaynon Villeirs*; and on the last of *August*, the Castles of *Gysfors*, and *Galyard*, and *Dumal*: so that now all *Normandy* (*Mount St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the possession of the King of *England*, which had been wrongfully detained from him, ever since the year 1207.

The Dauphin all this while, though outwardly having made a reconcilement with the Duke of *Burgoyne*, yet inwardly bearing a spleen against him, intended nothing so much as his destruction: which to effect, he procured a meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Monistrew*; where the Duke, though humbling himself in reverence to the Dauphin on his knee, was most barbarously murdered; which act, was so much the less to be pitied in the Duke, by how much in the like kinde, upon the like interview, he had caused *Lewis* the Duke of *Orleanse* to be murdered. But though this barbarous act might justly incense *Philip* Earl of *Carolois* the Duke of *Burgoyne's* Heir to seek revenge; yet as a wise and politick Prince, he forbore for the present, to make any shew of choler or distemperature; and considering with himself, that difference between the Dauphin and him, would but give King *Henry* the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propose an overture of Peace between the two Kings: And to that end Ambassadors are sent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of *Burgoyne*, whom the King kindly entertained, but seemed to intimate unto them, that he could give no great credit to their propositions, unless the Lady *Katharine* would joyn in them, whose innocence he knew would never abuse him. Whilst these things are in agitation, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Fresney*, and the Earls *Marshal* and *Huntington*, entred into *Mayn*, who approaching *Mentz*, was encountred by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they slew Five thousand, and took two hundred prisoners; for which, news being brought to *Roan*, whither King *Henry* was come to solemnize the Feast of Christs Birth, Thanksgiving to God was publickly made; and in the instant thereof, arrived other Ambassadors from the King and Queen of *France*, and a Letter from the

The Duke
of *Burgoyne*
treache-
rously mur-
dered by
the Dau-
phin.

A meeting
for recon-
ciliation
appointed
between the
two Kings
of *England*
and *France*.

1420.

1419.

the Lady Katharine to King Henry, was secretly by the Bishop of Arras delivered. The conclusion of all was, That the King of England should speed himself to Troyes, there to be espoused to the Lady Katharine; and to have assurance of the Crown of France, after the decease of the present King Charles. Whereupon with a Guard of Fifteen thousand choise Soulders, accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Huntington, Longueville, Tankerville, and Ewe, the King of England came to Troyes in Champaign, upon the 18th. day of May; where he was met by the Duke of Burgoigne, and divers of the French Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dutchess of Burgoigne, and the Lady Katharine, gave him Princely entertainment; and after some intercourse of Complement between the Princes and the Ladies, King Henry tendred to the Lady Katharine, a Ring of great value, which she (not without some blushing) received; and afterward upon the Twentieth day of May, she was affianced to him in St. Peter's Church, and on the third of June following, the Marriage was solemnized; and therewithal King Henry was published to be the only Regent of the Realm, and Heir apparent to the Crown of France: the Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were Proclaimed both in England and in France, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of account, were sworn to observe them; and in particular the Duke of Burgoigne.

King Henry affianced to the Lady Katharine, the King of France's Daughter; and withal proclaimed Regent of France, and heir apparent of the Crown.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by his Succession in the Crown, which the Genius of France will not long endure, a while it must; and therefore the main endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down. And thereupon on the fourth of June King Henry with the French King, James King of Scots, who was newly arrived, the Duke of Burgoigne, the Prince of Orange, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of French, English, Scottish, Irish, and Dutch, to the number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the seventh day laid siege to the Town of Seyns, which sided with the Dauphin, which after four days siege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of Bedford in their company, who was newly come out of England with large supplies of men and money to Monstrean, which was taken by Escalado, only the Castle held out still: during the siege whereof, King Henry created an Officer of Arms, to be King of Heraulds over the English men, and intitled him Garter; whom he sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided; for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Monsieur Guitrey, the said Captain and twelve of his friends were executed. Whereupon those of the Castle treated for Peace; but the King in eight days together would not grant so much as a Parly: so that after six weeks siege, they were enforced (their lives saved) simply to yield. From thence the King marched to Melun upon Seyn, and besieged it

King Henry with an Army of six hundred thousand marcheth against the Dauphin.

Garter King of Arms when first created.

the thirtieth of July; the Captain whereof was Barbason a Gascoigne, no less politick than valiant, who countermined some, and stopt other Mines made by the English, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with King Henry: yet at last through Famine and Pestilence was forced to yield; but being suspected to have had a hand in the murder of the Duke of Burgoigne, he was sent Prisoner to Paris; and presently thereupon, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of Burgoigne, and his Dutchess, with a Royal Train came thither, where the French King was lodged in the house of St. Paul, and the King of England in the Castle of Louvre. And here the three States of France anew under their hands and seals in most authentick manner, ratified the former Articles of King Henry's Succession in the Crown of France; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the King of England, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at Westminster.

And now King Henry began to exercise his Regency, and as a Badge of his Authority, he caused a new Coin which was called a Salute, to be made, whereon the Arms of France and England were quarterly stamped: He placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of Exeter with five hundred men, to the Guard of Paris: He awarded out Procefs against the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble-Table at Paris, which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the Murther of the Duke of Burgoigne, and by the Sentence of the Parliament, he was banished the Realm.

King Henry makes a new Coin in France, called a Salute.

After this, the King making Thomas Duke of Clarence his Lieutenant General of France and Normandy, on the 6. of January, with his beloved Queen Katharine left Paris, and went to Amyene, and from thence to Callice; and thence landing at Dover, came to Canterbury, and afterward through London to Westminster, where the Queen upon St. Matthias's day, the 24. of February was crowned; the King of Scots sitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the Kings Uncle the Bishop of Winchester being on the right hand. All were served with covered Messes of Silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in observation of the Lent season.

1421.

A Coronation Feast all of Fish.

After this, the King took his Progress through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking order for administering of Justice to high and low; and then met the Queen at Leicester, where they kept their Easter.

In the mean time the Duke of Clarence making a Road into Anjou, came to the City of Ampers, where he Knighted Sir William Rosse, Sir Henry Goddard, Sir Rowland Vydor, Sir Thomas Beaufort his natural Son; and returning home laden with prey, was advertised, that the Duke of Alanfon intended to intercept his passage: whereupon he sent the scout-Master, Andrew Fogosa, a Lombard, to discover the face of the Enemy, who being corrupted, brought report, That their number was but small, and those but ill ordered; that if he presently charged, there could be no resistance: The

Dukes

The Duke
of Clarence
by treachery
slain, with
divers
others.

Dukes Credulity caused him to draw all his Horses together; and leaving his Bows and Bills behind, which were his chiefest strength, with his Horse only he makes towards the Enemy: but the Traitor leading to a straight, where by his appointment an Ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat nor flee, he soon perceived the Treachery, but finding no remedy, he manfully set Spurs to his Horse, and charged upon the Enemy; but over-laid with multitude, and wearied with fight, was himself, with the Earl of Tankerville, the Lord Rosse, the Earl of Angus, Sir John Lumley, Sir John Verent, and above Two thousand English slain: The Earls of Somerset, Suffolk, and Pearch, Sir John Berkley, Sir Ralph Nevil, Sir William Bows, and 60 Gentlemen were taken Prisoners. The body of the Duke of Clarence was by Sir John Beaufort his base Son, (the Duke dying without other Issue) convey'd into England, and buried at Canterbury besides his Father: and this disaster happened upon Easter-Eve. The King was at Beverly when he heard of his Brothers death, and presently thereupon dispatched away Edmund Earl of Mortaigne into Normandy, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his High Court of Parliament to Westminster, requiring aid by money, to revenge his Brothers death; which was readily granted: and the King thus provided, sent his Brother the Duke of Bedford with an Army to Callice, consisting of four thousand men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, whom about the middle of May he followeth himself, and safely arriving at Callice, halted to relieve Charters, which the Dauphin with seven thousand men had besieged; but hearing of the Kings coming was retired to Tours. the King of Scots, with the Duke of Gloucester, about the eighth of July besieged Dreux; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the Twentieth of that month, then to surrender it: no relief coming, it was surrendered. The King pursued the Dauphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surprized the Town of Barrency, where all that craved it, he took to mercy, as likewise he did at Rougemont; from thence he went to Orleans, and from thence to Vignes St. Ton, and from thence to Paris; where having fitted himself with supplies he went and sat down before Menise in Brye, which after some opposition, he also took; and thereby had possession of all the Fortresses in the Ile of France, in Loumans, in Brye, and in Champaigne.

Upon St. Nicholas day, in the year 1422. Queen Katharine was brought to bed of a Son at Windsor, who was by the Duke of Bedford and Henry Bishop of Winchester, and the Countess of Holland Christened by the name of Henry; whereof, when the King had notice, out of a Prophetick rapture he said; Good Lord! I Henry of Monmouth shall small time reign, and much get; and Henry born at Windsor shall long time reign, and lose all; but God's Will be done.

1422
Queen Katharine is brought to bed of a Son at Windsor: and King Henries Prophetical speech of him.

About this time the Dauphin laid siege to Cosney, which the King was intente to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of Burgoign's; and therefore tendred it more than if it had

been his own; and making over-hasty Journeys, he over-heat himself with Travel; and coming to Senlys, found himself so ill at ease, that he was forced to remain there, and to send his Brother the Duke of Bedford to prosecute his design; which the Duke performed, and the Dauphin upon his approach, retired into Berry; whereof in mockage he was after called the King of Berry. But the Kings Fever and Flux increasing, he was removed to Boys de Vincens; where growing worse and worse, within a few dayes he died. But somewhat before his departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of Bedford Lieutenant General of Normandy, and Regent of the Kingdom of France, and his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, he had made Protector of England, and of his Sons Person: Exhorting all to be true and faithful to the Duke of Burgoign, to be at unity amongst themselves, to be loyal to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, to hold and preserve what he by his Valour and Gods assistance had won; and never to conclude contract of Amity with the Dauphin or Duke of Alanson, untill they had submitted themselves to the Kings Grace. And so giving God thanks for all his favours and blessings bestowed upon him, in the midst of saying a Psalm of David, he departed this life; who might have justly prayed God with David, *Take me not away in the midst of my dayes*, for he died about the age of five or six and thirty years, which in David's account is the midst of the number of the dayes of mans life: but though he died in the midst of his Dayes, yet he died in the fulness of his Glory: and of whom it may be said, — *Jamque arce potitus, Ridet anhelantes duri ad fastigia montis*: When he had reigned nine years and five months.

King Henry with over-hasty Journeys in France, falls sick and dies.

His Exhortations to his Lords at his death.

Of his Taxations.

IN his first year, an incredible sum of money was given him by the Clergy, to divert him from a motion propounded to take away their Temporalties; and in the same year a Subsidy was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth year was granted him, towards his wars in France, two whole Tenths of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; which being far too short to defray his great charge, he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of Beaufort his Unkle for a great sum of money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of London, for Ten thousand Marks. In his ninth year at a Parliament at Westminster, for revenge of the Duke of Clarence's death, two Tenths of the Clergy, and one Fifteenth of the Laity, which because the haste of the business could not stay the usual course of Collection, the Bishop of Winchester brought in presently Twenty thousand pounds, to receive it again when the Subsidy should be gathered. The same year also the Duke of Bedford in the Kings absence called a Parliament, wherein was granted towards his Wars, one Fifteenth, to be paid in such money as was at that time current. These were all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great Achievements, by which it appears what great matters

King Henry pawneth his Crown to raise money.

matters a moderate Prince may do, and yet not grieve his Subjects with Taxations.

Of Laws and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

HE Ordained the King of Heralds over the English, which is called Garter.

No gold to be offered in payment unless it were weight and thereupon Weight ordained.

In his ninth year in a Parliament holden at Westminster, it was ordained that no man should offer Gold in payment, unless it were weight; and thereupon were appointed ballances and weights.

An act made in the thirteenth year of King Richard the second, which disabled the Alien-Religious to enjoy any Benefices within England, was in the beginning of this King's Reign put in execution; and further, this King excluded also the French from all preferment Ecclesiastical; and those Priors Aliens Conventual who had institution and induction, were bound to put in security, not to disclose, or cause to be disclosed, the Counsel and secrets of the Realm.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Sir John Oldcastle censured for maintaining Wickliffe's Doctrine.

IN the beginning of his Reign, the Wicklevists increased greatly, of whom Sir John Oldcastle was chief; who by marriage of a Kinswoman of the Lord Cobham's of Cooling in Kent, obtained that Title. This Knight being very valorous, and in great favour with the King, was in a Synod at London accused for maintaining of Wickliffe's Doctrine; whereof the King being informed, sent for him, and instantly dealt with him to submit himself to the Censure of the Church: But Sir John Oldcastle told the King, that he owed his Subjection only to his Majesty: and as for others, he would stand for the Truth against them, to the uttermost of his life. Upon this he was served by Process to appear in the Arch-Bishop's Court, and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy; and afterwards in a Synod at Rochester, was by the Arch-Bishop pronounced to be an Heretick; who then enacted that Decree: That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be Translated into the English tongue. But mark the Judgment that fell upon his own Tongue, whose Roots and Blade (shortly after (as it is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speak, nor swallow down meat, but in horror lay languishing, till at last starved by famine, he so died. In the mean time Sir John Oldcastle wrote his Belief, and presented it himself to the King; which the King would in no wise receive, but suffered him in his Presence and Privy Chamber to be summoned; who appearing before the Arch-Bishop, after divers Examinations, was condemned of Heresie, and committed to the Tower of London, from whence shortly after he escaped, and got into Wales. The King by his Proclamation, promised a thousand Marks to any that should bring him in; but so much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the Kings offer was not much regarded, but he continued four years after undiscovered: At last he was taken in the Borders of Wales, within a Lordship belonging to the Lord Powes, who brought him to London, before the Duke of

A Judgment of God upon the Arch-bishop of Canterbury for denying the Scriptures to be translated into English.

Bedford, Regent of the Realm; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the Tower to St. Giles's Field, and there hanged in a Chain by the middle, and after consumed by fire, the Gallows and all. At the time of his first Conviction, four years before, it was rumor'd, that twenty thousand men in Arms were assembled in St. Giles's Field: where upon the King, at midnight, himself in person went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir John Oldcastle; but without any intent against the King: yet was Sir Roger Aston, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in Smithfield; and all the Prisons in and about London were filled with them.

Sir John Oldcastle condemned of Heresie, is hanged in St. Giles's field in a chain by the middle.

In his third year, the Order of Church Service throughout England, was changed from the use of Pauls to the use of Salisbury, to the great disliking of many in those dayes.

In his fourth year, a Council was holden at Constance, whither he sent Ambassadors, the Earl of Warwick, the Bishops of Salisbury, Bath and Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior of Worcester; In which Council it was decreed, that England should have the Title of the English Nation, and should be accounted one of the five principal Nations in rank before Spain; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all Wickliffe's Positions condemned; Also John Huss, and Hierome of Prague (notwithstanding the Emperors safe Conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schism of Anti-Popes, which had continued the space of nine and twenty years, was reformed. Benedict the 13. had been elected by the Spaniard; Gregory the 12. by the French; John the 24. by the Italians: And now in this Council, begun in February, 1414, and continued above three years; wherein were assembled, besides the Emperor, the Pope, and the Palgrave of Rhein, four Patriarchs, twenty seven Cardinals, seven and forty Arch-Bishops, one hundred and threescore Bishops, Princes, and Barons with their attendants, above thirty thousand; The foresaid elected Popes were all put down, or else resigned; and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected Otho Colonna by the name of Martin the Fifth.

In a Council holden at Constance, England ranked before Spain.

John Huss burned.

Three Anti-Popes put down, and a fourth established.

In this year also fell out an accident, which shews the strict observance of Ecclesiasticall Censures in those dayes. The Wives of the Lord Strange, and Sir John Trussel of Warrington in Cheshire, striving for place at a Sermon in St. Dunstan's Church in the East, their Husbands being present, fell themselves to striving in their Wives behalf, and great part-taking there was on both sides, some slain, and many wounded. The Delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church suspended; and upon examination, the Lord Strange being found guilty, was by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parson of St. Dunstan's went before, after whom followed all the Lords Servants in their Shirts; after them went the Lord himself bareheaded, with a wax Taper in his hand; then followed the Lady bare-footed;

Penance enjoined for striving in the Church.

and then last, came the Arch-deacon *Reynold Renwood*: in which order they went from *Pauls* where the Sentence was given, to *St. Dunstons Church*. Where at the re-hallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the vessels with water; and according to the Sentence, offered to the Altar an Ornament of the value of ten pounds: and the Lord a Pixe of Silver of five pounds. A Penance no doubt which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of money, if the discipline of the Church had in those dayes allowed it: but it seems the commutation of Penance was not as yet come in use.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament at *Leicester*, a hundred and ten Priors alien were suppressed, because they spoke ill of his Conquests in *France*; and their possessions were given to the King: but by him, and King *Henry* the sixth were afterward given to other Monasteries, and Colledges of Learned men.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

His King re-edified his Royal Mannor, which was then called *Sheene*, now *Richmond*, and founded two Monasteries not far from it; the one of *Carthusians*, which he named *Bethleem*; the other of Religious men and women of the Order of *St. Bridget*, which he named *Sion*: He also founded the Brotherhood of *St. Giles* without *Cripplegate* in *London*. In the second year of his Reign, *Moor-gate* near to *Coleman-street* was first made, by *Thomas Fawkenner* Mayor of *London*, who caused also the Ditches of the City to be cleansed, and a common Privy that was on the *Moore* without the Wall, to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon *Walbrook*, into the which Brook he caused the water of the City to be turned by Grates of Iron, in divers places. In his sixth year, *William* of *Sevenoke* Mayor of *London*, founded in the Town of *Sevenoke* a Free-School, and Thirteen Alms-houses. This man was found at *Sevenoke* in *Kent*, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Christned and brought up, bound Prentice in *London*, and came at last to be Mayor of the City. Also *Robert Chicheley* Mayor of *London* gave liberally to the Alms-houses founded by his Brother *Henry Chicheley*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, at *Higham Ferrers* in *Northamptonshire*, where they were born. But *Henry Chicheley* the Arch-Bishop founded two Colledges in *Oxford*; one called *Bernard Colledge*, renewed by *Sir Thomas White*, and named *St. John's Colledge*; the other called *All-Souls*, which continueth at this day as he left it. Also *John Kempe*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, converted the Parish Church of *Wye* in *Kent*, where he was born, into a Colledge of Secular Priests,

Casualties happening in his time.

In the fifth year of his Reign, a great part of the City of *Normich* was burnt, with all the house of the Friars Preachers, and two Friars of that Order. In his third year, on the Feast of the Purification, seven Dolphins came up the River of *Thames*, whereof four were taken,

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Katharine* the Daughter of King *Charles* the sixth of *France*, who was his Queen two years and about three months, married at *Trois* in *Champaign* the third day of *June*, 1420. and afterward *February* the 14. Crowned at *Westminster*. She surviving King *Henry*, was re-married to *Owen Tudor* an Esquire of *Wales*, who pretended to be descended from *Cadwallader* the ancient King of *Wales*, though some write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whose meanness of Estate was recompensed by the delicacy of his personage, so absolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the only contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumstances. By him she had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jasper*, and *Owen*, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son *Owen* took the habit of Religion at *Westminster*, the other two were by King *Henry* the sixth (their half-Brother) advanced in honour: *Edmund* was created Earl of *Richmond*, and marrying the sole Heir of *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerset*, was Father by her, unto *Henry* the seventh, King of *England* the only Heir of the House of *Lancaster*. *Jasper* her second Son was first created Earl of *Pembroke*, and after Duke of *Bedford*, but died without lawfull Issue. This Queen, either for Devotion, or her own safety, took into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*; who dying the second of *January* 1436. she was buried in our Ladies Chappel within *St. Peter's Church* at *Westminster*; whose Corps taken up in the Reign of King *Henry* the seventh, her Grand-child, (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable Structure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her Husband's Tomb, hath ever since so remained, and never since re-buried, where it standeth (the cover being loose) to be seen and handled of any that will. By her King *Henry* had only one Son, named *Henry*, who succeeded him in the Kingdom.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, lean of body, and his bones but small, but strongly made, somewhat long necked, black hair'd, and very beautiful offace, swift in running, so as he with two of his Lords, without Bow or other Engine, would take a wilde Buck or Doe in a large Park. He delighted in Songs and Musical Instruments, inso much that in his Chappel amongst his private Prayers, he used certain Psalms of *David*, translated into *English* Metre by *John Lydgate* Monk of *Bury*. And indeed it may be truly said of him as was said of *Aneas*: *Quo justior alter, Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*; for he seldom fought battel where he got not the Victory; and never got Victory whereof he gave not the Glory to God, with publick Thanksgiving. He was a better man, a King than a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orb, and therefore no marvel if he were something exorbitant. He was of a merciful disposition, but not to the prejudice of wisdom; as thinking wise cruelty to be

Moor-gate when first built.

The strange fortune of *William Sevenoke*.

Saint John's Colledge, and *All-Souls Colledge* in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Seven Dolphins in the River of *Thames*.

Owen Tudor married King *Henry's* Widow.

be better than foolish Pity, He was no less politick than valiant, for he never fought Battel, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by stratagem as by force. He was so temperate in his diet, and so free from Vain-Glory, that we may truly say, he had something in him of *Cesar* which *Alexander* the great had not, that he would not be drunk; and something of *Alexander* the Great, which *Cesar* had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeed a great effecter of Glory, but not of the Glory of the blast of mens mouths, but of the Glory that fills the sails of Time. He died of full years, though not full of years: if he had lived longer, he might have gone over the same again, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not finall to Clergy-men; insomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Priests.

King Henry
called the
Prince of
Priests.

Of his Death and Burial.

Some say he was poysoned, which *Polydore Virgil* saith, was much suspected. The *Scots* write, that he died of the Disease called *Saint Piacre*, which is a Palsie and a Cramp: *Enguerant* saith, That he died of *St. Anthonie's* fire. But *Peter Basset* Esquire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a *Pleurisie*, which at that time was a sickness strange and but little known. Being dead, his body was embalmed and closed in Lead; and laid in a Chariot Royal richly apparelled in cloth of Gold, was conveyed from *Boys de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and so to *Roan*, to *Abbeville*, to *Calice*, to *Dover*, and from thence through *London* to *Westminster*, where it was interred next beneath King *Edward* the Confessor; upon whose Tomb Queen *Katharine* caused a Royal Picture to be laid, covered all over with silver Plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of massie silver: All which at that Abbeyes suppression were sacrilegiously broken off and transferred to prophaner uses. He died the last day of *August*, in the year one thousand four hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine years and five months, lived eight and thirty years; though some say, two years fewer.

Of Men of Note in his time.

Men of Valour in his time were so frequent, that we may know it to be a true saying, *Regis ad exemplum*; and men of Learning likewise in such numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. First *Alan de Lin* a Carmelite Fryer in that Town, who wrote many Treatises; Then *Thomas Orborne* a Franciscan Fryer, who wrote an History of England; Then *John Seguerd*, who kept a School in *Norwich*, and wrote sundry Treatises, reproving as well the Monks and Priests, as

Poets for writing of filthy Verses. *Robert Rose* a Carmelite Fryer in *Norwich*, who writing many Treatises, yet said nothing against the *Wicklavists*. *Richard Cayster* born in *Norfolk*, a man of great holiness of life, favouring (though secretly) the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*: *William Wallis* a Black Fryer in *Lyn*, who made a Book of Moralizations upon *Ovid's Metamorphosis*; *William Taylor* a Priest and Master of Art in *Oxford*, a stedfast follower of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, and burnt for the same at *Smithfield*, in *London*, the last year of this Kings Reign. *Bartholomew Florarius*, called so of a Treatise which he wrote called *Florarium*; who wrote also another Treatise of Abstinence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and the profession of the Fryers Mendicants. Also *Titus Livius de Foro Livis*, an Italian born, but seeing he was resident here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: also many others.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,
Sir William Cromar was Mayor.
John Sutton, John Michael, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir Thomas Falconer was Mayor.
John Michael, Thomas Allen, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir Nicholas Wotton was Mayor.
William Cambridge, Alan Everard, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir Henry Barton was Mayor.
Richard Whittington, John Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Richard Marlow was Mayor.
Henry Read, John Gedney, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
William Sevenoke was Mayor.
John Brian, John Barton, John Parves, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir Richard Whittington was Mayor.
Robert Whittington, John Butler, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
William Cambridge was Mayor.
John Butler, John Well, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir Robert Chichely was Mayor.
Richard Goseline, William Weston, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING HENRY The SIXTH.

An. Dom.
1422.

THere hath been a Race of Princes, of which for three Generations together, it might be said rightly, *Pulcherrima Proles, Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus Annis*; For King Edward the Third had many Sons, not inferiour in Valour to the many Sons of King Priamus, not excepting his valiant Son Hector, having so equal a match for him as Edward the Black Prince, who wanted but an Homer to have been an Achilles. Then John of Gaunt had divers Sons, Men as Valorous as any that Age afforded. Then Henry the fourth had four Sons, of so Heroical Disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only King Henry the Fifth to be his eldest. And now that in him the Heroical Nature was come to the height, it degenerated again in King Henry the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the Mothers side; who though in her self she was a Princess of a noble Spirit, yet being the Issue of a crazy Father, what marvel if she proved the mother of a crazy Issue? And yet even this Issue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts, in their kind, though not of parts kindly for a Prince; in a private man praise-worthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder metal than the soft temper of King Henry the Sixth was made of: and in him we may see the fulfilling of the Text; *Vae Genti cuius Rex est puer, Wo to that Nation whose King is a Child*. For he was not above eight months old, when he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. Although that Text perhaps is not meant so much of a child in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a Child in abilities of Ruling, whereof though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient supply: of which in this King we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a child in years, so long his Kingdoms were kept flourishing by the providence of his careful Uncles; but as soon as he left being a Child in years, and yet continued a Child in ability of Ruling, then presently began all things *In pejus Ruere, & retro sublapsa referri*, all things went to wrack both in France and England. And thus much was necessary to be said by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of Nilus, in King Henry the Sixth.

King Henry
but eight
months old
when his
Father died.

Henry called of Windsor, because born there, the only Child of King Henry the Fifth, as yet scarce nine months old, succeeded his Father,

and was proclaimed King of England on the last of August, in the year 1422. by reason of whose Infancy King Henry his Father had before by his Will appointed, and now the Lords by their consent confirmed the Regency of France to John Duke of Bedford, the Government of England to Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, the Guard of his Person to Thomas Duke of Exeter, and Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellour: wherein it was wisely provided that one man should not rule all, lest it should prove a spur to aspiring, and withal stay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the highest form of Authority: And indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong impression of love and loyalty towards his Son.

John Duke
of Bedford is
appointed
Regent of
France, and
Humfrey
Duke of
Gloucester.
Guardian
of the Kings
person.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France, was to keep that by the Sword, which King Henry the Fifth by his Sword had gotten; wherein he had many and great Assistants, specially the two Terrors of France, Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and John Lord Talbot: and amongst the French themselves the Duke of Burgoyne, a friend no less powerful than firm unto him.

Assistants to
the Duke of
Bedford.

The Dauphin also (now crowned King at Poytiers, and called Charles the seventh of France, his Father being newly dead, within a little more than a month after King Henry) had likewise great assistants, the Duke of Alanson, and many other Peers of France, and of the Scots many, and some perhaps of the English that took part with him; by means whereof the game of Fortune was a long time played between them with great variety. The first Act of the Duke of Bedford's Regency, was, an Oration which he made to the French in Paris, which wrought this good effect; that King Henry, is Proclaimed King of England and of France, and such French Lords as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The first Act of hostility was performed by the new King of France, who sends the Lord Granville to Pont Meaulan, who surprized it, putting all the English Souldiers to the Sword: but the Regent sending thither Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, so strongly beleagured it, that the Lord Granville not only surrendered it, but swore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of England. From thence the Earl marched to Seyne, which he took by assault; and

The Dau-
phin Crown-
ed King at
Poytiers,
and called
Charles the
seventh.
What as-
sistance he
had.

King Henry
is proclaim-
ed in Paris,
King of
England
and France.

and put all the Souldiers (except the Captain Sir William Maryn) to the Sword.

1423.
The Duke of Bedford marries the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne.

The Parisians aspiring are repressed by the Regent.

At this time the Regent, the Duke of Burgoyne, John Duke of Britain, and his Brother-in-law the Earl of Richmond; (who revolted afterward to the new King of France, and was by him made Constable in France) met at Amiens; and there not only renewed the old League, but further enlarged it, to be offensive and defensive respectively: and to make the friendship the more firm, the Regent married Anne the Sister of the Duke of Burgoyne at Troyes. In this mean time the Parisians taking advantage of the Regent's absence, conspired to have let in the new King into Paris: but the day before the night appointed for his admission, the Regent with his power entred, apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to publick execution. That done, he furnished all the Forts and places of strength with English men, and sent Sir John Falstoffe, who took in Pacye, and Coursay, two strong Castles; whilst himself with his Forces took in Traynels, and Braye upon Seyne.

The Montague Earle of Salisbury defeats a great Army of the French.

The Constable of France the mean while with the new Kings Forces, laid siege to Cravant in Burgoyne; but the Regent sent thither the Earl of Salisbury, who set upon the French, and after a long fight, putting them to flight, slew about 1800 Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thousand common Souldiers, Scots and French, took prisoners the Constable himself, the Earl of Ventadour, Sir Alexander Alerdyn, Sir Lewis Feignye, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the English part, were slain Sir John Grey, Sir William Hall, Sir Gilbert Halsall, Richard ap Maddock, and one and twenty hundred Souldiers. From thence the Earl led his Forces to Montaguillon, and sate down before it, which after five months siege he took, whilst the Duke of Suffolk took in the two strong Castles of Cowcy, and le Roche.

1424.
James the first King of Scots, after 18. years imprisonment, is released, and the manner of doing his Homage.

Whilst these things are done in France, in England the Protector ransomed and enlarged the young King of Scots, James the first (who by the space of eighteen years had been kept a Prisoner) which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the Scots out of France, taking Homage and Fealty of him for the Crown of Scotland, in these words, I James Stuart, King of Scots, shall be true and faithful to you Lord Henry, King of England and France, the Superiour Lord of Scotland, and to you I make my fidelity for the said Kingdom, Which I hold and claim of you, and shall do you service for the same; So God me help, and these holy Evangelists. And therewithal, with consent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife, Jane Daughter to the deceased Duke of Somerset, and Cousin-german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. Mary Overies in Southmark; yet all this courtesie could not keep him afterward from being unfaithful, and unthankfull.

And now the Protector sent over to the Regent ten thousand well furnished Souldiers, with which fresh succor he won many Towns and places of strength; which the French seeing, and finding themselves too weak by plain force to withstand the English, they sought by subtilty to compass their ends: and first, they work upon the inconstancy of the Duke of

Britain, and his Brother Arthur, by King Henry the fifth created Earl of Yerry, whom by Gifts and promises they suborned, perfidiously to deliver over into their possession the Castles of Crotaye, and Yerney; but the English, before the French Garrisons were settled, fell upon Crotaye, and recovered it; and that done, the Regent besieged Yerney, and by secret mining, and violent Batteries, so shook the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time. Whereupon the Duke of Alanson with sixteen thousand French came to the rescue; but perceiving the English prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to Vernoyle, and swore to the Townsmen that he had put the Regent to flight, and rescued Yerney; which they believing, rendred up Vernoyle to him: But the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of some fresh Companies of Scots come to his succour, he came to a Battel in the Field, where the English with the loss of Two thousand one hundred common Souldiers, and Two of the Nobility, the Lord Dudley and the Lord Charleton, got the honour of the day; and slew of their Enemies, five Earls, two Viscounts, twenty Barons, and above seven thousand other of the French, besides Two thousand seven hundred Scots lately arrived, and took Prisoners the Duke of Alanson himself, the Lord of Heryns, and divers other French, and Sir John Tournbul, and two hundred Gentlemen, besides common Souldiers. This Battel was fought the eight and twentieth day of August, in the year 1424. and thereupon Vernoyle was presently re-delivered. After this, the Earl of Salisbury with Ten thousand men, taketh in the strong Town of Maunts, the Town of St. Susan, the Fort of St. Bernard, and others; from thence he went to Anjou, where he performed such Heroick Acts, that his very Name grew terrible in all France; as for instance, the new High Constable perfidious Richmond, with Forty thousand men, laid siege to the good Town of St. James in Benyon, the Garrison whereof consisted but of six hundred English, who being driven to some extremity, sallied forth, crying, St. George, a Salisbury; which word of Salisbury so frightened the French, thinking he had been come to rescue them, that casting away their weapons, they ran all away, saving some few that yielded themselves Prisoners, leaving all their Tents, fourteen pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and some Treasure behind them. After which, other Castles, as that of Beaumont, of Vicount, Tenney, Gilly, Ofce, Russey, Vafick, and many more were taken in by Sir John Montgomery, and Sir John Falstoffe; so as once again the French are glad to betake themselves to their old course of fraud; they compounded with a Gascoigne Captain for delivery of Alanson to them; whereof the Regent having notice, he sent the Lord Willoughby and Sir John Falstoffe to prevent it, who encountering with Charles de Villiers, that with two hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, was come to the place appointed for entry, took and slew them all, except some few Horse which saved themselves by flying. After which, the Earl of Salisbury took in and demolished above forty

The Regent gives the French a great overthrow at Vernoyle.

The Earl of Salisbury doth great acts in France.

His very name defeated an Army of Forty thousand.

The French use fraud, but to their own hurt.

forty Castles and strong Piles, for which there was publick Thanksgiving to God in London.

Whilst these things were done in France, an unkind variance fell out between the Protector, and his Brother the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellour; for appealing whereof, the Regent having substituted the Earl of Warwick Lieutenant General in his absence, came into England: where in a Parliament he compounded all differences between them. In honour whereof King Henry kept a solemn Feast, at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, not yet above four years old; and then the King presently invested with that Dignity, many of his Servants: and Edmund Mortimer, the last Earl of March, at this time dying, his Inheritance descended to Richard Plantagenet, Son and Heir to Richard Earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton, who was now created Duke of York, and was afterward Father to King Edward the Fourth: and at this time also, John Mowbray, Son and Heir to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, banished before by King Richard the second, was restored by the Title of Duke of Norfolk. And now all things peaceably settled in England, the Regent with the Bishop of Winchester returned into France; where, at the intercession of the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Alanson was ransomed for two hundred thousand Crowns: and the Bishop of Winchester returned to Calice, where he was invested with the Dignity and Hat of Cardinal, which his Brother the Regent put upon his head.

The Bishop of Winchester made a Cardinal.

In the fourth year of this Kings Reign, a Parliament was holden at Leicester, called of the common people, the Parliament of Bats; because, being commanded to lay by their Swords, Servants took great Bats to follow their Lords and Masters to the Parliament.

An. Reg. 4.
1425.

The Duke of Gloucester marries another man's Wife, and the trouble that grew about it.

About this time the Duke of Gloucester, Protector, took some blemish in his Honour, by marrying another man's Wife, Jaqueline Countess of Heynault, Holland, and Zealand, who was married before to John Duke of Brabant, yet living, and had liven with him ten months as his lawfull Wife; but at that time upon some discontent, gone from him, intending to be divorced. at which injury offered to the Duke of Brabant, the Duke of Burgoyne, being his Cousin, took so great offence, that first by friendly Letters he admonished the Duke of Gloucester of it; and that not prevailing, they grew to terms of Challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed: but in the mean time the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of Burgoyne, who conveyed her to Gaunt; from whence, by friendship of a Burgoygian Knight, in man's apparel she escaped into Holland, and there made a defensive War against her Husband the Duke of Brabant, and the Duke of Burgoyne. To her aid, the Duke of Gloucester sent the Lord Fitz-water, with a power of a Thousand men: but she being discomfited by the Duke of Brabant, and the Pope also pronouncing the first Marriage legal, the Duke of Gloucester deserted her, and then took for a second Wife Eleanor Daughter of the Lord Cobham of Sterborough, his old Mistriss: and the Lady Jaqueline, after the death of John Duke of Brabant, married a mean Gentleman; whom

the Duke of Burgoyne imprisoned, and brought her self to live in much trouble.

And now in France, the Constable with forty thousand men, besieged the Town of St. James de Benuron; and having made a breach fit for assault, whilst his Captains stood straining of courtesie, which of them should first enter, Sir Nicholas Burdet with all his Forces sallied forth, crying aloud, A Salisbury a Salisbury: whose names struck such a terror into the Besiegers, that they stood like men amazed, of whom six hundred were slain, two hundred drowned in the Ditches, fifty taken Prisoners, with 18 Standards, and the Constable was glad to quit the place and give over the siege.

Forty thousand French lighted away with crying, A Salisbury.

At the same time also the Earl of Warwick, and the Lord Scales, with seven thousand, besieged Ponterson many weeks together; but provision waxing scant, the Lord Scales with three thousand men went a foraging into the Enemies Countrey: and in his return with plenty of Provision, was encountred with six thousand French, of whom he slew many hundreds, took above a thousand Prisoners, and then returned safe into the Camp.

The Lord Scales defeats an Army of French.

About this time also Sir John Falstoffs besieged the strong Town of Gravile, which after twelve dayes, offered to render it self by a day, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and Pledges delivered; but before the day came, they within the Town had victualled and manned the place, and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refused to render the Castle according to agreement: whereupon the Pledges were brought before the sight of them within the Castle, and there openly put to death.

Pledges put to death for not having promise kept.

And now a Conspiracy of the Clergy and Magistrates in Maunts so prevailed, that the Marshals of France with five hundred Men, about midnight came to the Town Walls, where the Guard of English, by those that seemed their friends, were suddenly massacred; and setting open the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: whereupon the Alarum given, the Earl of Suffolk with the surviving English, withdrew to the Castle, wherein they were sharply assailed by the French, who yet had more mind to ransack houses, and to make good cheer; whereof the Lord Talbot having intelligence by Captain Goffe, whom he had sent to discover the state of the French, he secretly gave notice to the Earl of Suffolk, who thereupon sallied forth of the Castle at a time when the Lord Talbot was ready with his Troops: and on both sides crying St. George, a Talbot, they fell upon the careless French, who lost four hundred of their best men, the rest were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conspirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Priests, and fifteen Fryers, condemned and put to execution.

An Army of French defeated with crying a Talbot.

Whilst these things went on prosperously in France, a great disaster fell out in England; for the right noble Thomas Beaufort (Son of John of Gaunt, and Katharine Swinford) Duke of Exeter, and Guardian of the King, makes King Henry his Heir: and at East-Greenwich in Kent, ended his life. Whose place was presently supplied by the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl's place in France by the Earl of Salisbury; who thereupon with five thousand men came to Orleans,

Thos. Beaufort Duke of Exeter dies.

1428.

The noble Earl of Salisbury unfortunately slain.

Sir John Falstaff defeats the French by politick ordering his Army.

Orleanse, and besieged the City, and won from the French the great Fort. But here happened another great disaster, for from an high Tower in this Fort, the Besiegers observed the passages of the Townsmen; when the Noble Earl of Salisbury, intending to inform himself of the state of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a Window of the Fort, with Sir Thomas Gargrave, a great shot from the Town striking the Bars of the Window, the splinters thereof were driven into his head and face: of which wounds within eight days he died. This was now a second weakening to the English party; but in his place the Earl of Suffolk succeeded, to whom the Regent sendeth Sir John Falstaffe with fresh supplies; whom the Lords De la Brets, nine Thousand strong, endeavours to intercept: but Sir John resolving to abide the charge, placeth his Carriages behind, the Horse next, and the Foot before, lining his Bows with Bill-men, and pitching stakes behind the Archers, who having discharged their first Volly, retired behind the stakes: on which the French, forgetting their former defeats by that course, ran and goaded their Horses, by which their Vaward being disordered, their Battel, made a stand; which Sir John perceiving, cryed out, *St. George! they fie!* at which words they fled indeed, and lost two Thousand five hundred of their Men, with the Lords De la Brets, and William Stewart; Eleven hundred were taken prisoners; with whom, and a rich Booty, they came to the Camp before Orleanse. And this Battel, because most part of the Carriage was Herring and Lenten Stuff, was by the French-men called the Battel of Herrings. But the besieged having notice of this defeat, they offered to submit themselves to the Duke of Burgoyne; who was contented to receive them, so as the Regent would consent: But the Regent consented not, and therefore in the mean time, the besieged made means to the Duke of Alanson, who furnished the Town with fresh Forces and Provisions; which put such spirits into the Citizens, that they made a sally out, slew six hundred English, and adventured upon the Bastile, where the Lord Talbot commanded, who repelled them with great slaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earl of Suffolk gave over his siege, and dispersed his Army into their Garrisons.

The English side begins to go down.

The Duke of Suffolk taken prisoner.

The Lords Talbot and Scales taken prisoners.

And now the wheel of Fortune began to turn to the French against the English, which once set a going was not easie to be stayed. And first the Duke of Alanson took by assault the Town of Jargeux, and in it the Earl of Suffolk, and one of his Brothers, and slew Sir Alexander Pole, another of his Brothers, and many other Prisoners in cold blood, by reason of a contention amongst the French, to whom the Prisoners should belong. Presently upon this, another great blow was given the English; for the Lord Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, going to fortifie the Town of St. Meum, were encountered by the said Duke of Alanson, and Arthur of Britain, with three & twenty thousand Men, with whom the English Lords interchanged some Blows: But oppressed with multitude, were all three taken prisoners, all fore wounded, twelve hundred of their Company slain, and the rest hardly

escaping to Meum, where they fortified themselves the best they could against future assaults.

These were great blows given to the English Fortune in France; Salisbury slain, and now Talbot taken prisoner: which though they made her a little to totter, yet there must be great blows given before she will fall. And indeed, these disasters were seconded by the perfidious surrender of many Towns and strong Holds to the French King; who now encouraged by these successes, marcheth into Champaign, where by Composition he took Troyes the chief City of that Province: Chalons rebelleth, and enforceth their Captain to yield it up; by whose examples the Citizens of Rhemes do the like, where the French King is anew Proclaimed, and with accustomed Ceremonies Anointed and Crowned: whereupon many Towns submit themselves to him, and revolt from the English. Upon this the Duke of Bedford (to make the French know, that all the English strength consisted not only in Salisbury and Talbot) with Ten thousand English, besides Normans, marched out of Paris, and sent Letters of defiance to the French King, affirming, That deceitfully and by unjust means he had stolen many Cities and places of importance belonging to the Crown of England: which he was come to justifie by Battel, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of France making a slight Answer, the Regent marched apace toward him; and as fast the King of France marcheth away. The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came near to Senlys: there both the Armies encamped and embattelled, yet only some light Skirmishes passed between them. And a night or two after, the French King fled with his Army to Bray, which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him further off from Paris, of whose fidelity he had no great assurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time the Regent's Brother the Cardinal, having prepared Forces to assist Pope Martin in Bohemia, the Regent borrowed them of him for a present Expedition; and with them marched into Champaign, where he found the French King encamped upon the Mount Piball: whose number being twice as many as the Regents. yet by no provocations could be drawn to Battel, but secretly fled to Crispis; whereupon the Regent also returned to Paris.

The French King recovers many Towns.

The French King Crowned at Rhemes.

The Regent pursueth the French King.

The French King declineth Battel.

Whilst these things were done in France, in England, upon St. Leonard's day the 6. of November, 1429. King Henry not yet eight years old, was with great solemnity Crowned at Westminster, at whose Coronation were made six and thirty Knights of the Bath, and after the Solemnity, a Feast; and if any man desire to know much Cookery, he may read in Fabian all the dishes of meat that were served at that Feast.

An Reg. 8.

1429.

King Henry Crowned at Westminster.

About this time, in France, a strange Impostor ariseth: A Maid called *la Pucelle*, taking upon her to be sent from God, for the good of France, and to expel the English: and some good indeed she did; for by her subtil working the King was received into Champaign, and many Towns were rendred to him, whilst the Lord.

La Pucelle begins to shew herself.

Longueville

Longueville took by surprize the Castle of *Aumerle*, and slew all the *English* that were in it. But all these were but petty acquests to the King of *France*: there is a knot of friendship between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which must be broken, or he will never be able to compass his designs. He therefore labours by all means possible to disunite them; wherein he so little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* acquaints the Regent with all the practices, who thereupon, with many thanks, exhorteth him to continue firm, of which he should never have cause to repent him: and because *Normandy* was a principal part of the *English* strength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many reasons perswades them, as their Ancestors had alwayes been, to be faithfull to the Crown of *England*.

La Pucelle
taken and
burnt at
Roan for a
sorceress.

In this time of the Regent's absence from *Paris*, the King of *France* drew all his Forces thither, using all means possible, by Escalado, Battery, and burning the gates, to enter the City: but was so withstood by the vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to sound a retreat, leaving his slain and maimed Souldiers behind him, all but the *Pucelle*. who being hurt in the Leg, and almost stifled with mire in the ditch, was by a servant of the Duke of *Alanson* drawn up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the way received the submission of the Inhabitants of *Laignye*. Some other services were performed on both sides, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Thomas Kyrriel*, for the *English*; by the ballard of *Orleance* and Sir *Stephen le Hye*, for the *French*; but of no great importance: till at last, the *Pucelle*, (who a little before had caused an *English* Captain's head to be cut off, because he would not humble himself to her upon his knee) was by Sir *John of Lutsemburgh* taken, and presented to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who sent her to the Regent, and he to the Bishop of the Diocess, who judicially proceeding against her as a Sorceress, and deceiver of the King and his Subjects, she was (after many delays of promise to discover secret practice, and lastly of her feigning to be with Child) publickly burnt at *Roan*.

An Reg 10
1431.

King Henry
is Crowned
King of
France in
Paris.

A Truce
abused.

And now the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the *French* King had furthered his designs, he made account the like effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: whereupon he is sent for to come over; and coming to *Paris*, was by his Uncle the Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinal of *Eusebius*, not yet above nine years old, with all usual Ceremonies Crowned King of *France*, receiving the Oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the *French* Nobility that were present, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of the places adjacent. Upon this, Pope *Eugenius* laboured a reconciliation between the two Kings, but could effect nothing but only a Truce for six years: which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landeth at *Dover*, the eleventh of *February*. But the six years Truce was scarce openly proclaimed, when the *French* had cunningly possessed themselves of divers Castles and places of strength, justifying their actions, affirming, That what was politickly obtained without blowes, was no infringement of the Truce: and after-

wards perfidiously conveyed Two hundred men into the Castle of *Roan*, with intent to have surprized it; but being discovered, they were all taken, and either ransomed or put to execution. Upon this, the Regent, (whose Wife, the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being lately dead, and he married again to *Jaqueline* the Earl of *S. Paul's* Daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned again to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his Ransome, cometh, bringing with him Seven hundred tried Souldiers; and with them the Regent takes the Field, where the *French* Army lay; but the *French* slunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a battel.

About this time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, taken at the Battel of *Agincourt*, after eighteen years imprisonment, paying eighteen thousand pounds for his Ransome, the same day he was enlarged died at *London*.

And now a very great effect was produced out of a very small cause: There had been sparks of unkindness between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which brake out into a flame upon this occasion: A time and place was appointed, where they should meet to compound some differences that were between them; The place agreed upon, was *St. Omers*, a Town in *Artois*: When the time came, they stood upon this nice point, Which of them should first come to the place; as thinking that he which did so, should hereby acknowledge himself to be the meaner person. The Duke of *Bedford* thought he had no reason to do it, seeing he was Regent of *France*, and therefore superiour to any Subject in the Kingdom: And the Duke of *Burgoigne* thought he had no reason to do it, seeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himself the Sovereign Lord. Upon this nice point they broke off, and never met; and the unkindness grew afterward to so great hatred, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* chose rather to be friends with him that had murdered his Father, than ever to have any more commerce with the Duke of *Bedford*. Thus was one great branch of assistance lopt off from the *English*, which had been a great means before to make it flourish: and it was not so much, that the assistance was taken from the *English*, as that it was added to the *French*: for after this, the Duke of *Burgoigne* brought more assistance to the new King of *France*, than ever he had done before to the King of *England*. By which we may see, when the Divine providence hath a Work to effect, what slight Occasions it oftentimes takes to effect the Work.

Great blows had been given before in *France* to the *English* Fortune by the Enemy, but now a Blow was given to it by Destiny, which made the Enemies Blowes more incurable; for now the Wife, Valiant, Faithful Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou*, and *Alanson*, Earl of *Mayne*, *Harcourt*, *Drieux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlile*, and Viscount *Beaumont*, upon the Thirteenth of *September*, 1435. ended his life at *Paris*, which was in a manner the ending the life of the *English* Fortune in *France*: all former Blowes had been upon inferiour members

The Regent
and the
Duke of
Burgoigne
fall at Va-
riance, and
for what.

The Duke
of Bedford
Regent of
France, dies
in Paris.

1435.

members, but this was a blow upon the head, and therefore mortal; and indeed the *English* Fortune in *France*, never after lifted up its head but very weakly. He was buried in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, whereat the Nobility of *Normandy* much repined, who would have had their own Territory honoured with his Sepulchre: yet see the levity of these men, who a few years after in the Reign of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument to have been demolished, as being dishonourable, such an Arch-Enemy to *France* should be interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province. But *Lewis* answered, *God forbid, I should give way to so dishonourable an Act, to disquiet his dead bones, who living, would have disquieted us all; and it savours of too much baseness to insult upon a dead Lion.*

The noble disposition of King *Lewis* of *France*.

The Duke of *York* is made Regent of *France*, which the Duke of *Somerset* envying, hinders his proceedings all he can.

1436.

Paris expels all the *English*, and by their example many other Towns likewise.

The Duke of *Glocester* the Protector sends defiance to the Duke of *Burgoyne*.

But yet in these disasters there might have been some reparation by a good Successor, had not Envy and Ambition bred disturbance: the Duke of *Somerset* desired the Succession, but the Duke of *York* obtained it; which bred such an envy in the Duke of *Somerset* towards him, that he laboured nothing so much as to cross his designs, and was a means to hinder the Duke of *York*'s going to his Charge so long, that the *Parisians* had time to think of freeing themselves from the *English* servitude: and thereupon the City after it had remained seventeen years in the possession of the *English*, yields to the *Constable*, and upon composition expels all the *English*; and which was worse, many other Towns followed this example of *Paris*; for what Town would not willingly do as *Paris* did, the Epitome as it were of all *France*? and which they stick not to call *Le Monde de Paris*, as though there were upon earth no other world but *Paris*. Even the *Normans*, who had always been most firm to the *English*, yet had run the same course, if the Lord *Talbot* had not kept them in awe, with the slaughter of five thousand of them that way inclined. And now after these great losses, we must be content to play smaller games, cast at Castles and Forts, and some small Towns, like the struggling of dying men, doing acts of life, till there be no more life remaining; And this was now our case in *France*. The new Regent with eight thousand Souldiers arrived at *Harflew*, and from thence marched to *Roan*; where he won the reputation of Justice and Uprightness, notwithstanding all the calumniation of the Duke of *Somerset*: when the revolted Duke of *Burgoyne* pretending Title to the Town of *Callice*, approacheth it with an Army of Forty thousand men, takes the poor Bastile of *Oye*, and slaughters and hangs many of the defendants. The *Picards* besieged the Castle of *St. Mark*, took it, and demolished it; from thence they begirt *Callice* with a siege, but were repelled: Then the Duke of *Burgoyne* sent the Lord *Croy* to besiege the Castle of *Guyfnes*, but were repelled there also. In the mean time *Pembroke* the Herald brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoyne* from the Duke of *Glocester* the Protector, That he would give him Battel if he would abide it; To whom the Duke of *Burgoyne* answered, He should be sure to find him where he now was. Whereupon he calleth a Council, and

whilest they are debating what is best to be done, the *Callicians* make a sally, take the Bastile which they had builded, by force, and slew Eightscore of the *Burgoignians*; which so terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of *Burgoyne*, and make both him and the Lord *Croy* to quit their quarters: and in such haste to be gone, that they left a great part of their best Ordnance, and all their Provision for the relief and help of the besieged. And it seems they had reason so to do, for the next day being the seven and twentieth of *July*, the Duke of *Glocester* landed at *Callice*, with five and twenty thousand good fighting men; who finding the Enemy recoiled, foraged all the Countrey thereabout, and for the space of six weeks harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Heynault*: and then returning by *St. Omers*, *Arde* and *Guisnes*, arrived at *Callice*.

The Duke of *Glocester* lands at *Callice* with 25 thousand fighting men.

And now we must look a little home, for the Duke of *York* returning into *England*, finds the Castle of *Roksborough* besieged by the King of *Scots*, with Thirty thousand men; but he hearing of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s approach, and the Duke's return, incontinently fled. And now again to *France*, where the Town of *Harflew* was sold to the *French*, but the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Talbot*, besetting it both by Sea and Land, though the Earl of *Eve*, and the Bastard of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, with four thousand men came to relieve it, yet upon composition it was surrendered.

And here we may have leave to speak of a private matter, for about this time the Dutcheff of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodville*, a gallant young Gentleman, but of small means; which though it offended her friends, yet it seems offended not God, who made her Mother of many Children by him; and amongst the rest, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to King *Edward* the Fourth. Also about this time *James* King of *Scots*, who before had been eighteen years Prisoner in *England*, and afterward released, with a Wife of a Noble House, a great Dower, and many honourable Presents, yet proved ungrateful, was murdered in his Bed-Chamber by night, whose murderers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to *France*, when the Duke of *Burgoyne* could neither by force nor policy take *Callice*, he attempted a ridiculous practice, to cut a Ditch that should drown both the Town and Country; but after much labour and expence, his design like a vapour vanished into Air. The Lord *Talbot* besieged *Tankerville*, and after four months siege had it rendred to him. In revenge whereof, the *French* King in his own person layes siege to *Monstreau*; which whilest the Duke of *York* was providing to rescue, he was discharged of his Office, done of purpose by his Enemies, to lay a blot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envy shall be suffered to undermine the publick safety; and by this means Sir *Thomas Gerard* had the more opportunity to sell the Town, for which, if he were gainer in money, he was yet a loser in reputation, and hated both of *French* and *English*, in much discontent dyed. *Arthur*, Constable of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Alanson*, besieged the Town of *Auranches*,

1437.

The Dutcheff of *Bedford* marries Sir *Richard Woodville*.

James King of *Scots* murdered.

The Duke of *Burgoyne* attempts *Callice*, but without success.

Sir *Thomas Gerard* betrays the Town of *Monstreau* to the *French*.

The Lord
Talbot doth
great acts.

1438.

but were with dishonour repelled by the Lord Talbot: After this, Le Hyre sent Letters to them, That he had a promise from divers Burgers of Roan to let them in at any time appointed; against which time they came to Ryze, within four Leagues of Roan, but the Lord Talbot having notice hereof, marched covertly to Roan, and from thence before day to Ryze, where he surprizeth the French, takes the Lord Fountaines, Sir Alan Geron, and many others, and with a rich booty returneth to Roan. The sixth day of November, in the sixteenth year of the King's Reign, the Earl of Warwick, having oftentimes been aboard, and still beaten back by Tempests, landed at Harflew with a Thousand fresh Souldiers, and from thence came to Roan; but in the mean time the Duke of Burgoigne seeing no new Regent yet come, besiegeth the Town of Crotay: to the Relief whereof, the new Regent now come, sent the Lord Talbot with five thousand men, whose approach the Duke not enduring, retired to Abbeville, leaving only four hundred, with whom he had manned the Bastile by him there erected, which was soon gained, and all the Souldiers either taken or slain. And there the valiant Talbot sent word to the Duke, That if he would save his Countrey from vastation, he should come to a Battel; but the Duke not liking the match, conveys himself to Amiens. Twenty dayes together did the Lord Talbot with fire and sword, pass through Picardy and Artois without opposition, and then returned. Sir Thomas Kyriel seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordnance; and having left in Crotay, victual enough for six hundred men for a whole year, he brought the rest to the Earl of Warwick. And now Henry Earl of Mortaigne, Son to Edmund Duke of Somerset, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears; took the Cattle of St. Anyon, wherein were three hundred Scots and French; the Scots he slew all, and hanged the French, because they had sworn fealty to England, and broke it: he took likewise the Cattle of Algarchie, and by means of an Ambush, taketh the Lord Camorois, coming to the Rescue thereof. On the other side, the Towns of Neuxin, Bry, and Susan, were sold and delivered to the French by the treacherous Burgers. In June the Earl of Huntington, with Two thousand Archers, and Four thousand Spears was sent into Gascoigne, whither the Earl of Danois was lately come to buy Towns and Castles; but the Earl of Huntington upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all such Bargains: and so far had bribery spread it self at this time, that even in Normandy the English Captains had but small confidence in the Natives, and not much in some of their own Nation; whereupon Sir Richard Woodvile, Sir William Chamberlain, and William Peto were sent thither to stop the current of that corruption.

At this time the Council of France procured a reconciliation between the King and the Dauphin, who had been in long jealousies and diffention; which if it had not been done, the Kingdom had been torn with Factions, and never been able to subsist.

And now in a great Frost and Snow, the English under the Conduct of Sir John Clifford, having covered their Armour with white shirts, and their heads with white Alman skulls, came to Pontbois by night, and undiscover'd pass'd the Ditches, scaled the Walls, slew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good luck was accompanied with a bad of more importance: for presently upon it the Earl of Warwick died in the Castle of Roan, and, conveyed into England, was buried in the Castle of Warwick. To reduce Pontbois, the French King in person layeth siege unto it, when Richard Duke of York being the second time made Regent, having with him the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Ewe, levies a power to raise the siege; and arriving there, sends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him Battel: but the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordnance, at midnight stole away to Poissy: thither also the Regent follows him, but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

About this time, a Treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at Calice, by the mediation of the Dutcheff of Burgoigne, a Portugal Lady; Commillioners meet of both sides, but nothing concluded, only the Duke of Orleance who had been Prisoner to the English five and twenty years, is by the Dutcheff's mediation ransomed with three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of Burgoigne's money. The Lord Willoughby besieged Deepe, which the Dauphin with sixteen thousand men cometh to raise; and there young Talbot is taken prisoner, with Sir John Peto, and Sir John Repley, but are shortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another weakning happened to the English party, the Earl of St. Paul forsakes them, and is reconciled to the King of France. The English lay siege to Tartus, for the raising whereof, the French King marcheth thither with 60000 men, relieveth the Town, and then marcheth to Saverine, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir John Ramston; after which he took in Arques, but then the English cutting off all convoies of Victuals from coming to him, he is forced to return; after whose departure, the English recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Souldiers. In this mean while the Lord Talbot taketh in Conquet, and driveth the Bastard of Orleance, from the siege of Gagliarda; but the French in the Castle of Cornbil detained many English prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir Francis the Aragonist used this Stratagem, he appalled half a dozen lusty young Fellows like Peasants, carrying Baskets with Corn and Victuals, and sends them to the Castle, while he with his Company lies in Ambush, in a Valley near the Castle; the six unsuspected are admitted, and coming to the Captains Chamber, seize upon him, and withal give the sign to the Ambush, who coming readily on, entred the Castle, put the Souldiers to the Sword, set the prisoners at liberty, burnt down the Castle, and with the Booty and Captain of the Castle, returned to Roan.

Whilest these alterations passed in France, a more unnatural passed in England, the Uncle riseth against the Nephew, the Nephew against the

Sir John Clifford gets Pontbois by a wile.

The Earl of Warwick dies.

1439.

Richard Duke of York made the second time Regent of France.

1440.

The Duke of Orleance after 25. years imprisonment is ransomed.

A Stratagem of Sir Francis the Aragonist.

Difference between the Duke of Gloucester, and the Cardinal.

1441.

The Duke of Gloucester's Wife accused of Sorcery; and her Penance.

the Uncle; The Duke of Gloucester Articles against the Cardinal, charging him with affecting preheminance, to the derogation of the King's Prerogative, and contempt of his Laws; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Council, who being most of the Clergy, durst not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinal. On the other side, the Cardinal finding nothing whereof directly to accuse the Duke of Gloucester himself, accuseth his other self, the Lady Eleanor Cobham the Duke's Wife, of Treason, for attempting by Sorcery and Witchcraft the Death of the King, and advancement of her Husband to the Crown: for which, though acquitted of the Treason, she is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to go with a Wax Taper in her hand, hoodless (save a Kerchiffe) through London, divers dayes together, and after to remain in perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. The Crime objected against her, was, procuring Thomas Southwel, John Hunne, Priests, Roger Bullingbrook, a supposed Necromancer, and Margery Jordan, called the Witch of Eye in Suffolk, to devise a Picture of Wax in proportion of the King, in such sort by Sorcery, that as the Picture consumed, so the Kings Body should consume: for which they were all condemned. The Witch was burnt in Smithfield, Bullingbrook was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, That neither the Dutcheffs, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, than only to know by his Art, how long the King should live. John Hunne had his pardon, and Southwel died the night before he should have been executed.

King Henry affianceth the Earl of Arminiack's Daughter, but is by the King of France cross'd.

About this time the Countess of Cominges being dead, the King of France and the Earl of Arminiack are Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl takes possession, but fearing the King of France his greatness, makes offer of his Daughter in Marriage to the King of England, with a large portion in money; and betides, to deliver full possession of all such Towns and Castles as were by him or his Ancestors detained in Aquitaine, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of England, conquered. The Ambassadors for his business, were by King Henry graciously heard, and honourably returned: after whom were sent Sir Edward Hall, Sir Robert Ros, and others, to conclude all things; and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to King Henry. But the King of France not liking the proceedings of the Match, sendeth the Dauphin with a puissant Army, who took the Earl; with his youngest Son, and both his Daughters, and gained the Counties of Arminiack, Lorraine, Rouergne, Moulleffenois, with the Cities of Severde and Cadeack, chasing the Bastard of Arminiack out of the Country; by means whereof, the marriage was then deferred, and left in suspense.

In this distraction of Christendom, many Princes, the Kings of Spain, Denmark and Hungary became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of England and France. Ambassadors of both sides are sent, many meetings were had, many motions made; but in conclusion only a Truce for eighteen months is agreed upon. In the mean time the Earl of Suffolk, one

of the Commissioners for the Peace, takes upon him beyond his Commission; and without acquainting his fellows, to treat of a Marriage between the King of England, and a Kinswoman of the King of France, Niece to the French Queen, Daughter to Rayner Duke of Anjou, styling himself King of Sicily and Naples: In which butineff he was so intente, that it brought an aspersion upon him of being bribed; but howsoever, an interview betwixt the two Kings is appointed, without any warrant of King Henry's part, to be between Charters and Roan. The Commissioners return, the Earl of Suffolk sets forth the beauty of the proposed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the Kingdom by this match. The King was easily induced to credit the Relation; but divers of the Kings Council, especially the Duke of Gloucester, opposed it; partly for the meanness of the match, her Father being only a Titular Prince, and withal but poor, unable to give any portion at all; and partly for the wrong which should hereby be offered to the Duke of Arminiack's Daughter, to whom the King had been in solemn manner publickly affianced. But reasons could not prevail against favour: the Earl of Suffolk's affirmation must not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new creation of Lords first made, (John Beaufort Earl of Somerset, made Duke of Somerset; John Lord Talbot, made Earl of Shrewsbury; John Holland Earl of Huntington, made Duke of Exeter; Humphrey Earl of Stafford, made Duke of Buckingham; Henry Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, made Duke of Warwick; Edmund Beaufort Earl of Dorset, made Marquess of Dorset; and William de la Pool Earl of Suffolk, made Marquess of Suffolk:) This new Marquess honourably accompanied, is sent into France to fetch the Lady Margaret the proposed Bride: who shortly after is married at Southwick in Hampshire, and Crowned Queen of England at Westminster, on the 30 day of May, 1444, in the Three and Twentieth year of King Henry's Reign. And now instead of benefits by this Marriage, there presently followed great inconveniences; for first in exchange of her Person, the Duchy of Anjou, the City of Maunts, with the whole County of Mayne, (the best props of the Duchy of Normandy) are agreed to be surrendered into the hands of the French: and then the Duke of Arminiack, to revenge the injury, offered to his Daughter, is a means to expel the English out of all Aquitaine.

The Earl of Suffolk propounds another match for the King.

Dukes and Earls created.

1444.

King Henry proceeds in the match which the Earl of Suffolk proposed.

At this time the Duke of Somerset's spleen against the Duke of York, not only is revived, but is grown stronger; for the Duke of York, who was now after the death of the Earl of Warwick, made the second time Regent of France, is so undermined by him through assistance of the new Marquess of Suffolk, who bore now all the Sway with the King and Queen; that not only he supplanted him in his place; but planted himself in it, to the great heart-burning of the Duke of York and his friends; but he wisely dissembled his anger, and for the present passed it over. And now is no man in grace but the new Marquess of Suffolk; all favours from the King and Queen

The Duke of York displaced of his Regency, and the Duke of Somerset placed in it.

King Henry
begins to
show his
weakness in
Judgment.

1447.

The Duke
of Gloucester
secretly
murdered.

Five Gentle-
men hanged,
but were
cut down
quick, and
lived.

The Duke of
Gloucester's
pregnancy
in discover-
ing an Im-
postor.

must pass by him, and the extent of his power over-reacheth all the Council: He gets of the King the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heir of *John Duke of Somerset*, afterward Mother to King *Henry the Seventh*. And now the Kings weakness in judgment grows every day more apparent than other, whilst governed by no Counsel but of his Queen, and she by no Counsel but her own will, and the new Marquess of *Suffolk*: King *Henry* is himself the least part of the King, and serves but to countenance the devices of others, whereof he little understands the drift; and which proving ill, the blame must needs be his; if well, the benefit and honour others. For by instigation of the Queen, he suffers the Duke of *Glocester*, for his care of the Common-wealth called the Good Duke, to be excluded not only from Command, but from the Council-Table; and permits Informers, set on by the Marquess of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, to come against him: who lay to his charge, That he had caused divers persons to be executed contrary to Law: wherein though he justified himself, yet no justification would be heard. But to avoid tumultuary part-taking, it was concluded he should be privately convicted and condemned; and to this end a Parliament, by the procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at *Bury*: to which the Duke of *Glocester* resorting, is on the second day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumont* Lord High Constable (abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arrested and put in Ward, all his followers sequestered from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to several Prisons, and the next day after his imprisonment, he is found in his bed murdered; yet shewed the same day as though he had died of an Imposthume, though all that saw his body saw plainly he dyed of a violent and unnatural cause: some say, strangled; some, that a hot spit was put up at his Fundament; and some, that he was stifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps the same day was conveyed to *Saint Albans*, and there buried. Five of his menial Servants, *Sir Roger Chamberlain* Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Artiz*, Esquires, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at *Tyburn*, let down quick, stripped naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered; but then the Marquess of *Suffolk*, to make a shew as though he had no hand in the business, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the place of Execution, and so their lives were saved. It is no unmemorable thing which *Sir Thomas Moor* writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of *Glocester*. It happened the King coming one time in Progress to *St. Albans*, a Beggar born blind, as he said, at the Shrine of *St. Alban* obtained his sight: which Miracle being noised in the Town, the Duke of *Glocester* being there with the King, desired to see him, who being brought unto him, he asked if he were born blind? who told him, Yes truly; And can you now see? (saith the Earl) Yes, I thank God and *St. Alban*, saith the Beggar; Then tell me, saith

the Earl, what colour is my Gown? The Beggar readily told him the colour: And what colour, saith the Earl, is such a man's Gown? The Beggar likewise told him presently, and so of divers others. Then saith the Earl, Go you counterfeit Knave: if you had been born blind; and could never see till now, how come you so suddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon instead of an Alms, caused him to be set in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a special hand in it, was either not so intelligent or not so provident as she might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *York's* claim to the Crown; being but descended from the fifth Son of *Edward the Third*, where this Duke *Humphrey* was descended from the Fourth. And here were the first seeds sown between the Two Houses of *Lancaster*, whose badge was the Red-Rose; and *York*, whose badge was the White-Rose. And now upon the death of this Duke of *Glocester*, the Duke of *York* began amongst his Familiars, privily to whisper his right and title to the Crown; but so politicly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, before his purpose was any whit discovered.

The Duke
of York be-
gins to
whisper his
Right to the
Crown.

And in this time the rich Cardinal and Bishop of *Winchester* dies, who lying on his death-bed, as Doctor *John Baker* his Privy Counsellor and his Chaplain writeth, used such like words; Why should I dye, saith he, having so much riches? If the whole Realm would save my life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing? and other words to such purpose. But he being dead, there succeeded in his Bishoprick a more deserving Prelate, *William Wanslete*, called so of the place in *Lincolnshire* where he was born, though his name was *Patterna*, of the Worshipful Family whereof he was descended. And now to the end the Marquess of *Suffolk* might not come behind them in Dignity, whom he went before in Power, he is about this time made Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Bishop
of Winche-
ster's pro-
phane
speech at
his death.

1448.
The Mar-
quess of *Suf-
folk*, is made
Duke of
Suffolk.

In *France* about this time, a Victory was gotten, which proved no better than an overthrow. Before the Truce was expired, *Sir Francis Suryens* an *Aragon*, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honourable Order of the Garter, taking advantage of the security of the French Garrisons, suddenly surprizeth a Frontier Town called *Fougiers* belonging to the Duke of *Brittain*; the Duke adviseth the French King thereof, who by his Ambassadors complains both to the King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerset* then Regent in *France*: answer was made, It was the fault of the *Aragon*, who did it without warrant from either the King or the Council; nevertheless Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Louviers*, to treat of some course for satisfaction; but in the time of the Treaty news is brought to the Regent, that the French by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load of Hay coming over the Draw-bridge, caused the Axletree to break, and whilst the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porters brains were beaten out, the Town of

Fraud an-
swered by
Fraud.

Ardes

The French King reco-
vers many
Towns,
through the
demurring
of the Duke
of Somerset.

1449.

Sir Thomas
Kyriel de-
feated, with the
loss of near
400 men.

All Norman-
dy recovered
from the
English.

Ardes surprized, and the Lord Fauconbridge Captain thereof was taken Prisoner. Restitution being required by the English, answer is made them in their own language, It was done without warrant from either the French King, or any of his Council; so it was but one for another: and from thence forward the Truce is broken of both sides, and all things grow worse and worse. The French King by composition taketh Louviers, Gerbury, and Vernoile, whilst the Regent stands demurring what was best to be done; if he command, not obeyed; if he counsel, not followed; as it happens to men once blimished in Reputation, to have an ill construction made of all their actions: by which means the French go on without resistance, get Constance, Guisard, Gatiard, St. Loe, Festhamp, and many other pieces in Normandy. Upon notice whereof, Mauleffon in Guyen surrenders to the Earl of Foix, and by their example the City of Roan it self takes composition to surrender; where the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Butler, heir to the Earl of Ormond, were kept pledges till it was performed. It is true, succours were provided to be sent out of England, under the Conduct of the Duke of York; but a Rebellion happening in Ireland, which was thought of more importance to be speedily suppressed, diverted him and his Forces thither: where not only he suppressed the Rebels, but so won the hearts of that people, that it was no small furtherance to his proceedings afterward. A fresh supply indeed of Fifteen hundred men, under the Command of Sir Thomas Kyriel is sent over; but what could a handful of men do against such multitudes as opposed them? For he marching with the rest of the Army towards Beauneaux, was encountered by the Earl of Clermont, with Seven thousand French and Scots, whom yet at first he made to recoil; till the Constable of France with four hundred men at Arms, and eight hundred Archers came to the rescue; and then fresh men coming upon them that were already tired, the English lost Three thousand and above seven hundred, besides divers that were taken Prisoners. After this loss of men, follows presently a loss of Towns; Harflew is assaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir Robert Curson, yet surrendered at last upon composition. Then the French King with an Army Royal, besiegeth Caen in Normandy, a Town belonging to the Duke of York, defended in his absence by his Lieutenant Sir David Hall; but the Duke of Somerset being Regent, in commiseration of his Dutcheff being in the Town, notwithstanding the stout opposition of Sir David Hall, surrenders it upon composition to the French; whereof Sir David giving notice to the Duke of York, it bred such a deadly quarrel between the two Dukes, that they were never after thoroughly reconciled. And thus is all Normandy recovered from the English, after it had been in their possession a hundred years; and finally, all France is reduced to the obedience of Charles the French King.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad, but there will be the more to do at home; and more blood will be shed in England

by civil dissensions, than was shed before in all the Wars of France. This loss of Normandy and other parts in Normandy, is imputed much to the Duke of Somerset, at that time Regent; but the Duke of Suffolk must bear a great part of the blame, partly for having been the cause of the surrender of Anjou and Mayne, and the chief procurer of the Duke of Gloucester's death, and partly for having wilfully waited the Kings Treasure, and been a means to remove the ablest Men from the Council-Board; of all which aspersions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trench upon the Dukes destruction and her own, she so wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the Black Fryers, is adjourned to Leicester, and from thence to Westminster: but though all means were used to stop these accusations against the Duke, yet the Lower House would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of grievances against him: That he had Traiterously incited the Bastard of Orleans, the Lord Presigny, and others to levy War against the King, to the end that thereby the King might be destroyed; and his Son John who had married Margaret Daughter and sole Heir of John Duke of Somerset, whose Title to the Crown the said Duke had often declared, in case King Henry should dye without issue, might come to be King: That through his Treachery the French King had gotten possession of the Dutchy of Normandy, and had taken prisoners the valiant Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Fauconbridge, and others: but to these accusations he peremptorily affirmed himself not guilty, so much as in thought. Then were further allegations made against him, That being with others, sent Ambassador into France, he had transceded his Commission; and without privacy of his fellow Commissioners, had presumed to promise the surrender of Anjou, and the delivery of the County of Maunts to Duke Rayner, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown: That he had traiterously acquainted the French King with all the affairs of State, and passages of secrecy; by which the Enemy was thoroughly instructed in all the designs of the King and Council: That he had received rewards from the French King, to divert and disappoint all succours sent to the Kings friends in France. Upon these and divers other accusations brought against him, to blear the peoples eyes, he is committed to the Tower; but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he was set at liberty. Which so incensed the common people, that they made an insurrection; and under the leading of a desperate fellow, styling himself Blue-beard, they committed many outrages: but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in choosing Burgeses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceeding against the Duke of Suffolk; but his personal appearance at the Parliament gave such a general distaste to the House, though he came in the company of the King and Queen, that they forbore not to begin the Assembly; with petitioning the King for punishment to be inflicted upon such as had

Accusations
laid to the
Duke of
Suffolk.

Upon which
committed
to the Tower,
is presently
upon the
dissolution
of the Par-
liament re-
leased.
An Insurre-
ction made
by Blue-
beard, soon
pacified.

The Duke of Suffolk is questioned again in Parliament: is banished formally for five years; but taken at Sea, hath his head chopt off.

1450.

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The Duke of York begins to make his way to the Crown.

Jack Cade makes an Insurrection; and brings an Army to Black-heath.

He presents the Complaints of the Commons to the Parliament.

had plotted or consented to the Resignation of Anjou and Maine, whereof by name they instanced in the Duke of Suffolk, John Bishop of Salisbury, Sir James Fines, Lord Say, and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the Upper House: whereupon to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord Say, Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his place; the Duke's Officers are all discharged, and himself formally banished for five years, but with an intent after the multitude had put out of mind their hatred against him, to have revoked him: but God did otherwise dispose of him, for when he was shipped in Suffolk, with intent to have passed over into France, he was met by an English Man of War, taken and carried to Dover Sands, and there had his head chopt off, on the side of the Long-boat, which together with the body was left there on the Sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of Duke Humphrey.

Whilst these things are done in England, the Duke of York in Ireland began to make his way to the Crown, as descended from Philippa, Daughter and Heir to Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder Brother to John of Gaunt, great Grandfather to the present King Henry the sixth. And for a beginning it is privately whispered, That King Henry was of a weak capacity, and easily abused; the Queen of a malignant spirit, and bloodily ambitious; the Privy Council, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private profit, than the publick good; that through their delinquencies, all France was lost, and that God would not bless the usurped possession of King Henry. With these suggestions the Kentish men seemed to be taken; which being observed by an Instrument of the Duke of York, called Mortimer, he takes his time, and tells the multitude, That if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a course to work a general Reformation, and free them for ever, from those insupportable burthens of Taxations, so often, upon every slight occasion obtruded upon them. These promises of Reformation and Freedom from Impositions, so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head, and make Mortimer, otherwise Jack Cade, their Leader; who styling himself Captain Mend-all, marched with no great number, but those well ordered, to Blackheath, where between Elitam and Greenwich, he lay by the space of a month exercising his men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased. Then he presents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons, That the Queen's Favourites share amongst them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the supportation of his present estate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utmost undoing, and to the general impoverishment of the Kingdom: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them for the purveyance of the Kings Household, for which they are not paid, nor any assurance for payment thereof given, but only Court-Promises: That upon the apprehension of any man for Treason or Felony, the Kingsmenial Servants, before conviction, beg the Goods and Lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawful

proceedings are used by subornation of witnesses, embracery of Jurors, and great mens Letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the Innocent after attainted, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legal proceedings in their Law-suits, so as the rightful owners of Inheritance dare not, (if opposed by any Courtier) maintain their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, how just soever: That the Kings Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in passing their Accompts by new extorted Fees; and by being enforced to procure a late invented Writ of *Quorum Nomina*, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and their suing out their *Quietus* at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffs, under colour of the Green Wax out of the Exchequer, do levy greater sums than are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the freedom of electing Knights and Burgeses for the Parliament; but by Letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their Friends and Retainers, the Knights and Burgeses are commonly chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five days journey to the place where they are kept. These and some other were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after protestation made to live and dye in the quarrel of the King) required that his Majesty would be pleased to receive again into favour, the truly Noble Prince the Duke of York, and with him the Right Honourable the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm, by the undue practices of Suffolk and his Complices commanded from his presence; and that all their opposites might be banished the Court, and put from their Offices: That there might be a general amotion of corrupt Officers, an abolition of the Green Wax, and other Instruments of Extortion out of the Exchequer; a qualification of proceedings in the Kings-Bench; an inhibition of unequal purveyance of provision for the Kings Household, and a present execution of the Promoters, Slegge, Cromer, Isell, and East, whom he pretended by wrongful information to have abused the King, and wronged his Subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower-House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the Kings Privy Council; who having examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Council, to prosecute them by force rather than intreaty; which advice is seconded by the Queen, as conceiving they secretly aimed at her: and hereupon the King draws his Forces to Greenwich, and appointeth divers Lords to assail the Rebels; but the Lords could get no followers to fight against them who sought only for reformation of abuses, and for punishment of such Traytors as the Lord Say the Kings Chamberlain was. Whereupon the Lord Say is presently committed to the Tower, the King and Queen retire

The Complaints are exploded by the Kings Privy Council.

The King raiseth an Army to suppress the Rebels.



The Rebels  
slay Sir  
Humfrey and  
Sir William  
Stafford.

The King  
fleeth to  
Killingworth  
Castle.

Jack Cade  
cometh to  
London.

retire to London, from thence within two days, the King being now fifteen thousand strong, marcheth in person towards Captain Mend-all, who politickly withdraweth his Forces into Sevenoke-Wood; upon notice whereof the King retireth again to London, but the Queen longing for dispatch, sends the two Staffords, Sir Humfrey and William, with many hot-spurs in the Court to follow the Rebels, who were soon cooled; for they found Captain Mend-all in good order ready to receive them, and in the first encounter, slew Sir Humfrey, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the rest to flight. The Kings Forces being at Black-beath, could neither by threats nor intreaties be gotten to go to the Rescue; but rather wished the Queen and her Favourites in the Staffords case: or that the Duke of York were in England, to aid his Cousin Mortimer (now first acknowledged to be of his kindred;) and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose number from Sussex and Surrey daily increased, whom yet their Captain restraineth from foraging or taking away any thing by force; and so returneth again to Black-beath, where the Kings Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to Grienwich. And now the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham are sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their demands; To whom Jack Cade gave very good language, but directly affirming no cessation from Arms, unless the King in person would hear the grievances of the Subject, and pass his Princely word for the Reformation of their wrongs. This resolution of his made known to the King, who was not sure of his own Souldiers Faith, made him march presently away to Killingworth Castle in Warwickshire, where he fortified himself as expecting a siege, having left the Lord Scales only to guard the Tower. Jack Cade taking advantage of the Kings departure, cometh to Southwark, where he quarters his men, straitly charging them to commit no out-rage, nor do wrong to any; which was duely observed. The next morning he marcheth to London-Bridge, where he caused his men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge, no resistance being made against him; and so in good order marched up by London-stone, upon which he strook his Sword, saying, Now is Mortimer Lord of London. The Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Chalton, standing upon the threshold of his door, bade him take heed he attempted nothing against the quiet of the City: To whom he made answer, *Let the World take notice of our honest intention by our actions.* And indeed this orderly carriage of himself and his company won him a good opinion amongst the common sort of people: And now assuming to himself the place of Chief, he sendeth out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst other, he wrote this Letter to Thomas Cock, Draper of London.

By this our writing ensealed, we grant, That Thomas Cock of London Draper, shall safely come into our presence, and avoid from us again at his pleasure, with all other persons coming in his company. *Subscribed thus,*

His Majesties loyal Subject, John Mortimer, Captain Mend-all.

Upon Cock's admission, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom at their departure he gave these instructions in writing: *You shall charge all Lombards and Merchant-strangers, Genoeses, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Captain, twelve Harness compleat of the best fashion, four and twenty Brigandines, twelve Battle-axes, twelve Glaves, six Horses with Saddle and Bridle compleatly furnished, and a Thousand Marks in ready money: and if they shall fail herein, we shall strike off the heads of as many as we can get.* But they failed not, but sent him what he had demanded: who thereupon the next morning, being the third of July, returns to London; and presently sends to the Lord Scales, to bring his Prisoner the Lord Say to the Guild-Hall, whither he had called the Lord Mayor with his Brethren; before whom he caused the Lord Say to be arraigned, who craving to be tryed, by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carried to the Standard in Cheap, and there had his head chopt off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was born before him to Mile-End, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of Essex; and by the way meeting with Sir James Cromer, High Sheriff of Kent, who had lately married the Lord Say's Daughter, he caused his head also to be stricken off, and carried before him in derision. The next morning he came again to London; where after publick execution done upon some of his fellows, and particularly upon a petty Captain of his, named Paris, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a displeasure taken against Alderman Malpos, he sent and seized upon all his Wares and Goods, and fined Alderman Horn in five hundred Marks. Whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more insolent than other, they sent to the Lord Scales for assistance, who sendeth Matthew Gout an old Souldier to them, with some Forces and Furnitures out of the Tower; who presently makes a stand at the Bridge, where Cade notwithstanding forceth his passage, and then began to set fire on houses, where many aged and impotent people perished. Captain Bough, Alderman Sutton and Robert Hayson, valiantly fighting were slain; yet upon a fresh supply, the Londoners recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stoop in Southwark; at which time, both sides being weary, agreed of a Truce, till the next day. After the Retreat, Cade finding he had lost many of his best men, was driven, for supply, to set at liberty all the Prisoners in Southwark, as well Felons as Debtors; when now his company entring into consideration of their danger, and of the desperate Services their Captain had brought them to, began to discover by their countenances, their willingness to leave this course: whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury having notice, he with the Bishop of Winchester came from the Tower by water to Southwark, and there shewed the Kings General Pardon under the Great Seal of England; which was so welcome to the Rebels, that without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew themselves that night

He commandeth  
Horses and  
Furniture to  
be sent him.

He cuts off  
the Lord  
Say's head  
in Cheap-  
side.

Also Sir  
James Cromer's  
head.

Upon the  
Kings general  
Pardon,  
Jack Cade's  
followers  
leave him  
to



Jack Cade  
slayeth and  
is slain.

to their several habitations. Jack Cade with some few followers, bent his Journey to *Queenborough* Castle, where being denyed entrance, he disguised himself, and privily fled; but upon Proclamation, with promise of a Thousand Marks to any that should bring him dead or alive, he was afterward, by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached: and making resistance, in a Garden at *Hothfield* in *Sussex*, was there slain. His body was brought to *London*, beheaded and quartered, his head set upon *London-Bridge*; his quarters dispersed in divers places in *Kent*. Upon the news whereof, the King sends Commissioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the Abettors of this Rebellion; whither he followeth himself in person: and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight onely were executed. Though *London* were the chief stage of this Rebellion, yet other Countreys were not free, especially *Wiltshire*; for the Rebels there, upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, drew *William Askot* Bishop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, where he was saying Mass in *Edington* Church, to the top of the Hill: and there in his Priestly Robes most inhumanely murdered him.

Upon this  
Insurrection  
in England,  
the King of  
France seizeth  
upon all the Eng-  
lish territo-  
ries, and  
leaves the  
English no-  
thing but  
Calice.

This Insurrection was not unknown to the King of *France*, who taking advantage thereof, seizeth upon all places which the *English* had in *France*, leaving them nothing but only *Calice*, and the Castles of *Hames* and *Guisnes*; and this was the Issue of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Regency in *France*: whereupon coming into *England*, at a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the sixth of *November* in the nine and twentieth year of the Kings Reign, he was put under Arrest. Upon notice whereof, the Commons at *London* despoiled his house at *Black-Fryers*, and ceased not till Proclamation was made to prohibit them; for disobeying whereof, there was one man beheaded, at the Standard in *Cheap*.

1451.

The Duke  
of York com-  
plains  
against the  
Duke of  
Somerſet.

At this time the Duke of *York* under pretence of coming to the Parliament, comes out of *Ireland*; and at *London* had private conference with *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and other his assured friends: where it was resolved to keep the chief purpose, (the Claim to the Crown) secret, and only to make shew, that his endeavours were but to remove ill Counsellors from the King, of whom they instanced in the Duke of *Somerſet* as chief; and hereof, the Duke sent divers Letters to the King, complaining of the wrongs the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him, but withal making protestation of his own Loyalty. To which the King maketh answer, That he would take his complaints into consideration, but somewhat blames him for the death of the Bishop of *Chester*, by his means suspected to be slaughtered; and for dangerous speeches uttered by his Servants, tending to Rebellion: concluding, That notwithstanding any thing said or done to the contrary, he took and esteemed him a faithful Subject, and a loving Kinsman. But the Duke of *York*, not herewith satisfied, departeth into *Wales*, and there levieth men, making his colour for the good of the commonwealth, and the removing of bad Counsellors. The King advertised hereof, presently raiseth an Army; and with the

He raiseth  
an Army.

And the  
King an-  
other.

Duke of *Somerſet* (now enlarged) marcheth towards *Wales*: while the Duke of *York* having notice which way the King came, by another way marcheth toward *London*; who being told, the *Londoners* would not admit him entrance, he passed the River *Thames* at *Knightbridge*, marched into *Kent*, and encamped at *Burnt-beath*. The King in his pursuit came to *Black-beath*, and there pitched his Tents; from whence he sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews*, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cause of this commotion: and to make offer of reconciliation, if the Duke's demands were not unreasonable. The Duke made answer, That nothing was intended against the King's Person, his Crown or Dignity: All that was sought, was to remove ill Counsellors from about the King, but especially *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*; whom if the King would be pleased to commit to ward, till his Legal Trial might be had in Parliament, he would then not only dismiss his Army, but come unto his presence as a loyal Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerſet* is committed to Prison: The Duke of *York* dismisseth his Army, and cometh in person to the King; in whose presence (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of *Somerſet*; which so moved him, that he could not hold, but presently charged him with Treason: which the Duke of *Somerſet* not only denieth, but recriminates the Duke of *York* to have conspired the King's death, and the usurpation of the Crown. Whereupon, the King removeth to *London*, the Duke of *York* as a Prisoner riding before him, and the Duke of *Somerſet* at liberty; which was not a little marvelled at by many. And now the King calleth a Council at *Westminster*, where the two Dukes are earnest in accusing each other; but while the Council are debating of the matter, there comes a flash of Lightning out of *France*, which diverted them. For the Earl of *Kendal*, and the Lord *L'Espar*, came Ambassadors from *Burdeaux*, offering their obedience to the Crown of *England*; if they might but be assured to be defended by it: but withal, at the same time there came a report, That *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*, with a great power was marching towards *London*. Here was matter for a double consultation, and for this latter, it was resolved on, That the Duke of *York*, should in the presence of the King and his Nobility, at the High Altar in *Pauls*, take his Oath of Submission and Allegiance to King *Henry*; which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Castle at *Wigmore*. And for the former, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with about three thousand men was sent into *Gascoigne*, who arriving in the Isle of *Mardre*, passed forth with his power, and took *Fronſack* and other pieces; but having received in the night instructions from *Burdeaux* of certain Conspirators, he makes all the speed he can thither: and was entred the Town before the *French* had notice of his coming; so that many of them were slain by the Lord *L'Espar* in their beds. Shortly after there arrived the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Son, Sir *John Talbot*, with the Bastard of *Somerſet*, and two and twenty hundred men, by whose means *Bur-*  
*deaux*

1452.

The Duke  
requiteth  
to have the  
Duke of  
*Somerſet* to  
be tried by  
Parliament.

The Duke  
of *York* and  
the Duke of  
*Somerſet* ac-  
cuse each  
other of  
Treason.

1453.

The Duke  
of *York* takes  
his Oath of  
Allegiance  
to King  
*Henry*.



*deaux* is well manned with *English*, in which time the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place, to receive the offered submission of all places where he came; and having taken *Chatillon*, he strongly fortified it; whereupon the French King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth *Chatillon*; to the rescue whereof, the Earl maketh all possible speed with eight hundred Horse, appointing the Earl of *Kendal*, and the Lord *L'Espar* to follow with the Foot. In his way he surpriseth a Tower the French had taken, and put all within it to the Sword; and meeting five hundred French men, that had been foraging, many of them he slew, and the rest he chased to their Camp. Upon whose approach the French left the siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earl followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the entry of the Camp: where being shot through the Thigh with an Harque-buss, and his Horse slain under him, his Son desirous to relieve his Father, lost his own life, and therein was accompanied with his Bastard Brother Sir Henry Talbot, Sir Edward Hall, and Thirty other Gentlemen of Name. The Lord *Molins* with Threescore other were taken Prisoners, the rest fled to *Burdeaux*, but in the way a Thousand of them were slain. And thus on the last day of July, in the year 1453. at *Chatillon*, the most Valorous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the first of that name, after four and twenty years service beyond the Seas, ended his life, and was buried at *Roan* in *Normandy*, with this Inscription upon his Tomb, Here lieth the Right Noble Knight, John Talbot, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Valence*, Lord Talbot of *Goodrich*, and *Orchenfield*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Aiton*, Lord *Crommel* of *Winkfield*, Lord *Lovetost* of *Warsoppe*, Lord *Furival* of *Sheffield*, Knight of the Noble Orders of *St. George*, *St. Michael*, and the Golden Fleece, great Marshal to King Henry the Sixth, of his Realm of *France*. The Earl of *Kendal*, the Lords *Montferrat*, *Rosaine*, and *Danglelas* entred the Castle of *Chatillon*, and made it good against the French the space of ten days; but then having no hope of Succour, they delivered it, upon composition to have liberty to depart to *Burdeaux*: and now the *Gascoignes* were as ready to open their Gates to the French, as they were before to the English; by means whereof, in short time, the French recovered again all *Gascoigne* except *Burdeaux*, and that also at length, upon condition that both Garrisons and Inhabitants with all their substance might safely depart for *England* or *Callice*, and that the Lords *L'Espar* and *Durant*, with Thirty others, upon pain of death should never after be found in the Territories of *France*.

Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury after many Victories is at last slain.

The Inscription upon his Tomb.

A difference on Bartholomew's day, between the Mayor of London, and the Prior of St. Johns,

At this time upon *St. Bartholomew's* day, an ancient custom being, that the Mayor of *London*, and the Sheriffs should be present in giving prizes to the best Wrestlers, it happened that at the Wrestling-place near *Moor-fields*, the Prior of *St. Johns* was there to see the sports, when a servant of his not brooking the disgrace to be foiled before his Master, against the custom of the place, would have wrestled again, which the Mayor denied; whereupon the Prior fetcht Bow-men from *Clarkenwel*, to resist the Mayor,

and some slaughter was committed; the Mayors Cap was shot through with an Arrow, he nevertheless would have had the sport go on, but no Wrestlers came: yet the Mayor Sir John Norman told his Brethren, he would stay a while to make trial of the Citizens respect towards him; which he had no sooner said, but the Citizens with Banners displayed came in great numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. Upon the neck of this began the quarrel in *Holborn*, between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some Citizens; in appeasing whereof, the Queens Attorney and three more were slain.

And now the Duke of York by all means laboureth to stir up the hatred of the Commons against the Duke of Somerset, repeating often what dishonour *England* sustained by Somerset's giving up the strong Towns of *Normandy*; and how he abused the Kings and Queens favour to his own gain, and the Commons grievance: then he addresseth himself to those of the Nobility, that could not well brook his too much commanding over the Kings and Queens affection. Amongst others he fastneth upon the two Nevils, both Richards, the Father and the Son, the one Earl of *Salisbury*, the other of *Warwick*; with whom he deals so effectually, that an indissoluble knot of friendship is knit betwixt them: by whose assistance (the King lying dangerously sick at *Claringdon*) the Duke of Somerset is arrested in the Queens great Chamber, and sent to the Tower; and in a Parliament now convoked, appeached of Treason, and many hainous crimes objected against him. Whereupon the King, though weak, is brought to *London*, of purpose to dissolve the Parliament; and that dissolved, the Duke of Somerset is presently set at liberty again; and not only so, but is made Captain of *Callice* and *Guisnes*, the only remainder the English had in *France*. Upon this the Duke of York and his party, with a great power, march towards *London*; against whom, the King attended with the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Buckingham, and his Son, both named Humfrey, Henry Earl of *Northumberland*, James Earl of *Wiltshire*, Jasper Earl of *Pembroke*, and two thousand men, marched forwards; at *St. Albans* both Armies meet: The Duke in the morning sends a Letter to the King, protesting his fidelity and sincerity, only he desires the Duke of Somerset may be delivered, to stand or fall by the Judgment of his Peers; and this he would have, or dye in the pursuit. The King for answer, commands him to disband, and submit to his mercy, and not expect that he will deliver any in his Army, who have shewed their loves in standing to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall every one to his quarter: The Earl of *Warwick* fell upon the Lord Clifford's quarter, where the Duke of Somerset hasting to the rescue, was slain, and with him the Earl of *Northumberland*, Humfrey Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord Clifford, and about five thousand others, besides many that were hurt; the King himself shot in the neck with an Arrow; the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Scales, in the faces; the Earl of Dorset so hurt, that he was fain to be carried home

1454.

The Duke of Somerset is sent to the Tower.

But soon set at liberty, and made Captain of Callice.

1455.

The Duke of York's Army and the Kings have a Battel, where the Duke of Somerset, and other Lords are slain.



The King  
sleeth.

in a Cart: The Kings Army had been increased after his coming forth to eight thousand; but now they are all dispersed or slain; and the King unguarded, is left in a poor thatcht house, whither, to be freed from the danger of Arrows, he had withdrawn himself. The Duke of York having notice where the King was, goes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*; who all three upon their knees, present themselves before him, making humble Petition to him for Pardon of what was past: and now seeing the common enemy was slain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King throughly affrighted, said, Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me. This first Battel of *St. Albans* was fought upon the Three and thirtieth year of King *Henry's* Reign. The Bodies of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford* were buried in the Chappel there. And now the Duke of York in the Kings name, commands a surcease from further hostility: and in all reverent manner conveyeth the King to *London*, where they keep the Feast of Pentecost together. At which time a Parliament is summoned to begin at *Westminster* the ninth day of *July*; and therein it is enacted, That the Duke of *Gloucester* should be declared publickly a Loyal Subject, and that none should misreport or dispute the actions of the Duke of York; or of any in his company: and moreover the Duke of York is made Protector of the Kings Person, and of the Realm, the Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of *Calice*, wherein they all carried themselves with unblameable demeanour.

The Duke of  
York made  
Protector of  
the Kings  
Person, and  
of the  
Realm.

The Queen  
opposeth it.

In this mean time, the Queen not well pleased with these proceedings, seeks all means to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much seek to incite her to make opposition; she puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in mind, that these Traitors had slain his hopeful Son at *St. Albans*; she tells now the Duke of *Somerset*, that by them his dear Father lost his life: And they again put the Queen in mind of the unsufferable indignity done to her, in making her Husband only a King in name, setting a Tutor over him, as though he were a child, whilst the Duke of York and his complices manage all. Upon which incitation, all the Enemies of the *Yorkshire* Faction are assembled by the Queen at *Greenwich*; where it is debated of some course to be taken for restoring the King to his former liberty and Government. At length it is concluded, That the Duke of York should be commanded to give over his place of Protectorship, for that the King was of years and discretion sufficient to rule of himself without a Guardian; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to surrender his place of being Lord Chancellor, for that the Great Seal was never delivered him, seeing that which was now used, was made since the Kings restraint, and therefore not sufficient: to which conclusion of theirs, the King, easie to be wrought upon, yields his consent, and thereupon they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appear at the Council-Table at *Greenwich*. But the Lords were wiser than to put themselves into their hands, and therefore make answer, That none had

power to displace them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament; and so they continued about *London*, placing and displacing whom they pleased, and by their triumvirate authority, took *John* Earl of *Holland* Earl of *Exeter* out of Sanctuary, and sent him Prisoner to *Pomfret* Castle. These proceedings gave occasion to the licentious multitude to raise commotions, and the Prentices of *London* upon a very slight occasion, fall upon outlandish Merchants, rife and Rob their houses; and the Mayor assembling a company of substantial Citizens to suppress them, the Ring-leader of the disorders flies to Sanctuary, Commissioners are sent to enquire and punish the offence; but when the Mayor and Commissioners were set, tidings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commissioners left the business to be proceeded in by the Mayor, who so discreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were punished, some by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeased.

At this time the French having little to do against the English in France, would needs be doing something against them in England. They set out two Fleets, one under the conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*, the other of *Sir Peter* *Bressy*; the Lord fell upon *Fulney* in the West-Country, the Knight upon *Sandwich* in Kent, where some hurt they did, but not of importance to countervail their Voyage.

And now the Queen finding the little respect the Londoners bore to her party or the Kings, perswades the King, as for his health and recreation, to make a Progress into *Warwickshire*, which he did, by the way, hunting and hawking; and the Queen making shew of minding nothing but pastimes: and this she did, with a purpose the easilier to entrap the three Lords of York, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*. To whom she writ most loving Letters, earnestly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by an hour appointed; which they not doubting any fraud, intended to have done: but hearing by the way of the mischief plotted against them, they caused their Retinue to go on-ward the way to the Court, as though themselves were coming after; but they provided otherwise for their safety, the Duke of York with a Groom and a Page getting him to *Wigmore* Castle, the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Castle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to the Sea-side, and so to *Callice*. But before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have intercourse of Letters, yet their intentions kept undiscovered.

The King unwitting of this mischief intended against the Duke of York and his friends, returneth to *London*, where he calleth a Council; and therein of his own accord, desireth that some course might be invented for a perfect reconciliation of all parties: promising upon his Salvation, (an asseveration not usual with him) so to entertain the Duke of York and his friends, that all discontents should be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts be established: to which end messengers are dispatched to the Duke of York, and all other of his party, commanding them upon urgent affairs of the Realm, and

1456.

The Prentices  
of London  
make a  
commotion.

1457.

The Queen  
in loving  
manner in-  
vites the  
three Lords  
of York, Sa-  
lisbury, and  
Warwick, to  
meet her at  
Coventry.  
The Lords  
hearing of  
a plot laid  
against  
them, shift  
away.

The King  
seeks an ac-  
commoda-  
tion betwixt  
him and the  
three Lords.



1458.

An accom-  
modation is  
agreed up-  
on.

But all dif-  
sembled.

and upon Royal Promise of safe conduct, to re-  
pair to his Court at London, at a day appointed.  
The Duke of York accordingly came, and with  
400 men well apparelled, lodged at his House  
called Baynards-Castle; the Earl of Salisbury  
with 500 men, lodged likewise at his House  
called the Herbour: The Duke of Exeter (lately  
released) and the Duke of Somerset with 800  
men, were lodged within Temple-Bar: The  
Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Egremont, and  
the Lord Clifford with 1500 men were lodged  
in Holbourn; The Earl of Warwick with 600  
in red Jackets with ragged Staves, embroidered  
behind and before, were lodged at the Grey-  
Fryers in London. Upon the seventeenth of  
March the King and Queen came to London,  
and were Lodged at the Bishops Palace; the  
Mayor having five hundred well appointed  
men in readines, rode with a competent num-  
ber all day long round the City, for preservation  
of the Kings Peace. The Lords lodging within  
the City, held their Council at Black-Fryers; the  
other, at the Chapter-house at Westminster: Be-  
tween both, the Reverend Arch-Bishop of Can-  
terbury, the Son of Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex,  
with some other of the most able Prelates in-  
terceded so, that by their mediation it was at  
last concluded, That all wrongs and misde-  
meanours on every side should be forgotten  
and forgiven; that each side should be friends  
to the other, and both be obedient to the com-  
mands of the King. Besides this in general, there  
were some particular Articles to be performed  
by the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury and  
Warwick, which afterward was ratified under  
the great Seal of England, the 24 day of March,  
in the 36 year of the Reign of King Henry the  
sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemn  
Procession was made in Pauls Church, at which  
the King was present with his Crown on his  
head; before him hand in hand went the Duke  
of Somerset, and the Earl of Salisbury; the Duke  
of Exeter and the Earl of Warwick, and so one  
of the one, another of the other part, till they  
were all marshalled: behind the King came the  
Queen, the Duke of York leading her by the  
hand, who in going made shew of favourable  
countenance towards him. Divine Service en-  
ded, they return to the Court in all outward  
appearance truly reconciled; but all was dif-  
sembled, as will presently appear: for presently  
upon this, an affray fell out between a servant  
of the Earl of Warwick's, and a Courtier, who in  
the encounter is dangerously wounded; the  
Earl's man flieth; the Kings Servants seeing  
their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped,  
watch the Earls coming from the Council Ta-  
ble, and assail him; many are hurt, but the Earl  
getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to London; the  
Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be  
committed to the Tower, but he foreseeing the  
danger, posits to Yorkshyre, where he acquaints  
the Duke of York, and his Father the Earl of  
Salisbury, of all the occurrents, with the pal-  
pable discovery of the Queens canker'd dispo-  
sition, advising them to stand upon their Guard,  
and to provide against the approaching storm.  
Himself speeds to Callice, and being then Lord  
Admiral, takes with him all the Kings Ships  
that were in readines, and scouring the Seas,

meets with five great Carricks, three of Genov,  
and two of Spain, and after two dayes fight,  
takes two of them; with which he returned to  
Callice; where he unloaded their freight, and  
found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple  
Commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners.  
In the mean time the Earl of Salisbury with  
about five thousand men marcheth through  
Lancashire, to pass that way to the King, with a  
purpose to acquaint him with the affront offer-  
ed to his Son, and the inveterate malice disco-  
vered in the Queen against him. The Queen  
with the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset,  
hearing of his coming, gave order to the Lord  
Audley to use means to apprehend him; who  
thereupon levieth Ten thousand men in Cheshire  
and Shropshire, and with them about a mile  
from Draynton, in a plain called Blore-beath, he  
attended the Earl, there being but a small brook  
of no great depth between them. Early in the  
morning the Earl made a seeming retreat, which  
the Lord Audley observing, presently causeth  
his Troops to pass the River; but before they  
could be reduced again into order, the Earl  
with his whole strength falls upon them, and  
with the slaughter of the Lord Audley, and most  
of them that had passed the River, he discom-  
fited the rest, and slew about 24 hundred of  
them. Sir John and Sir Tho. Nevil, Knights, the  
Earls Sons, were sorely wounded, who with Sir  
Thomas Harrington, travelling into the North  
Countrey, were apprehended and sent as Pri-  
soners towards Chester, but upon a message from  
the March-men were presently released.

And now the Duke of York thinking fit no  
longer to conceal his design, makes preparation  
to take the field, the Earls of Salisbury and  
Warwick do the like; and amongst others of  
approved valour, whom the Earl of Warwick  
had brought from Callice with him, were two  
principal noted men, John Blunt, and Andrew  
Trollop. Likewise the King, with the Dukes of  
Somerset, and Exeter, draws his Forces to Wor-  
cester, from whence Richard Beauchamp Bishop  
of Salisbury, is sent to offer the Yorkists a full and  
general Pardon, if they would lay down Arms,  
and become Loyal Subjects. Whereunto they  
answered, That there was no trust to the Kings  
Pardons, as long as the Queen had a predomi-  
nant power; but if they might have assurance  
of safety, they would expresse their Loyalty, and  
humbly render themselves at his service. Here-  
upon the King advanceth nearer, and approach-  
ing the Lords Army, caused Proclamation to  
be made, That whosoever would abandon the  
Duke of York, should be received to mercy, and  
have Pardon. Upon this, the night following,  
Andrew Trollop with all the Callicians submit to  
the King; and by him are all the Councils of  
the Duke of York discovered: which so much  
discouraged him, that he with his young Son,  
the Earl of Rutland, fled first into Wales, and  
then into Ireland: The Earls of March, Salisbury  
and Warwick got into Devonshire, where by  
the means of John Dynham, Esquire, (the same  
man that afterward by King Henry the seventh  
was made Lord Treasurer of England) they  
were Shipt from Exmouth to Guernsey, and so  
to Callice. All the common Souldiers the King  
pardons, only makes exemplary punishment of

1459.  
The Earl of  
Salisbury  
going to ac-  
quaint the  
King, is set  
upon by the  
Lord Aud-  
ley.

Who is  
slain, and  
his Army  
defeated.

The Duke  
of York takes  
the field.

The King  
doth the  
like.

Andrew  
Trollop re-  
volts from  
the Duke to  
the King.

Whereupon  
the Duke of  
York flies in-  
to Ireland.



some few Captains, sends the Dutchess of York, and her two younger Children, to the Dutchess of Buckingham her Sister to be safely kept; and then having spoiled the Town and Castle of Ludlow, he dismiss his Army. And now a Parliament is called at Coventry, wherein the Duke of York, Edward Earl of March his Son, Richard Earl of Salisbury, Richard Earl of Warwick, John Lord Clifford, and many other the Confederates of the Duke of York, are convicted of Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to the Kings use. Henry Duke of Somerset by the Queens means is made Captain of Callice, whither coming to take possession, he was by reason of Ordnance shot at him from Ricebank, forced to retire; which the Queen hearing, was so incensed, that in great passion she gave order to make ready all the Kings Ships, lying at Sandwich, to give assistance to the Duke of Somerset: but the fore-mentioned John Dynham, out of love to the Earl of March, boarded those Ships in the Harbour, and took the Lord Rivers, designed Admiral for that Service, and carried both him and the Ships to Callice, from whence the Earl sailed to Ireland, to the Duke of York, who having conferred and concluded what course to take, he returned to Callice, the new Admiral the Duke of Exeter not daring to stop his course. Sir Simon Montford was appointed to guard the Cinque Ports, having divers Ships under his Command, to barr the Earl of Warwick's entrance: but the Earl by his espials having perfect intelligence of all passages, fell suddenly upon Sir Simon, before his Ships were ready, took him Prisoner, ransackt the Town of Sandwich, and carried him Prisoner, and the Ships to Callice. By the way he understood how much the Kentish men desired his return, and longed for his coming; whereupon he came the second time to Sandwich, to whom presently resorted the Lord Cobham, and very many Gentlemen of the Countrey: so as now his Army was Five and twenty thousand strong, with which he marched towards London. Against whom the Lord Scales was appointed to go, and with some convenient Troops to assure London: but the Mayor directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the Tower, from whence afterward he did the Londoners no small displeasure. The Earl of Warwick having notice, that his Father the Earl of Salisbury was upon march to meet him, passeth over his men; and without impeachment, joyned with him and his friends near Exeter.

The Earl of Warwick is received of the Londoners.

The King with the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and near to the Town of Northampton both Armies meet. The Earl of March with the advice of the Earl of Warwick prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intensive to devotion than fighting) did the like. the fight continued about two hours, wherein were slain on both sides above Ten thousand men; but upon the fall of Humfery Duke of Buckingham, the Kings side was discomfited, and John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Lord Egremon, John Lord Beaumont, and some other of account were slain. The Queen with the

The Duke of York in a Parliament is convicted of Treason: as likewise the other Lords.

John Dynham doth the Earl of March good service.

1460.

The Armies of the Earl of March, and of the King meet at Northampton.

The Kings Army is defeated; divers Lords slain.

Duke of Somerset, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of Durham. The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to London: where the Tower is yielded to the Earl of Warwick; the Lord Scales in disguised apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the Water-men, and by them beheaded, and his Corps carelessly left upon the Sands. Thomas Thorpe one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the Habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, purposing to flie to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the Tower; and after by the Commons Beheaded at High-Gate. The Duke of York being advertised of this good success, leaveth Ireland and posts to London, where in the Kings name, he summoneth a Parliament; which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the Upper House, placeth himself in the imperial Seat, and with great boldness lays open his rightful claim to the Crown of England, as being the Son and Heir of Anne, Daughter and Heir of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, Son and Heir of Philippa the sole Daughter and Heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third Son of Edward the Third, and elder Brother of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Father of the Usurper Henry the Fourth, Grandfather to King Henry the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this time untruly styleth himself King Henry the Sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had befallen the Realm since the time of this Usurpation, he concluded, That he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his descent were indisputable, and his Title without exception. This being a business of importance, required deliberation; but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgesses were easily persuaded: And it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, That King Henry during his life, should retain the name and Honour of a King; That the Duke of York should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the Kings Person, his Lands and Dominions; and that if at any time, any of King Henry's Friends, Allies, or Favourites, in his behalf should attempt the disannulling this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the noting, That while the Earl of March was declaring his Title in the Upper House, it happened in the nether House, that a Crown which hung in the middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to set lights upon, without touch or wind, fell down: As likewise at the same time fell down the Crown which stood on the top of Dover-Castle. A sign as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, the Duke dispatcheth Letters into Scotland, requiring in the Kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and all other of the Nobility, that remained in the Kingdom, with all speed to repair to his presence in London: but they had other work in hand, for having gotten together of English and Scots, to the number of Eighteen thousand; they came marching into England. Against whom went the

The Queen fleeth, the King taken prisoner, & conveyed to London.

The Lord Scales flying away in disguise, is taken by Watermen, and beheaded.

The Duke of York comes out of Ireland: summons a Parliament, wherein he layes open his Title to the Crown.

It is concluded in Parliament that King Henry should remain King during his life; and the Duke of York proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown.

Good Omens for the Earl of March.



The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter with an Army out of Scotland come marching into England.

The Duke of York meets them, and in a Battel on Wakefield Green is slain.

The Earl of Salisbury beheaded.

The Duke of York's Issue.

the Duke of York with his younger Son the Earl of Rutland, and the Earl of Salisbury, (leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Warwick;) and approaching near the Queens Army, he was certified by the Scouts, that the enemy far exceeded his power, both in number, and in all warlike preparation (he not having in his Army above five thousand men) and thereupon the Earl of Salisbury advised him to retire, and to attend the coming of the Earl of March, who was gone into Wales to raise the March-men. But the pride of his former Victory made him deaf to all counsel of declining the Battel, and so, hastened on by his destiny, from Sandal Castle he marcheth on to Wakefield Green; where the Lord Clifford on the one side, and the Earl of Wiltshire on the other, were placed in Ambuscado. The Duke of York supposing that the Duke of Somerset, who led the Battel, had no more Forces than what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him; but being entred within their danger, Ambushes on both sides brake out upon him, and slew him with Three thousand of his men, the rest fled. The Earl of Salisbury is taken Prisoner, and harmless Rutland not above Twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a Sacrifice for his Fathers transgressions, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord Clifford, in part of revenge (as he swore) of his Fathers death: And the Queen most unwomanly in cold blood caused the Earl of Salisbury, and as many as were taken Prisoners, to be beheaded at Pomfret Castle, and to have their heads placed on poles, about the Walls of York. Thus died Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who had taken to Wife Cicely Daughter to Ralph Nevil, the first Earl of Westmerland, by whom he had Issue eight Sons and four Daughters; his eldest Son Henry died young, his second Son Edward was afterward King of England; his third Son Edmund Earl of Rutland, was slain with his Father; John, Thomas, and William, died young; his seventh Son George was after Duke of Clarence; his youngest Son Richard surnamed Crouchback, was after King of England. Anne his eldest Daughter was married to Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, his second Daughter Elizabeth, which married to John de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, his third Margaret, to Charles Duke of Burgoigne; his fourth Ursula died young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumstances of disgracing him; but this act of spight was fully afterwards recompensed upon their heads that did it.

The Earl of March hearing of his Father's death, laboured now so much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parting from Shrewsbury, whose Inhabitants were most firm unto him, he increased his Army to the number of Three and twenty Thousand, and presently took the field: and having advertisement that Jasper Earl of Pembroke, with the Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire followed after him with a great power of Welsh and Irish, he suddenly marched back again, and in a Plain near Mortimer's Cross, on Candlemas day in the morn-

ing gave them Battel, where with the slaughter of Three thousand and eight hundred, he puts the Earls to flight. Owen Tewdor who had married Queen Katharine, Mother to King Henry the sixth, and divers Welsh Gentlemen were taken, and at Hereford beheaded. Before the Battel, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of March like three Suns, and suddenly it joyned altogether in one; for which cause some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full brightness, for his Badge or Cognizance.

The Queen in the mean time encouraged by the death of the Duke of York, with a power of Northern men marched towards London: but when her Souldiers were once South of Trent, as if the River were the utmost limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forrage the Countrey in most barbarous manner. Approaching St. Albans, they were advertised; that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick were ready to give them Battel, whereupon the Queens Vaward hasteth to pass through Saint Albans: but being not suffered to pass, they encountred with their Enemies in the Field called Bernard-beath, who perceiving the main Battel to stand still, and not to move; which was done by the treachery of Lovelace, who with the Kentish men had the leading of it, they soon made the Southern men to turn their backs and fly: upon whose flight the rest in doubt of each others well-meaning shifted away, the Lords about the King perceiving the danger withdrew themselves. Only the Lord Bonville coming in a complemental manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his Majesty, but that necessity for the safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned, and Sir Thomas Kyriel a Knight of Kent likewise, by the King to stay; he passing his Royal Word that their stay should be no danger to them: upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost. For the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron Thorp at High-gate, she in revenge thereof, caused both their heads to be stricken off at St. Albans: so as there were slaughtered at this Battel the full number of Three and twenty hundred, but no man of name but Sir John Gray, who the same day was made Knight, with twelve other at the Village of Colney.

And now the King was advised to send one Thomas Hoe, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victors, to tell them, That he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done; whereupon the Earl of Northumberland, appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord Cliffords Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: but it was now observed, as it were in the Destiny of King Henry; that although he were a most pious man, yet no enterprize of War did ever prosper where he was: that we may know the prosperity of the World to be no inseparable companion to men of Piety. At the Queens request, the King honoured with Knighthood Thirty Gentlemen, who the day before had fought against the part where he was: the Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight, and then they went to the Abbey, where they were received with Anthems, and withal an humble Petition to be protected from the outrage of the loose Souldiers;

The Earl of March puts the Queens Forces to flight. Owen Tewdor beheaded.

No enterprize of War ever prospered where King Henry was present.



to the London  
ers keep  
provision  
from going  
to the King.

Souldiers; which was promised, and Proclamation made to that purpose; but to small purpose, for the Northern men said, It was their bargain to have all the spoil in every place, after they had passed *Trent*: and so they Robbed and spoiled whatsoever they could come at. The *Londoners* hearing of this disorder, seeing there was no more assurance in the Kings promise, to keep the Northern men out of their Gates; insomuch that when they were sent to, to send over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten Provision, which the Mayor accordingly provided, the Commons rose about *Cripple-gate*, and by strong hand kept the Carts from going out of the City. Hereupon the Mayor sends the Recorder to the Kings Council, and withal intreats the *Duchess of Bedford*, and the *Lady Scales*, to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuse his not using force, considering how dangerous it might be in these doubtful times, to stir their fury that would not easily be allayed. It was well advised to send women to intreat a woman; for by this means they prevailed; that some of the Lords of the Council, with a guard of four hundred good Souldiers were appointed to go for *London* to enquire and certify of these things: when suddenly news was brought, that the Earl of *March* with a great Army was marching towards them. For the Earl of *Warwick* having gathered together his scattered Troops; and joyned with the Earl of *March*, they hastened towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of *February*; and upon Sunday the second of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick* mustred all his Army in *St. Johns field*: and having cast them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the last Parliament, and then demanded, Whether they would have King *Henry* to reign still? Who all cried, No, no. Then he asked them whether they would have the Earl of *March* eldest Son of the Duke of *Tork* (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them? who with a great clamour cried, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains and others of the City, to the Earl of *March* at *Baynards Castle*, to acquaint him with what was passed; who at first seemed to excuse himself, as unable to execute so great a charge: but animated by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at last consented to take it upon him, And thereupon the next morning he went in Procession to *Pauls*, and offered there; and after *Te Deum* sung, he was in great State conveyed to *Westminster*: and there in the great Hall seated in the Kings Seat, with the Scepter of *St. Edward* in his hand. And then again the people, of whom there was a great concourse, were aloud demanded, If they would acknowledge him to be their King? To which with great willingness they all cried, Yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen there present, he was with Procession and great solemnity conveyed to the Abbey, and placed in the Quire as King; whilest *Te Deum* was singing. That done, he offered at *Saint Edwards Shrine*, and then returned by Water to *Pauls*, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace; and upon the fourth of *March* he was generally Proclaimed

Is proclaimed  
King.

King, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth. And here in the course of all Writers, ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, that it may be truly said, Never came any to be King so soon after his Birth, nor left to be King so long before his Death; for he came to be King at eight months old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that space of time, a certain vicissitude, sometimes a King, and sometimes no King; the passages whereof must be related in the following Kings Reign.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN the first year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *London*, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her lap came and sat amongst the Lords; and there was then granted a Subsidy of five Nobles upon every lack of Wool that should pass out of the Land, for three years: but if carried out by Merchant strangers, then to pay three and forty shillings for every Sack. In the third year of his Reign a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, wherein was granted a Subsidy of twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize coming in, or passing out of the Realm, and three shillings of a Ton of Wine, for the term of three years. In his sixth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster* was granted a Subsidy, of every Ton of Wine three shillings, and other Merchandize, except Wool, Fell, and Cloth, twelve pence in the pound: Also of every Parish through the Realm (except Cities and Boroughs) the Benefice being in value ten Marks, Ten of that Parish should pay six shillings eight pence; and of every Benefice of the value of Ten pounds, ten Parishioners should pay Thirteen shillings four pence; and so ratably of every Benefice, from the lowest to the highest. And for the Inhabitant of Cities and Boroughs, every man being worth twenty shillings above his household-stuff, and the apparel of him and his Wife, should pay four pence, and so after that rate to the richest.

#### Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the 32 year of this King, the Lord Mayor of *London* first began to go by water to *Westminster* to take his Oath, where before they used to go by Land. Also in this Kings Reign the Art of Printing was found out at *Mogunce* in *Germany*, by a Knight called *John Cuttenberghen*, and brought into *England* by *William Caxton* of *London* Mercer, who first practised the same in the Abbey at *Westminster* in the year 1471. In the 23 year of his Reign, in the Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That when Wheat was sold for six shillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for four shillings, and Barley for three shillings, it should be lawful for any man to carry the said kinds of Corn into the parts beyond the Sea without licence; so it were not to the Kings Enemies or Rebels; which Act was afterward confirmed by King *Edward* the Fourth.

The Art of  
Printing  
first found.

When Corn  
might be  
carried be-  
yond Sea.

Affairs



Affairs of the Church in his time.

A Great Schism was in the Church in this Kings time by reason of Anti-Popes; for remedy whereof, a Council is called at *Constance*, to which the Emperours of *Constantinople* and *Trapezond* send their Ambassadors. In this Council *John* the three and twentieth is convented, condemned, deposed, and imprisoned. *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth, are deprived, and *Orto Colonna*, by the name of *Martin* the fifth, is chosen Pope. During these confusions in the Western Church, the Christians in the Eastern Church are utterly ruined. The Emperour smothered to death in a press of people, and the great City of *Constantinople* won by the *Turk*, made ever since the seat of his Empire. In the six and thirtieth year of this King, *Roynold Peacock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, who had laboured many years in translating the Holy Scripture into *English*, was accused and convicted, for holding and publishing certain opinions at that time held Heretical, which at last openly at *Pauls Cross* he revoked; that he had held, there was no necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell: also no necessity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the Universal Church cannot erre in matters of Faith; or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a General Council shall determine: Also that he had held, that Spiritual persons ought to have no Temporal Possessions; and that Personal Tythes were not due by Gods Law. These points he openly renounced, but was notwithstanding deprived of his Bishoprick; only a certain Pension was assigned him to live on in an Abbey, where soon after he died.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

The King himself founded two famous Colledges, the one in *Cambridge*, to our Lady and St. *Nicholas*, called the *Colledge-Royal*, or the *Kings-Colledge*; the other of *Eaton*, besides *Windsor*, called of our Blessed Lady; to the maintenance whereof he gave 3400 pounds by year. In the 28 year of his Reign, his Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queens-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. In the time of his Reign also, *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury* founded two Colledges in *Oxford*, one called *All-Souls-Colledge*, the other *Bernard-Colledge*. In his time also, *Humfrey Duke of Gloucester* (but others say, *Thomas Kemp*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*) built the Divinity School in *Oxford*; also the said Archbishop built *Pauls Cross* in form as now it standeth; and *William Wanefflete* Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellour of *England*, founded *Mary Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*. In his seventeenth year, *Ralph Lord Cromwel*, builded the Colledge of *Tatshal* in *Lincolnshire*. Also this year *William Eastfield* Mayor of *London*, caused to be builded at his own charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleetstreet*. In his ninth year, *John Wells* Mayor of *London*, caused the Conduit commonly called the *Standard* in *Cheap* to be builded. In his first year the West-Gate of *London*, sometime called *Cham-*

*berlain-gate*, and now *Newgate*, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir *Richard Whittington*, Lord Mayor of *London*. In his fifth year, *John Reynwel* Mayor of *London*, gave certain Lands to the City of *London*, for which the City is bound to pay for ever, all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King, (so as it pass not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in *London*; namely, *Dowgate-Ward*, *Billingsgate-Ward*, and *Algate*. Also this year the Tower at the Draw-Bridge of *London* was begun by the same Mayor. In his four and twentieth year, *Simon Eyre* Lord Mayor of *London* builded the *Leaden-Hall*, in *London*, to be a Store-House for Grain and Fuel for the poor of the City, and a fair Chappel at the East end of the same, leaving in stock a Thousand pounds, which afterward King *Edward* the Fourth borrowed and never paid it again. Also in this Kings time, *William de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Alice* his Wife, Daughter to *Thomas Chaucer*, Son to *Geoffry Chaucer* the famous Poet, translated and encreased the Mannor place of *ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*, and builded new the Parish-Church of *ewelme*, and an Hospital or Alms-House for two Priests, and thirteen poor men, to which he gave three Mannors, *Ramruge* in *Hampshire*, *Conock* in *Wiltshire*, and *Mersk* in *Buckinghamshire*: They also founded the Hospital of *Donington Castle*.

Casualties happening in his time.

In his fifth year was so unseasonable weather, that it rained almost continually from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*. In his seventh year, the eighth of *November*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was like to have been drowned passing through *London-Bridge*, his Barge being set upon the Piles, overwhelmed so, that thirty persons were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with Ropes. In his seventeenth year was so great a dearth of Corn, that people were glad to make them bread of Fern-Roots. In his eighteenth year all the Lions of the Tower died. Also in this year, the 18 day of *July*, the Postern-Gates of *London* by *East-Smithfield* against the Tower of *London*, sank by night more than seven foot in the Earth. In his two and twentieth year, on *New-Years* day, near unto *Bedford*, a very deep water, which ran betwixt the Towns of *Swelstone* and *Harfewood*, stood suddenly still, and divided it self, so that by the space of three miles, the bottom remained dry: which wonder, many thought to signifie the division of the people, and falling away from the King, which happened shortly after. In the Three and thirtieth year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing-Star, there happened a strange sight, a Monstrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people at *Portland*, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his Wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the West; as also many prodigious Births. In his six and thirtieth year, in a little Town in *Bedfordshire*, it rained blood, whereof the red drops appeared in sheets hung out to dry.

Newgate new builded.

Leaden-Hall at London builded, and to what use.

All the Lions in the Tower dye.

A deep River suddenly grows dry.

A Prodigious Cock.

Rain of Blood.

Of

The Emperour smothered to death in a press of people. Constantinople won by the Turk. The Bishop of Chichesters Heresies, for which deprived.

Kings Colledge in Cambridge, and Eaton Colledge founded.

Queens Colledge in Cambridge founded. All-Souls and Bernard Colledge in Oxford founded. The Divinity School in Oxford built. Pauls Cross built. Magdalen Colledge in Oxford founded.

The Standard in Cheapside builded.



## Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married Margaret Daughter of Rayner Duke of Anjou, and Titular King of Jerusalem, Sicily, and Arragon, by whom he had a small Portion, and little strength of Alliance; yet might it have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and stirring spirit, and she his soft and mild disposition. She was his Wife six and twenty years, and after her Husband's depulsion from the Regal Throne, his Forces being vanquished at the Battel of Tewksbury, in a poor Religious House whither she had fled for safety of her life, was taken Prisoner, and carried Captive to London, where she remained in durance, till Duke Rayner her Father purchased her liberty, unto whom she returned, and lastly died in her Native Countrey. By her King Henry had Issue only one Son named Edward, who when the day was lost at Tewksbury, sought to escape by flight; but being taken, was brought into the presence of King Edward, whose resolute answers provoked King Edward so much, that he dashed him on the mouth with his Gauntlet, and then Richard the Crouchback ran him into the heart with his Dagger. His Body was buried amongst the poor persons there slain, in the Monastical Church of the Black-Friers in Tewksbury.

## Of his Death and Burial.

UPON King Edward's recovering the Crown, he was committed to the Tower, where the 21 of May, in the year 1472. he was murdered by the bloody hand of Richard Duke of Gloucester; the day after he was brought to Pauls Church in an open Coffin, bare-fac'd, where he bled; thence carried to the Black-Friers, where he also bled; from thence in a Boat to Chertsey Abbey, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, saying or singing, and there buried: but afterward at the appointment of King Edward was removed to Windsor, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

## Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, spare and slender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his mind, he had Vertues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God, as Kings are said to be Gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, *Parcere subiectis, & debellare superbos*, he wanted the latter. He was not sensible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greatest Honour to consist in Humility. His greatest imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Log, and too little of the Stork; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, than he would devour. He was not so stupid, not to know prosperity from adversity; but he was so devout, to think nothing adversity which was not a hinderance to

Devotion. He was fitter for a Priest than a King, and for a Sacrifice than a Priest; and he could not chuse but dye a Martyr, who all his life had been a Confessor. He had one immunity peculiar to himself, that no man could ever be revenged on him, seeing he never offered any man injury. By being innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his head so long; but if he had been wise as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not sufficient, if we express not in particular his several Vertues. So modest, that when at Christmas a show of women was presented before him with their breasts laid out, he presently departed, saying; Fie, fie for shame, forsooth you be to blame. So pitiful, that when he saw the quarters of a Traytor over Cripplegate, he caused it to be taken down; saying, I will not have any Christian so cruelly handled for my sake. So free from swearing, that he never used other oath but Forsooth, and Verily. So patient, that to one who struck him when he was taken prisoner, he only said, Forsooth you wrong your self more than me, to strike the Lords Anointed. So devout, that on principal Holy-days he used to wear Sack-cloth next his skin. Once for all, let his Confessor be heard speak, who in ten years Confession never found that he had done or said any thing, for which he might justly be enjoined Penance. For which causes King Henry the Seventh, would have procured him to be Canonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by death; or perhaps because the charge would have been too great, the Canonization of a King being much more costly than of a private person.

## Of Men of Note in his time.

THERE were Men of Valour in this Kings Reign, of extraordinary eminency; as first, John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, who when a French Lord upbraided him, That his Sword was of Lead, he made his answer, and made him feel that it was of Steel. Next him was Thomas Mountacute Earl of Salisbury, whose very name was a sufficient charm to daunt a whole French Army. Then the next was John Lord Talbot, so great a Terrour to the French, that when the Women would still their Children from crying, they would use to say, Talbot comes. Then was Richard Nevil Earl of Warwick, so much greater than a King, as that which makes, is greater than that it makes: and such a one was he. Many other besides these, not much inferiour to these; that we may truly say, There was never a more Heroical King of England than Henry the Fifth: nor ever a King of England that had more Heroical Subjects than Henry the sixth. And though Arms and Letters seem to be of different conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flourish together: as in this Kings Reign, where John Leland furnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatises for instruction of Grammarians; William White a Priest of Kent, professing the Doctrine of Wickliffe, for which he suffered Martyrdom by fire; Alexander Carpenter, who wrote a Book called *Destruitorium vitiorum*, against the Prelates of that time; Peter Bassett Esquire



Esquire of the Privy Chamber to King Henry the Fifth, whose life he wrote: *John Pole* a Priest, who wrote the life of *St. Walborale* an English Woman: Also *Thomas Walden*, alias *Netter*, who wrote divers Treatises against the *Wickliffists*: *Peter Clark*, alias *Pain* a Student in Oxford and defender of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine: For which he fled, and was put to death beyond Sea: *Thomas Walsingham* born in Norfolk, a diligent Historiographer: *Thomas Ringstead* the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: *Thomas Rudburn* a Monk of Winchester, and an Historiographer: *Nicholas Upton* a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of Colours in Armory, and of the duty of Chivalry: *John Capgrave* born in Kent, an *Augustine* Fryer, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the *Legend of English Saints*: *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrology, whereof he wrote a special Treatise intituled *Ta-bula Directionum*: *John Wethamstead*, otherwise called *Fruementarius*, Abbot of *St. Albans*, who wrote divers Treatises: and amongst others, a Book of the Record of things happening while he was Abbot, which Book *Holingshead* had seen, and in some passages of his time followed: *Roger Onley* accused of Treason, for practising with the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* by Sorcery to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: he wrote one Treatise intituled, *De sua Innocentia*: *Henry Walsingham* a Carmelite Frier of *Normich*, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: *John Lydgate* a Monk of *Bury*, who had travelled *France* and *Italy* to learn Languages, and wrote many works of Poetry: *Thomas Beckington* Bishop of *Bath*, who wrote against the Law Salique of *France*: *Michael Tricgury* born in *Cornwal*, whom for his excellent Learning, King *Henry the Fifth* made Governour of the University of *Caen* in *Normandy*, after he had conquered it. *Reynold Peacock* Bishop of *Chichester*, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: *Robert Flemming*, who wrote a Dictionary in Greek and Latin, and a work in Verse of sundry kindes. *Richard Flemming* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who wrote divers Books, one of the Etymology of *England*. *Nicholas Montacute* an Historiographer: *John Stow* a Monk of *Normich*, and Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*. *Nicholas Bungy*, born in a Town in *Norfolk*, of that name, who wrote an History called *Adunationes Chronicorum*: *Robert Balsack*, who wrote a Book *De Re militari*: *Thomas Dando* a Carmelite Frier of *Marlborough*, who wrote the life of *Alfred* King of the *West Saxons*: *Robert Bale*, surnamed the Elder, Recorder of *London*, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publick Assemblies of the City of *London*, with other matters touching the perfect description of the same City; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same City, and the Acts of King *Edward the Third*:

Humphrey D.  
of Gloucester  
a wife  
Astrologer.

The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year,  
Sir William Waldren was Mayor.  
William Eastfield, Robert Tatarsal, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
William Cromar was Mayor.  
Nicholas James, Thomas Watford, Sheriffs.

In his third year.  
John Michael was Mayor.  
Simon Seamen, John Bywater, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
John Coventry was Mayor.  
William Milled, John Brokle, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir John Rainwel was Mayor.  
John Arnal, John Higham, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir John Gedney was Mayor.  
Henry Frompich, Robert Oteley, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir Henry Barton was Mayor.  
Thomas Duffhouse, John Abbot, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir William Eastfield was Mayor.  
William Kusse, Ralph Holland, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Nicholas Wotton was Mayor.  
Walter Chertsey, Robert Large, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,  
Sir John de Welles was Mayor.  
John Aderley, Stephen Brown, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,  
Sir John Parveis was Mayor.  
John Olney, John Paddeslye, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,  
Sir John Brokle was Mayor.  
Thomas Chalton, John King, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,  
Sir Roger Oteley was Mayor.  
Thomas Barnewel, Simon Eyre, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,  
Sir Henry Frompich was Mayor.  
Thomas Catworth, Robert Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,  
Sir John Michael was Mayor.  
Thomas Morised, William Gregory, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,  
Sir William Eastfield was Mayor.  
William Hales, William Chapman, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,  
Sir Stephen Brown was Mayor.  
Hugh Dyker, Nicholas Tome, Sheriffs.



In his Eighteenth year,  
Robert Large was Mayor.  
Philip Malphas, Robert Marshal, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth year,  
Sir John Paddesley was Mayor.  
John Sutton, William Welinhale, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth year,  
Robert Clopton was Mayor.  
William Combis, Richard Rich, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty first year,  
John Aderly was Mayor.  
Thomas Beaumont, Richard Nordon, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty second year,  
Thomas Catworth was Mayor.  
Nicholas Wyford, John Norman, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty third year,  
Sir Henry Frowick was Mayor.  
Stephen Foster, Hugh Witch, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fourth year,  
Sir Simon Eyre was Mayor.  
John Darby, Godfrey Fielding, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty fifth year,  
John Olney was Mayor.  
Robert Horne, Godfrey Bullen, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty sixth year,  
Sir John Gedney was Mayor.  
William Abraham, Thomas Scot, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty seventh year,  
Sir Stephen Brown was Mayor.  
William Cotlow, William Marrow, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty eighth year,  
Sir Thomas Chalton was Mayor.  
William Hulin, Thomas Canning, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty ninth year,  
Nicholas Wilford was Mayor.  
John Middleton, William Deare, Sheriffs.

In his Thirtieth year,  
Sir William Gregory was Mayor.  
Matthew Philip, Christopher Wharton, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty first year,  
Sir Geoffry Fielding was Mayor.  
Richard Lee, Richard Alley, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty second year,  
Sir John Norman was Mayor.  
John Walden, Thomas Cook, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,  
Sir Stephen Foster was Mayor.  
John Field, William Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty fourth year,  
Sir William Marrow was Mayor.  
John Young, Thomas Oldgrave, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty fifth year,  
Sir Thomas Canning was Mayor.  
John Steward, Ralph Verney, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty sixth year,  
Sir Godfrey Bullen was Mayor.  
William Edward, Thomas Reynor, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty seventh year,  
Sir Thomas Scot was Mayor.  
Ralph Joceline, Richard Medham, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty eighth year,  
Sir William Hulin was Mayor.  
John Plummer, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his Thirty ninth year,  
Sir Richard Lee was Mayor.  
Richard Flemming, John Lambert, Sheriffs.



The REIGN of  
**KING EDWARD**  
 The FOURTH.

1460.

The Earl of  
 March is  
 proclaimed  
 King of  
 England.

King Henry  
 in the North  
 raiseth an  
 Army to op-  
 pose King  
 Edward.

**E**dward Earl of March, born at Roan in Normandy, Son and Heir of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, slain in the Battel at Wakefield, succeeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the Possession of the Crown of England; and that by virtue of an Act of Parliament lately made, wherein the said Duke of York not only was declared Heir apparent of the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom: But it was further Enacted, That if King Henry, or any in his behalf should attempt the disannulling of this Act, that then the said Duke or his Heir should have the present possession; which because his friends attempted to do, therefore justly doth Edward Earl of March his Son, by virtue of this Act take possession of the Crown, and is proclaimed King of England, by the name of Edward the Fourth, through the City of London, on the fifth day of March, in the year 1460. But before he could have leisure to be Crowned, he was forced once again to try his Fortune in the Field by Battel; For King Henry in the North was raising a new Army, against whom King Edward upon the twelfth of March, marched with his Forces from London: and by easie Journeys came to Pomfret Castle, from whence the Lord Fitzwater was sent to Guard the passage at Ferribridge, to stop the Enemies approach that way: King Henry likewise advanced forward, sending his power under the Conduct of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford, whilst himself with his Queen and Son stay at York. The Lord Clifford very early on Palm-Sunday, with a Troop of Northern men, falls upon those that guarded Ferribridge; and defeated them with the slaughter of the Lord Fitzwater, and the Bastard of Salisbury. The Earl of Warwick hearing of this defeat, comes posting to King Edward's Camp; and in his presence killing his Horse, protested his resolution to stand with him to the death. Upon this Resolution of the Earls, the King made presently Proclamation, that all who are afraid to fight, should at their pleasure depart; but to those that would stay he promised good reward: adding withal, That if any that stayed, should after turn his back or flee, then he that should kill him, should have double pay. After this he gave order to the Lord Fauconbridge, and Sir

Walter Blunt, to lead on the Vaward, who in their march about Dandingdale, encountered with the Lord Clifford (who formerly in cold blood had slaughtered the young Earl of Rutland) and he being stricken in the Throat with an Arrow, (some say) without a head, and presently dying: The Lord Nevil Son and Heir of the Earl of Westmorland was also slain, with most of their Companies, and the rest put to flight. The next day likewise (the Duke of Norfolk being dangerously sick, to whom that place was assigned) Fauconbridge and Blunt continue the leading of the Vant-guard; and on Palm-Sunday, by break of day, they came to a plain Field between Towton and Saxton, from whence they made a full survey of King Henry's Army: and certified King Edward, that the Enemy was threescore thousand strong; where his Army was but forty thousand and six hundred. Whereupon a second Proclamation was made through the Camp, that no quarter should be kept, nor Prisoner taken. The Armies being both in fight, the Lord Fauconbridge gave direction to the Archers (upon a signal by him given) to shoot every man a flight-Arrow (for that purpose provided) and then to fall back three strides, and stand. The Northern men in the mean time plyed their Bows till all their sheaves were empty; but their Arrows fell short of the Enemy by threescore yards: and not only did no hurt to the Enemy, but did hurt to themselves; for their Arrows being spent, and coming to hand-blows, their own Arrows sticking in the ground, galled their shins and pierced their feet. Ten hours the Battel continued doubtful, till the Earl of Northumberland being slain, with the Lord Beaumont Gray, Dacres, and Wells, Sir John Nevil, Andrew Trollop, and many other Knights and Esquires, the Earles of Exeter and Somerset fled, leaving the Conquest to King Edward; but the bloodiest that ever England felt, for there fell that day six and thirty thousand seven hundred threescore and sixteen persons, no Prisoners being taken but the Earl of Devonshire. The Battel ended, King Edward hastes to York; where he caused the heads of his Father and other Friends to be taken down and buried with their bodies, setting in their places the Heads of the Earl of Devonshire, and three other, there at that time executed. The Earl of Somerset acquainting King Henry with this overthrow, perswades him with his Queen and Son to flee to Berwick; where leaving the

defeated by  
 Policy of  
 the Lord  
 Faucon-  
 bridge.

And many  
 Lords slain,  
 and thirty  
 thousand or  
 there.



King Henry  
flies into  
Scotland, the  
Queen and  
her Son into  
France.

1461.  
King Ed-  
ward is  
Crowned.

John Earl of  
Oxford be-  
headed,

Dukes and  
Earls crea-  
ted.

1462.

Duke of Somerset, they flee further for succour to the King of Scots, who comforteth them with promise of relief, but maketh a sure Bargain, for in lieu of a pension to be allowed King Henry during his abode there, the Town and Castle of Berwick were delivered to him. Queen Margaret and her Son are sent into France, who obtained of Lewis the Eleventh her Cousin, that all of King Edward's Friends were prohibited stay or traffick in the French King's Dominions: but all King Henry's Friends might live there freely. After this King Edward comes to London, and upon his entrance to the Tower, makes four and twenty Knights, and the next day four more; and upon the 28. day of June, in the year 1461. he rode from the Tower to Westminster, and was there Crowned in the Abbey-Church.

Shortly after, a Parliament is summoned, which began at Westminster the fourth of November; in which all Acts of King Henry the Sixth prejudicial to King Edward's Title, are repealed: and therein John Earl of Oxford, a Valiant and Wife Man, (he who in a former Parliament had disputed the question concerning the precedence of Temporal and spiritual Barons, a bold attempt in those dayes; and by force of whose Argument, Judgment was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Tiddingham Knight, William Tyrrel, and Walter Montgomery Esquires, were, without answer convicted of Treason, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well deserving, King Edward at this time advanced many in honour: his Brother George he created Duke of Clarence, his Brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, John Lord Nevil Brother to the Earl of Warwick, he made first Viscount, then Marquis Montacute: Henry Bourchier Brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is made Earl of Essex; and William Lord Fauconbridge Earl of Kent. And now their new Honours are presently put into employment; the Earls of Essex and Kent, accompanied with the Lord Audely and Clinton, Sir John Howard, Sir Richard Walgrave, and others to the number of Ten thousand, are appointed to scour the Seas: who landed in Britain, took the Town of Conquet, and the Isle of Bee, and then returned. At this time Henry Duke of Somerset, Ralph Piercy, and divers others came in, and humbly submitted themselves to King Edward's mercy; who protested his propention of freely pardoning them, and as many other as would submit themselves as they did.

All this time King Henry was in Scotland, and Queen Margaret in France; where she obtained of the French King, a Company of five hundred men, with whom she sailed towards Newcastle, and landed at Timmouth, but suddenly again returned, and was her self by tempest beaten to Berwick; but her Company was driven on the shore before Bamburgh Castle, where they set their Ships on fire, and fled to an Island called Holy Island: but were so assailed there, by the Bastard Ogle and John Manners Esquire, that many of them were slain, and almost four hundred taken Prisoners, only their Colonel Peter Bressie happened upon a Fisherman who brought him to Berwick to Queen Margaret; and by her was made Captain of the

Castle of Alnwick, which he with his French men kept, till they were rescued. Shortly after, Queen Margaret having gotten together a great Company of Scots, and other of her Friends, bringing her Husband with her, and leaving her Son at Berwick, entered Northumberland, took the Castle of Bamburgh, made Captain thereof Sir Ralph Gray, and then came forward to the Bishoprick of Durham, whither resorted to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Piercy, and divers others, who altogether made a competent Army. King Edward hearing hereof, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; and first he sends Viscount Montacute with some Companies into Northumberland, whom he in person followeth with his whole power: The Viscount marcheth towards King Henry, and by the way encountred the Lord Hungerford at Hegley-Moor; but he, with the Lord Basse, upon the first charge ran away, leaving Sir Ralph Darcy alone with his own Regiment, who there valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viscount understanding that King Henry was incamped in Levels-Plain, near the River of Donel in Hexamsire, marcheth thither by night, and set upon him in his Camp; whose charge the Northern Men receive with a desperate resolution, but were in the end with great slaughter overcome. Henry Beaufort Duke of Somerset, the Lord Basse, Molins, Hungerford, Wentworth, Hussy, and Sir John Findern Knight, with many others, are taken prisoners. King Henry himself by the swiftness of his Horse escaped, but very hardly; for one of his Hench-men that followed him, was taken, who had on his head, King Henry's Helmet, or as some say, his high Cap of Estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich Crowns, which was presented to King Edward at York the fourth of May. The Duke of Somerset was beheaded presently at Hexam, the other Lords and Knights were had to Newcastle, and there after a little respite, were likewise put to death. Besides these, divers others, to the number of five and twenty, were executed at York, and in other places. This Duke of Somerset was never married, but had a natural Son named Charles Somerset, who was afterward created Earl of Worcester, Sir Humfrey Nevil, and William Talbeis calling himself Earl of Kyme, Sir Ralph Gray, and Richard Tunstall, with divers others that escaped from this Battel, hid themselves in secret places; but yet not so closely, but that they were espied and taken. The Earl of Kyme was apprehended in Riddesdale, and brought to Newcastle, and there beheaded; Sir Humfrey Nevil was taken in Holderness, and at York lost his head. After this Battel called Hexam-field, King Edward came to the City of Durham; and sent from thence into Northumberland the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Montacute, the Lords Fauconbridge and Scroop, to recover such Castles as his enemies there held, which they effected: and taking in the Castle of Dunstamburgh, they found in it John Gois, Servant to the Duke of Somerset, who was brought to York, and there beheaded: and taking in the Castle of Bamburgh, they found in it Sir Ralph Gray; whom because he had sworn to be true to King Edward, and was now

1463.

King Henry  
and his  
Queen get  
an Army in  
Scotland, &  
recover ma-  
ny Towns  
in the  
North parts.

Viscount  
Montacute  
setting up  
on King  
Henry's ar-  
mie: takes  
many of his  
Lords; and  
King Henry  
himself  
hardly esca-  
ped.

1464.

The Duke  
of Somerset  
and other  
Lords put  
to death.

His base  
Son Charles  
Somerset  
created Earl  
of Worcester.



Sir Ralph Grey degraded, and in what manner: and then beheaded.

King Henry is taken in disguise: brought disgracefully to London: and committed to the Tower.

The Queen fleeth into France.

The Earl of Pembroke beyond Sea little better than a Vagabond.

Serjeants at Law made

The Mayor of London offended that the Lord Treasurer was placed before him

King Edward sits three daies together in the Kings Bench.

now revolted to King Henry; they degraded from his order of Knighthood at *Dorchester*, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, rent his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his head, and then beheaded him.

In this mean time, King Henry (upon what occasion no man knows; but only led by the left hand of Destiny) venturing in disguise, to come into *England*, and shifting from place to place, was at length discovered, and taken by one *Cantlow*, or as others say, by *Thomas Talbot*, Son to Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Bashal*: who deceived him, being at his dinner at *Wadington-Hall* in *Lincolnshire*; and brought him towards *London*, with his Legs tied under the Horse belly. In whose company were also taken Doctor *Manting Dean* of *Windsor*, Doctor *Bedle*, and one *Ellarton*, whom the Earl of *Warwick* met by the way, and brought them all to the Tower of *London*; whilst the distressed Queen, with her Son, once again is driven for shelter into *France*; whither the new Duke of *Somerset* and his Brother *John* sailed also, where they live in great misery; and the Earl of *Pembroke* went from Countrey to Countrey little better than a Vagabond.

At this time King *Edward*, to reward his followers, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King *Henry* amongst them; but first made Proclamation that whosoever of the contrary faction would come in and submit, should be received to Grace, and restored to their Patrimonies.

In the fourth year of King *Edward*, in *Michaelmas* Term were made seven Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Genev*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Brian*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Faux*, who held their Feast in the Bishop of *Ely's* place in *Helborn*, where the Lord *Gray* of *Ruthin*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*, was placed before the Lord Mayor of *London*, being invited to the Feast; which gave such a distaste to the Mayor, that he presently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, without taling of their Feast: and it was Registered to be a precedent in time to come.

And now King *Edward* no less intentive to perform the Office of a King in peace, than he had been before of a Captain in War, considering with himself, that seditious and civil dissensions must needs breed disorders in a State, and that disorders bred by troubled times, are not like troubled waters, that will in time settle of themselves, and recover clearness; but are rather like weeds, which once springing up and let alone, will in time over-run the whole ground where they grow, He like a good Gardiner seeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a general reformation of abuses; and to that end in *Michaelmas* Term in the second year of his Reign, three daies together he sat publicly with his Judges in *Westminster Hall* on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himself with the orders of that Court, and to observe what needed reformation in it either at Bench or at Bar: as likewise he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees; and to be more intentive to the benefit of the Subject, than to their own unjust gain. He also daily frequented

the Council-Table, which he furnished for the most part with such as were gracious amongst the Citizens, whom he employes about references and businesses of private consequence; whilst mysteries of State were intimated only to such whom he selected to be of his more private Cabinet-Council: by whom, he being now of the age of three and twenty years, was advised that it was now time to provide for posterity, by taking a Wife; and to provide also for the present time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where so fitly found as in *France*; both ther by to build old grudges between the two Nations, and also to avert assistance from Queen *Margaret*, the only disturber in the State. And this being concluded, it only remained to make choice of a fit man for that employment, for which none was thought so fit as *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*; he therefore is presently sent into *France*, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and Sister to the Lady *Carlote* then Queen of *France*; a Lady, no less for beauty and virtuous qualities, than for Nobility of Blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Proposition is in *France* readily embraced, and willingly assented unto on all parts. But in the mean time King *Edward* being hunting in *Wichwood* Forrest besides *Stony-Stratford*, he chanced to come to the Manour of *Grafton*, where the Dutcheß of *Bedford* then lay; and where her Daughter by Sir *Richard Woodville*, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, slain at the last Battel of *St. Albans*, became a Suitor to him for some Lands which her Husband had given her in joynture: with whose beauty and graceful behaviour, King *Edward* was so taken, that he presently became a Suitor to her; and when he could not obtain his suit by terms of wanton love, he was forced to seek it by terms of Marriage.

And here we may well think, there was no small conflict in King *Edward's* mind, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them should be most potent; Honour put him in mind that it was against his Law, to take to Wife a meaner person than himself; but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but took it for his prerogative to make all persons equal. Honour perswaded him that it stood him much upon to make good the Ambassage in which he had sent the Earl of *Warwick* to a great Prince; but Love perswaded him, that it stood him more upon to make good the Ambassage sent to himself from a greater Prince. In conclusion, it appeared to be true which one observes, *Improbe amor quid non mortalia pectora cogis*? What is it that Love will not make a man to do? Whether it be that Loves brings upon the mind a forgetfulness of all Circumstances, but such as tend to its own satisfaction; or whether it be that Love is amongst Passions, as Oyls amongst Liquors, which will be alwayes supreme and at the Top. Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed; and therefore King *Edward*, though he knew no Superiour upon the Earth, he obeys the summons of Love; and upon the first day of May marries the said Lady *Gray* at *Grafton*; the

The Earl of Warwick sent into France to treat of a marriage with the Lady Bona

In the mean time King Edward marries the Lady Elizabeth Gray



the first of our Kings since the Conquest that married his Subject : At which marriage none was present but the Dutches of Bedford, the Priest, two Gentlewomen, and a young man to help the Priest at Mass. The year after, with great Solemnity she was Crowned Queen at Westminster. It is not unworthy the relating the speech which King Edward had with his Mother, who sought to cross this Match. 1465. "Where you say (saith he) that she is a Widow, "and hath already Children, by Gods blessed "Lady, I am a Batchelor, and have some too ; "and so each of us hath a proof, that neither "of us is like to be barren : And as for your "objection of Bigamy, ( for his Mother had "charged him with being contracted to the La- "dy Elizabeth Lucy) Let the Bishop ( saith he ) "lay it to my charge when I come to take Or- "ders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, "but I never wist it was forbidden a Prince, Upon this marriage the Queens Father was created Earl Rivers, and made high Constable of England ; his Brother the Lord Anthony was married to the sole Heir of the Lord Scales, and by her had that Barony ; her Son Sir Thomas Gray was created Marquess of Dorset, and married Cicely, Heir to the Lord Bonville. It may be thought a happy Fortune for this Lady to be thus matched ; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accruing to her by it, will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the benefits. For first, by this match she drew upon her self the envy of many ; and was the cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and her self in his absence glad to take Sanctuary : and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincipally manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she lived to see her two Sons most cruelly murdered ; and for a conclusion of all, she lived to see her self confined to the Monastery of Bermondsey in Southwark, and all her goods confiscated by her own Son in Law.

And now the Earl of Warwick at his return, found that knot tied in England, which he had laboured to tye in France : His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady Bona deluded, the King of France abused, and himself made a stale, and the disgracefull instrument of all this ; which although he resented in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learned the Art of dissembling ; he passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his mind till a fit opportunity ; and thereupon procures leave to retire himself to the Castle of Warwick.

King Edward in the mean time, having just cause to suspect he had made the French his Enemies, seeks to make other Princes his Friends. He enters into a League with John King of Aragon, to whom he sent for a present a score of Cotfal Ewes, and five Rams, a small present in shew, but great in the event ; for it proved of more benefit to Spain, and of more detriment to England than could at first sight have been imagined. And to secure him at home, he took truce with the King of Scots for fifteen years. And where he had married before, his two Sisters, Anne the eldest to Henry Holland Earl of Exeter ; and Elizabeth to John de la Pool

Duke of Suffolk, he now matched Margaret, his third Sister to Charles Duke of Burgaigne, which proved a greater assistance, to him, than that which he had lost in France.

By this time the Earl of Warwick's spleen began so to swell within him, that he could no longer contain it ; and having with much ado drawn to his party his two Brothers, the Archbishop of York, and the Marquess Montacute, he seeks also to draw in the Kings two Brothers, the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Gloucester : but he found Gloucester so reserved, that he durst not close with him ; the Duke of Clarence he found more open, and to him he addresseth himself, complaining of the disgrace he had sustained by the King in his imployment in France, and other wrongs. To whom the Duke presently made answer, in as great complaint of his Brothers unkindness to himself ; saying, he had married his wives Brother Anthony to the Heir of the Lord Scales ; and her Son Thomas to the Heir of the Lord Bonville ; but could find no match of preferment for him being his own Brother. And upon this agreement in complaints they agree to joyn against King Edward ; and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of Clarence takes to Wife Isabel the Earl of Warwick's Daughter ; and with her hath assured unto him half the Lands the Earl held in right of his wife, the Lady Anne, Daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick deceased. Upon this marriage the Earl of Warwick discovered to him what hitherto he had concealed, concerning his project for the restoring of King Henry ; to which Clarence gave approbation, with promise to assist him in it to his uttermost.

At this time Sir Thomas Cook, late Mayor of London, was by one Hawkins appeached of Treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place in London seized by the Lord Rivers. The case was this, the said Hawkins came to Sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand Marks upon good surety ; who answered, he would first know for whom it should be, and for what intent : and understanding it should be for the use of Queen Margaret, he refused to lend a penny. The matter rested two or three years, till the said Hawkins was laid in the Tower, and brought to the Brake, called The Duke of Exeters Daughter ; by means of which pain, he confessed amongst other things the motion he had made to Sir Thomas Cook, and accused himself so far, that he was put to death. Sir Thomas Cook lying in the Tower from Whitsuntide till Michaelmas, had his place in Essex named Gyddibal spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed ; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment : yet could not be delivered till he had paid eight thousands pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

And now the Earl of Warwick sendeth to his Brothers the Archbishop and the Marquess, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King Edward, and to procure some rebellious commotion in the North, whilst he and his new Son in Law would provide to go forward with the work ; which they accordingly did in Yorkshire, and occasion being taken

The Queens Father created Earl Rivers, and her Son Sir Thomas made Marquess of Dorset.

The Earl of Warwick at his return finding the King married, grows discontented.

Cotfal Ewes sent to the King of Aragon for a Present.

The Earl of Warwick and other Lords joyn against King Edward.

The Duke of Clarence marries the Earl of Warwick's Daughter.

Sir Thomas Cooks troubles : and for what cause.

1461.

The Earl of Warwick causeth a commotion to be raised in Yorkshire.



taken from the breach of an ancient custom there, to give to the poor people of St. Leonards in the City of York, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Arch-bishop and the Marqueſs underhand fomented; yet to colour the Matter, the Marqueſs oppoſed the Rebels, and cut off the head of Robert Huldorn their Captain: but his head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; Henry, Son and Heir to the Lord Fitzburgh, and Sir Henry Nevil, Son to the Lord Latimer; the one the Nephew, the other a Couſin-german to the Earl of Warwick, with whom they joyn the valiant Captain Sir John Conyers. Theſe when they could not enter York, came marching towards London, all the way exclaiming, againſt King Edward, as an unjuſt Prince, and an Uſurper. King Edward hearing of this Commotion, ſends Sir William Herbert, whom of a mean Gentleman, two years before he had made Earl of Pembroke, and his Brother Sir Richard Herbert, together with the Lord Stafford of Southwick, to ſuppreſs the Rebels; and they with an Army of ſeven thouſand, moſt Welchmen, march towards them: but the Lord Stafford being put from his Inn where he uſed to lodge, by the Earl of Pembroke, took ſuch a diſtaſte at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the buſineſs. Yet the Earl of Pembroke though thus forſaken, with his own Regiment encountered the Rebels, ſlew Sir Henry Nevil, and divers others; when being upon the point of Victory, one John Clappam a Servant to the Earl of Warwick, coming in with five hundred rationally fellows, and crying aloud a Warwick a Warwick, the Welchmen ſuppoſing the Earl had been come, turned preſently their Backs and fled: five thouſand of them were ſlain, the Earl of Pembroke himſelf, and his much lamented Brother, Sir Richard Herbert, a moſt goodly perſonage, were taken Priſoners, brought to Banbury, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen, were put to death. And now the Northamptonſhire Men joyning with the Rebels in this fury, made them a Captain named Robert Hiliard, but they named him Robin of Riddeſdale; and ſuddenly came to Grafton, where they took the Earl Rivers Father to the Queen, and his Son Sir John Woodville, brought them to Northampton, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King Edward advertiſed of theſe miſchances, wrote to the Sheriffs of Somerſetſhire and Devonſhire to apprehend the Lord Stafford of Southwick, (who had treacherouſly forſaken the Earl of Pembroke) and if they could take him, to put him to death; who being ſoon after found in a Village within Brent-marſh was brought to Bridgewater, and there beheaded. After this Battel fought at Hedgecote commonly called Banbury-field, the Northern men reſorted to Warwick, where the Earl with great joy received them; and hearing that King Edward with a great Army was coming thither, he ſent for his Son in Law the Duke of Clarence, with all ſpeed to repair unto him: who joyning together, and uſing means cunningly, by having ſome communication of Peace, to make the King ſecure, and to take little heed of himſelf, they took advantage of his ſecurity; and in the dead of the night ſet on his Camp; and

killing the watch before the King was aware, at a place called Woolney, four Miles from Berwick, they took him priſoner in his Bed, and preſently conveyed him to Middleham Caſtle in Yorkſhire, to be there in ſafe cuſtody with the Archbiſhop of York. And now they had the prey in their hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King Edward whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwiſe winning them by fair promiſes, got ſo much liberty, ſometimes for his recreation to go a hunting: by which he cauſed Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas of Burgh, and divers of his Friends, at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and ſet him again at liberty: whileſt the Earl of Warwick, nothing doubting his Brother's the Archbiſhop's care in ſafe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the Wars to be now paſt, diſmiſt his Army, and intended only to find out King Henry, who was kept a Priſoner, but few men knew where,

King Edward being now at liberty poſteth to York, and from thence to Lancaſter; where his Chamberlain the Lord Haſtings had raiſed ſome Forces; with which he marcheth to London, and is there joyfully received. The Earl of Warwick likewiſe ſends to his Friends, and makes preparation for a new Army; whileſt in the mean time, by the mediation of divers Lords, an interview in Weſtmiſter-Hall is agreed upon, and ſolemn Oath taken on both ſides for ſafety, between King Edward, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick: but each party ſtanding ſtrictly upon terms tending to their own ends, they parted as great Enemies as they met: And ſo from thence the King went to Canterbury, the Duke and the Earl to Lincoln; whither they had pre-appointed their Forces to repair, under the Conduct of Sir Robert Wells, Son and Heir of the Lord Wells, a man of great valour and experience in the Wars. King Edward to take off ſo able a man from the Earls part, ſends for his Father the Lord Wells to come unto him; who taking with him his Son in Law Sir Thomas Dymock, and coming to attend the Kings pleaſure, was told by his Friends how wonderfully the King was incenſed againſt them: whereupon for their ſafety they take Sanctuary at Weſtmiſter. But upon the Kings Princely word they came unto him, who commanded the Lord Wells to write to his Son, to deſiſt from adhering to the Earl of Warwick, which the Lord Wells accordingly did: but Sir Robert Wells notwithſtanding his Father's Letters, continuing firm to the Earl ſtill, ſo much incenſed King Edward, that he cauſed both his Father and Sir Thomas Dymock, to be beheaded. He ſuppoſed perhaps, that he Lord Wells was himſelf underhand a Friend to the Earl, and had not dealt ſincerely with him, in procuring his Son to leave that party. But now Sir Robert Wells ſeeing the King draw near to Stamford; where he had pitched his Tents, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much diſtracted what to do: to decline Battel with the King, he thought would ſhew too much fear; and to give him battel before the Earl of Warwick were come with his Forces, would ſhew too much boldneſs. But his veins were ſo filled with

The Earl of Warwick ſurprizeſh King Edward, and commits him to cuſtody.

King Edward gets at liberty.

The Earl of Warwick diſmiſſeth his Army.

The King and Lords have a meeting, but to no purpoſe.

1470.

The Lord Wells beheaded.

King Edward ſends the Earl of Pembroke to ſuppreſs it, who is with divers others ſlain.

Robin of Riddeſdale beheaded the Earl Rivers.

The Lord Stafford beheaded.



with a desire of revenging his Father's death, that he thought he could never shew boldness enough; and thereupon encountering with the Kings Army, far greater, than his own, oppressed with multitude was taken prisoner, together with *Thomas de Land*, and divers others: who presently in the place, were put to execution. As soon as *Sir Robert Wells* was taken, the *Lincolnshire* men to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats; for which cause, this Battel was afterward called *Loss-Coat-field*; in which, it is reported, were slain above ten thousand men.

Sir Robert Wells, his Son taken and put to death

The Earl of Warwick fled to Calice, where not received, and by what subtilty.

The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, and not having present means to raise an Army sufficient to oppose King *Edward*; when he could by no means draw the Lord *Stanley* to his party, he determined to sail into *France*, and hiring Ships at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, he with his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Wives took to Sea; and thinking to land at *Calice*, of which Town he himself was Captain, he was by the Lord *Vauleer* a *Gascoigne*, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled: and with so great inhumanity, that the Dutches of *Clarence*, who was then in labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship, (all the courtesie in that distress shewed was only to send a flagon or two of wine) which fact of *Vauleer's*, when King *Edward* heard of, he was so well pleased with it that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captain of the Town, himself: and the Duke of *Burguigne*, for the same service, sent unto him *Philip de Comines* (who hath written the History of these times) with a grant of one thousand Crowns pension during his life. Never man was better paid for one Act of dissembling; for the truth was, *Pro amore exclusit foras*, it was out of this Love that he suffered him not to enter the Town: for he knew there were many great ones in it addicted to King *Edward*, and so maliciously bent against the Earl, that if he or any of his Company should have come, they would in all likelihood have done them some mischief. And hereof he made a good proof soon after; for when the Earl took to Sea again, the Lord *Vauleer* sent him word, he should take heed where he landed, for that the Duke of *Burguigne* lay in wait to take him; which advertisement did the Earl more good, than the keeping him out of *Calice* did him hurt. The Earl upon this advertisement landed at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whereof when King *Lewis* heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at *Ambois*; where he received him with no less Honour than if he had been a King: In the mean time, King *Edward* made enquiry for all such as were aiders of the Earl of *Warwick*; of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the King's mercy; as *John Marquess Montacute*, whom he courteously received. Queen *Margaret*, who at this time sojourned with Duke *Rayner* her Father, hearing of the Earl of *Warwick's* arrival, with her Son Prince *Edward*, came to *Ambois*, and with her came also *Jasper*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, lately escaped out of Prison, and fled into *France*: between whom a new combination is made, and for a foundation of firm amity, King *Henry's*

The Earl of Warwick honourably received by the King of France.

Son Prince *Edward*, marries *Anne* the Earl of *Warwick's* second Daughter: After which marriage the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earls took a solemn Oath, never to leave the War till either King *Henry* or his Son Prince *Edward* were restored to the Crown: But now about this time, comes a Gentlewoman out of *England*, to the dissembling Lord *Vauleer* at *Calice*, and payes him in his own Coin; For she made a shew of intending great good to the Earl of *Warwick*, but had a purpose indeed to work his ruine: and by this shew she passed unsuspected to the Duke of *Clarence*, whom she perswaded to forsake the Earl of *Warwick*, as one that intended wholly the rooting out of the House of *York*, and only the advancing of the House of *Lancaster*, which he might well perceive by his marrying his second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, King *Henry's* only Son; and this reason with some other was so urged by the Gentlewoman, that it sank deeply into the Duke of *Clarence's* mind. So fit Agents of State are women sometimes, that can transact a business in covert, which if men should attempt, they would soon be discovered. And from this time forward the Duke of *Clarence*, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the Art of dissembling, sought secretly to reconcile himself to his Brother King *Edward*, but made a fair shew still to the Earl of *Warwick*.

Prince Edward marries a Daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* having been six Months in *France*, in his time he had procured from the King of *France*, both Ships, and Men, and Money; and receiving Letters out of *England*, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in this quarrel, if he would come (for the people generally held him in such admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the World, when he was absent; And this in great part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend six Oxen at a Breakfast;) he with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* took to Sea: and though the Duke of *Burguigne* had a Fleet at Sea to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by tempest scattered; and King *Edward* trusting to that Fleet, having provided no other, the Earl had a quiet passage to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*: where being landed, he made a Proclamation in King *Henry* the sixth's name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against King *Edward*, who contrary to the right had usurped the Crown. Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be believed, how many thousands of men resorted to him; with which Forces he made towards *London*: Upon notice of whose approach, on Sunday next after *Michaelmas* day, one Doctor *Goddard* a Chaplain of his, preaching at *Pauls-Cross*, did so set forth his Earls pious Intention, that many of his Auditory were moved to favour the Earls proceeding: insomuch, that the Marquess *Montacute*, who had in King *Edward's* behalf levied six thousand men about *London*, found them inclinable to go with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King *Edward* hearing of the great flocking of the people to the Earl, sent forth Letters into all parts of the Realm for raising an Army; but few came, and those few with no great

1470.

The Earl of Warwick assisted out of France, lands at Dartmouth in Devonshire, to whom much people resorted.



King Edward here-  
upon flies  
into the  
Duke of  
Burgoyne's  
Country.

great good will : which when he perceived, he began to doubt his case ; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of Gloucester his Brother, the Lord Hastings his Chamberlain, ( who having married the Earl of Warwick's Sister, yet continued ever true to King Edward ) and the Lord Scales Brother to the Queen ; he departed into Lincolnshire, and coming to Lyn, he found there an English ship, and two Hulks of Holland ready to make Sail : whereupon he, with the fore-named Lords, and about seven or eight hundred persons entred the Ships, having no provision with him but only the apparel they wore : and so bare of money, that he was fain to reward the Master of his Ship with one of his Garments : and thus making course towards the Duke of Burgoyne's Countrey, they were presently chased by eight great Ships of Easterlings, open Enemies both to England and France ; which drove him before a Town in the Countrey called *Alquemare*, belonging to the Duke of Burgoyne ; where by chance the Lord Grunture, Governour of that Countrey, at that time was, who defended them from the Easterlings, and brought them to the *Hague* in Holland, where they had all things ministred to them, by order from the Duke of Burgoyne.

1471.  
The Queen  
takes sanctuary :  
where she is  
brought to  
Bed.

At this time, upon news of the Earl of Warwick's approach, Queen Elizabeth forsaketh the Tower, and secretly takes Sanctuary at Westminster ; where in great penury forsaken of all her friends, she was brought to bed of a Son called Edward, who like a poor man's child was Christened : the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, and the Lady Scroop Godmother.

The Earl of  
Warwick re-  
moves King  
Henry out of  
prison, where he  
had been  
held almost  
nine years.

And now the Earl of Warwick entring the Tower, removes King Henry out of his hold of durance, where he had been almost nine years, into his own Lodging, where he was served according to his Estate ; which the Earl did more congratulate than the King himself. Upon the sixth day of October, King Henry accompanied with the Archbishop of York, the Prior of St. Johns, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and other Noblemen, apparelled in a long Gown of blue Velvet, was conducted through London, to the Bishops Palace, where he rested till the thirteenth of that month ; on which day he went on in solemn Procession about Paul's Church, wearing his Imperial Crown ; the Earl of Warwick bearing up his Train, and the Earl of Oxford the Sword before him. The next day in all usual places about London, King Edward was proclaimed an Usurper, and all his partakers Traytors to God and the King ; whereof John Lord Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, as a partaker with King Edward, was made the first example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King Edward in Ireland, where having done something for which he fled, he was afterward found on the top of a high tree, in the Forrest of Waybridge, in the County of Huntington ; and being there taken, was brought to London, attainted, and heheaded on the Tower-Hill, and after buried at the Black-Friers.

King Edward pro-  
claimed an  
Usurper.

The extreme  
melancholy  
of Sir John  
Hawkford  
at Hawkford.

About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related : Sir William Hawkford Knight, one of the chief Justices at the

Law, who dwelt at Annory in Devonshire, a man of great possessions ; and having no Son, the Lord Fitzwarren, Sir John Schlegger, and Sir William Bolloin, married his Daughters, and were his Heirs : This man grew into such degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence in suffering his Deer to be stolen : and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his Circuit of the night time, that would not stand or speak, he should not spare to kill him whosoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his foundation, and meaning to end his doleful days, in a certain dark night secretly conveyed himself out of his House, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one stirring and coming towards him, asked, who was there ? but no answer being made, he willed him to stand ; which when he would not do, the Keeper shot, and killed him, and coming to see who it was, found him to be his Master.

On the twentieth day of November a Parliament is held at Westminster, wherein King Edward and all his partakers are attainted of high Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to King Henry's use. George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence is by Authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to Richard Duke of York his Father, and that Dutchy settled upon him and his Heirs, notwithstanding the Primogeniture of Edward : Upon him also was entailed the Crown of England, in case Heirs male of the Body of King Henry failed. Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Oxford are fully restored to their Lands and Honour ; and Warwick and Clarence are made Governours of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marquis Montacute, excusing himself, that for fear of death he had taken King Edward's part ; which excuse was accepted. Queen Margaret is sent into France, but by reason of contrary Winds was kept back all that Winter.

About this time Jasper Earl of Pembroke going into Wales to view his Land in Pembroke-shire, found there the Lord Henry, born of Margaret the only Daughter and Heir of John the first Duke of Somerset, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady Herbert. Him he brings with him to London, and presents him to King Henry ; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he said to the Lords about him : Lo, this is he, to whom both we and our Adversaries, leaving the possession of all things, shall hereafter give place. Which if it be true it shews a very Prophetical Spirit to have been in King Henry ; that could so long before foretell a thing so unlikely to happen ; for this was he that was afterward King Henry the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the Houses of York and Lancaster.

King Henry  
ries prophetic  
speech of  
Henry af-  
terward K.  
Henry the  
seventh.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of Burgoyne's means, King Edward is furnished with eighteen tall Ships ; two thousand Dutchmen, and fifty thousand Florens of Gold ; and thus furnished he took to Sea, and landed at Ravenspur in York-shire, where he found but cold entertainment ;

E e

never-



King Edward assisted by the Duke of Burgoyne takes to Sea and lands in Yorkshire.

He swears deeply that he came but only to recover his own Inheritance.

He comes to Coventry where the E. of Warwick lay; but would not come forth to battel.

nevertheless he made a weary march to York, where likewise he found no great expression of welcome; so as he was forced to change his pretence, swearing deeply and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to disturb King Henry, but only to recover his own Inheritance; and for the more shew thereof, wearing an *Estrich Feather*, Prince Edward's Livery; which proposition seemed so reasonable, that many, who resisted him before, were as ready to assist him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath, it must be considered it was *Regni causa*, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing but to recover his Inheritance: and so he brake not his Oath neither. From York he marched towards *Wakefield* and *Sandal*, leaving the Castle of *Pomfret* upon his left hand, where the Marquess *Montacute* with his Army lay, but did not offer to stop him: from *Wakefield* he came to *Doncaster*, and from thence to *Nottingham*, where there came to him Sir *William Parre*, and Sir *James Harrington* with six hundred men; also Sir *Thomas Burgh*, and *Thomas Montgomery*, with their aids, who caused him to make a Proclamation in his own name; affirming they would serve no man but a King. From *Nottingham* he came to *Leicester*, where three thousand able men, and well armed came unto him: From *Leicester* he came before the Walls of *Coventry*, into which City the Earl of *Warwick* had withdrawn himself, keeping himself close therein with his people, being about six or seven thousand men: three days together King Edward provoked him to come forth to Battel; but he stayed for more Forces, and would not do it: whereupon King Edward marched forward to *Warwick* eight miles from *Coventry*, thinking thither at least he should have drawn the Earl of *Warwick*; but neither would that do it: indeed the Earl looked for the coming of the Duke of *Clarence*, with twelve thousand men to joyn with him; but that expectation proved vain. For the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King Edward, and brought all his Forces to joyn with him, only he sought to make amity between King Edward and the Earl: But though King Edward offered general pardon, and other fair conditions; yet none would please the Earl without restoring of King Henry. But now to repair the defection of the Duke of *Clarence*, there came to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Coventry*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Marquess *Montacute*; by whose coming that side was not a little strengthened; yet all this aid would not make the Earl of *Warwick* to come to Battel: whereupon King Edward marched forward towards *London*. Both sides seek to make *London* their friend, the Earl of *Warwick* sends to his Brother the Archbishop of *York*, to labour in it; who thereupon caused King Henry to mount on Horseback, and to ride from *Pauls* through *Cheap*, down *Walbrook*, supposing that this shewing of the King would have allured the Citizens to assist him; but this device prevailed little, brought not in above seven or eight thousand men, a small proportion to withstand King Edward: and when the Archbishop of *York* saw

this backwardness in the Citizens, or rather indeed an inclination to King Edward, he secretly sent to him to receive him into grace; which upon promise to continue faithful hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of *April*, in the year 1471. and the eleventh of his reign, King Edward made his entry into the City of *London*, riding first to *Pauls Church*, and from thence to the Bishops Palace, where the Archbishop of *York* presented himself unto him, and having King Henry by the hand delivered him to King Edward (six months after his re-adeption of the Crown) and then King Edward being seized of his person, went from *Pauls* to *Westminster*, and there gave God most hearty thanks for his safe return. The reasons alledged here by *Philip Commynes* for the Citizens receiving of King Edward, seem scarce worthy of so good an Author: One cause (saith he) was because King Edward being extreamly indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they should have lost their debt; Another, because he had won the love of many Citizens Wives, who importuned their Husbands to receive him.

The Earl of *Warwick* having Intelligence that King Edward was received into *London*, and King Henry delivered into his hand, marched out, and encamped at *St. Albans*, and after some refreshing of his Army, removed towards *Barnet*, and in a large plain there called *Cladmore heath*, pitched his Camp; which King Edward hearing, on *Easter Eve* the thirteenth of *April*, he marched forth, and came that evening to *Barnet*, where he would not suffer a man of his Army to stay in the Town, but commanded them all to the field, and lodged with his Army more near to the Enemy than he was aware, by reason of a Mist, (raised some say by one *Bungey* a Conjuror) which made it so dark, that it could not well be observed where they were encamped. In taking his ground he caused his people to keep as much silence as was possible, thereby to keep the enemy from knowing of their approach. Great Artillery they had on both parts, but the Earl more than the King; and therefore in the night time, they shot from his Camp almost continually, but did little hurt, because they still over-shot them, as lying nearer than was conceived. On *Easter day*, early in the morning, both Armies are ordered for Battel; the Earl of *Warwick* appointed the Command of the Right Wing, which consisted of Horse, to his Brother the Marquess *Montacute*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; the Left Wing, consisting likewise of Horse, was led by himself and the Duke of *Exeter*; and the main Battel, consisting of Bills and Bows, was conducted by the Duke of *Somerset*. On the Kings part, the Vaward was commanded by the Duke of *Glocester*; the Battel (in which was King Henry) was led by King Edward himself; and the Lord *Hastings* brought on the Reer. After Exhortations for encouragement of their Souldiers, the fight began; which with great valour was maintained by the space of six hours, without any apparent disadvantage on either side; only the Earls Vaward, by the valiancy of the Earl of *Oxford* seemed somewhat to over-match the Kings, which made some flying towards *London*, to carry news that the

King Edward makes his entry into London, and is joyfully received.

King Henry is delivered into his hands.

The Earl of Warwick comes with his Army to Barnet.

The two Armies meet.



Where the Earl of Warwick with many other Lords is slain.

The Honors he enjoyed and of his Issue.

the Earl of *Warwick* had won the field; and he had perhaps done so indeed, but for a strange misfortune which happened to the Earl of *Oxford*, and his men; for they having a Star with streams on their Liveries, as King *Edward's* men had the Sun, the Earl of *Warwick's* men, by reason of the Mist, not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earl of *Oxford's* men that were on their part: whereupon the Earl of *Oxford* cried Treason, and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, King *Edward* (having the greater number of men, as some write, though others say the contrary) caused a new power of fresh men (which he had kept of purpose) to come on; which the Earl of *Warwick* observing, being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where he adventured so far, that amongst the press he was stricken down and slain. (Though some write, That the Earl seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a Horse to flee; and coming to a Wood where was no passage, one of King *Edward's* men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin.) The Marquess *Montacute*, thinking to succour his Brother, lost likewise his life, and left the Victory to King *Edward*. On both sides were slain, as *Hill* saith, Ten thousand at the least: *Fabian* saith but fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the King's side. Upon the King's part were slain the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Montjoy's* Son and Heir, Sir *Humphrey Bourchier* Son and Heir to the Lord *Berners*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earl's part, were slain the Earl himself, the Marquess *Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir *William Tyrrel* was one. The Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*, to Jasper Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter* being stricken down, and so wounded, that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself, he got up, and escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. The dead bodies of the Earl and Marquess were brought to *London* in a Coffin, and by the space of three dayes lay open faced in the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*; and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of *Bissam*. This Earl of *Warwick* was *Richard Nevil*, Son and Heir of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, the sixth Earl of *Warwick*, and in her right was Earl of *Warwick*, in his own, of *Salisbury*. He was also Lord *Mouthemer*, great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of *England* Lord Warden of the North Marches towards *Scotland*, and High Steward of the Duchy of *Lancaster*: He had Issue two Daughters, *Isabel* married to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Anne*, first married to Prince *Edward* King *Henry* the Sixth's Son, and after to *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

We may here observe a constellation of disastrous influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great *Warwick*; whereof if any one had been missing, the wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned; for if the City of *York* had not too credulously believed King *Edward's* Oath, not to disturb King *Henry*; or if the Mar-

quess *Montacute* had stopped (as he might) his passage at *Pomfret*; or if the Duke of *Clarence* had not at the very point of the Battel, at *St. Albans*, deserted his party and joyned with King *Edward*; or if Queen *Margaret* had not by tempest been kept from coming into *England* in time; or if the *Londoners* had not been retrograde and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was: But *Fata viam invenient*, Destiny will find wayes that were never thought of, will make way, where it finds none; and that which is ordained in Heaven, shall be effected by means, of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen *Margaret*, when it was too late, accompanied with *John Longstrother*, Prior of *St. Johns*, and the Lord *Wenlock* with divers Knights and Esquires; took shipping at *Harflew*, the four and twentieth of *March*, but by Tempest was kept back till the thirteenth of *April*; and then with her Son Prince *Edward*, she landed at *Weymouth*, and from thence went to an Abbey hard by, called *Ccern*, and then to *Bewly* in *Hampshire*, whither there came unto her, *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, with divers others; amongst whom it is resolved once more to try their fortune in the Field. But then the Queen would have had her Son Prince *Edward* to be sent into *France*, there to remain in safety, till the next Battel were tried; but they being of a contrary mind, and especially the Duke of *Somerset*, she at length consented, though afterward she repented it. From *Bewly* she with her Son and the Duke of *Somerset* passeth on to *Bristow*, intending with what power they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march into *Wales*, to joyn with Jasper Earl of *Pembroke*, who was there making preparation of more Forces. King *Edward* hearing of these things, resolves to cross this conjunction, and follows Queen *Margaret* with a great power so close, that near *Tewksbury* in *Glocestershire* he overtakes her Forces, who resolutely turn and make head against him; where *Somerset* on the Queens part leading the Vanguard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Souldiers through weariness begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the conduct of the Battel on the Queens part, moved not, he rode unto him, and upbraiding him with cowardise or treachery, never staid, but with a Pole-axe beat out his brains: and now before he could bring in his men to the rescue, their Vaward was routed, and *John* Earl of *Devonshire*, with above Three thousand of the Queens part were slain. The Queen her self, *John Beaufort* the Duke of *Somerset's* Brother, the Prior of *Saint John's*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers others were taken prisoners; all which, except the Queen, were the next day beheaded. At which time Sir *Richard Crofts* presented to King *Edward*, King *Henry's* Son *Edward*, whom he had taken Prisoner; to whom King *Edward* at first shewed no uncourteous countenance; but demanding of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his Realm with Arms? And he answering, though truly, yet unseasonably, To recover my Fathers Kingdom and Heritage: King *Edward* with his hand thrust him from him, or (as

Queen Margaret cometh over, and gets two Armies.

But is overthrown by King Edward.

The Queen is taken prisoner.



Her Son  
Prince Ed-  
ward is  
murdered.

The Duke of  
Somerset,  
and others  
beheaded.

Queen Mar-  
garet is kept  
in durance,  
till her Fa-  
ther fetched  
her away.

The Bastard  
Fauconbridge  
makes di-  
sturbance  
about Lon-  
don.

some say) struck him with his Gantlet, and then presently George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Gray Marquess Dorset, and William Lord Hastings standing by, fell upon him in the place, and murdered him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary Corps, in the Church of the Monastery of the Black-Fryers in Tewksbury. After the Victory thus obtained, King Edward repaired to the Abbey Church of Tewksbury, to give God thanks for his good success; and finding there a great number of his Enemies that were fled thither to save themselves, he gave them all free pardon; only Edmund Duke of Somerset, John Longstrother Prior of Saint Johns, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Jervis Clifton, and divers other Knights and Esquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of Gloucester, sitting that day as Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk as Marshal, were all arraigned, condemned, and judged to dye; and accordingly upon the Tuesday, being the seventh of May, they were all, and twelve other Knights more, on a Scaffold set up in the middle of the Town, beheaded, but not dismembered, and permitted to be buried. The same day Queen Margaret was found in a poor House of Religion not far from thence, into which she was fled for safe-guard of her life; but she was after brought to London, and there kept a prisoner, till her Father ransomed her with great sums of money. This was the last pitched Battel that was fought in England in King Edward the Fourth's dayes; which happened on the fourth of May, being Saturday, in the eleventh year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1471.

King Edward being assured that as long as any parrakers of King Henry lived and were at liberty, he should never be free from plots against his life, sent Roger Vaughan, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Countrey, to entrap Jasper Earl of Pembroke; who had escaped from the last encounter; but he having notice of the plot before, prevented it by striking off Vaughan's head.

After these great Clouds were thus dispersed, there arose a little Cloud, which gave the Realm, at least the City of London, no small disquiet. For now, Sir Thomas Bastard Fauconbridge, who had been employed by the Earl of Warwick to scour the Seas, hearing of these defeats; having enriched himself by Piracy, gathered together an Army of seventeen thousand men; and coming to London, imperiously commanded admittance into the City, and release-ment of King Henry out of Prison: but being denied entrance, and hearing that King Edward with a great power was coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to Saint Katharines, and taking with him his most desperate men, with them he marched to Kingstone-bridge; but finding that Bridge broken down, and all the places of passage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into Saint George's Field, from whence he prepared to assault the City of London: for the effecting whereof he landed all his Ship-Ordnance, and planted them all along the Banks side, with which he battered down many houses, and much annoyed the City: but the

Citizens on the other side lodged their great Artillery against their Adversaries, with which they so galled them, that they durst not abide in any place along the water side, but were driven even from their own Ordnance. Then he appointed his men to set fire on the Bridge, and withal caused Three thousand to pass over the Thames, and some of them to assault Aldgate, and some Bishops-gate; but they were in all places by the industry of the Citizens repelled, and chiefly by Robert Basset, and Ralph Jocelyne, Aldermen. Upon this he retired to Black-heath, and there encamped by the space of three days, but then hearing that King Edward was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the rest fled, some one way, some another. The one and twentieth of May, the King coming to London, thanked the Citizens for their pains and care, and dubbed the Mayor, the Recorder Ursewick, and Basset and Jocelyne Aldermen, Knights.

And now the time was come for King Henry to be delivered out of all his troubles; for the bloody Duke of Gloucester entering the Tower, where he found King Henry nothing at all troubled with all his Crosses, struck him into the heart with his Dagger, and there slew him. And now we have had within the space of half a year, one Parliament proclaiming King Edward an Usurper, and King Henry a lawful King; and another proclaiming King Edward a lawful King, and King Henry an Usurper: That we may know in humane affairs, there is nothing certain, but uncertainty; nothing stable, but instability.

King Edward, presently after the interment of King Henry, draws his Forces towards Sandwich in Kent, where some of the followers of Fauconbridge, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle there, strongly fortified themselves; but upon their asking pardon, and submitting themselves to the King, with promise to be faithful Subjects ever after, they had their pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Castle and Ships, to the number of thirteen, to the Kings use. But how this composition was observed, may be imagined; when Fauconbridge, who was comprised in the same pardon, was afterward taken and executed at Southampton, Spicing, and Quintine the Captains that assailed Aldgate and Bishops-gate, and were in Sandwich Castle at the surrender thereof, were presently beheaded at Canterbury; and their heads placed on Poles, upon those Gates. And by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, many both in Essex and Kent, were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

And now King Edward desiring to be secured from all suspected persons, sent the Archbishop of York, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, over to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe custody; and there he remained a long time, till at length by friendship he was delivered, and shortly after died. Likewise John Earl of Oxford, who after Barnet Field yielded himself to King Edward, had his life pardoned; but yet was sent over Sea to the Castle of Hammes, where for the space of Twelve years he was shut up in a strong Prison, and narrowly looked to; whose Lady all that time was not suffered to come un-

King Henry  
is murder-  
ed by the  
Duke of  
Gloucester.

Fauconbridge  
executed.

1472.



King Edward seeks to get the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond into his hands.

to him, nor had any thing to live upon, but what people of their charities gave her; or what she could get by Needle or other work. As for the Earls of Pembroke and Richmond, who were fled out of the Realm to the Duke of Britain, King Edward sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up to him, upon promise of great rewards; to which the Duke made answer, that he could not with his honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection, but that for King Edward's sake, he would take such care of them, that he should need to take no care of them; and to that end he sequestred their own servants from them, and appointed Britains to attend upon them.

It was now the thirteenth year of King Edward's Reign, in which a Parliament was called at Westminster: wherein all acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated that had taken part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

1473. King Edward being destin'd to be always in troubles; now that he had quietness at home, was drawn into new broils abroad; for the Duke of Burgoyne at this time having Wars with France, thought he could no way make a better harvest to himself, than by sowing seeds of Dissention between France and England: and to this end he send Ambassadors to King Edward, to sollicite him to set on foot his Title to the Crown of France, making great offers, with protestation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This Proposition being seriously debated by the Kings Privy Council, is at last approved of, as being both lawful and behoveful, for the honour of the King, and good of the Kingdom. Only means to bear the charges of the War, were wanting; to supply which by a Parliamentary course, would ask too much time: A new course therefore is devised, to procure money from the Subjects by way of Benevolence; and this course was taken.

A Benevolence to raise money. Henry Holland Duke of Exeter his miserable life and death. About this time Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, and Earl of Huntington disinherited by Act of Parliament in the fourth year of this King, (though he had married King Edward's Sister) yet grew to so great misery, that passing over into Flanders, I there saw him (saith Commynes) running bare-legged after the Duke of Burgundies train, begging his bread for Gods sake; whom the Duke of Burgundy at that time not knowing (though they had married two Sisters) but hearing afterward who he was, gave him a small Pension to maintain him; till not long after he was found dead upon the shore of Dover, and stripped all naked; but how he came to his death, could never by any enquiry be brought to light.

1474. King Edward with an Army passeth over into France. Provision for this French expedition being thoroughly made, and order taken for the quiet Government of the Kingdom in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any by the Scots should be made: King Edward with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback, eight thousand common Souldiers, and three thousand Pioneers, came down to Dover; whither the Duke of

Burgoigne had sent five hundred flat-Bottom'd Boats to transport the Horse to Calice; yet for all that help, it was two and twenty dayes before the Kings Forces were all past over. Before the Kings departure from Dover, (to the end he might not seem to surprize him) he sent an Herauld named Garter, a Norman by birth, with a Letter of Defiance to the French King, (so well written, saith Commynes, that he thought it not of any English mans inditing; as though English men could not write as well as the French) requiring him to yield unto him the Crown of France, his unquestionable Inheritance; which if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavour to recover it by the Sword. This Letter the French King read, and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herauld to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of Burgoigne, and the Earl of Saint Paul the Constable, (by whose instigation he knew the King of England, was drawn to this design) would but delude him; for that they were Dissemblers and Imposters; and therefore said, it would conduce more to the honour of the King of England to continue in League with him, though an old Adversary; than to hazard the fortune of the Wars, upon the promised assistance of new-come Deceivers: And so commend me (saith he) to the King thy Master, and say what I have told thee; and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns, dismiss him. The Herauld promised to do all that in him lay, and (beyond his Commission) shewed the French King ways, (by working upon the Lords Howard and Stanley) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The French King glad to hear it, gave the Herauld, besides the other reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withal sent to King Edward the goodliest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an Ass, a Wolf, and a Wild-Boar, beasts at that time rare in England: And then the Herauld returning to Calice, delivered to King Edward the French King's answer.

And now to make good the French King's allegation to the Herauld; the Duke of Burgoigne who had promised in the word of a Prince, to bring to Calice by this time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Stadiots or light-Horse, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord Scales is by King Edward sent to the Duke, to put him in mind of his promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised Forces: but the journey was to little purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of Horse to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was for that having been imbroyled in the Siege of Nuz, he could not depart thence, without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his patience, he was enforced to do, by the obstinacy of the besieged; but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily.

He sends a Herauld to the King of France to demand the Crown.

The French Kings answer to the Heralds.

1474.

The Herauld adviſeth the King of France what to do.

The Duke of Burgoigne and the Constable of France fail King Edward in performance of their promises.

The



The Constable likewise by his Letter perswades the King of *England* to proceed in the action, and not to doubt both from the Duke and himself to be sufficiently every way accommodated.

King *Edward* thus encouraged, passeth on; but in his way found no performance of promises, either on the Dukes or Constables part; for the Duke did not accommodate the Souldiers, at their coming to *Peronne*, with victuals or Lodging, in such manner as was requisite and expected: and the Constable, instead of surrendering up *St. Quintins* according to agreement, made a sally out upon such as were sent from the King of *England* to take possession, and plaid upon them with his great Ordnance; whereupon King *Edward* began to suspect the truth of the *French* King's description of the Duk's and Constable's conditions; and from thence forward stood upon his own Guard, and gave no further credit to their Protestations: which the Duke of *Burgoigne* resenting, pretending occasions for the halting forward his Forces, and promising speedy return together with them, taketh his leave and departeth, which did not a little increase the King's suspicion.

The King of *France* sends a counterfeit Heralds to King *Edward* to propound conditions of Peace.

The *French* King having intelligence of the Duke of *Burgoigne's* departure; fore-casting the danger if they should unite their Forces; resolved with himself to essay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Dukes absence; and yet so to treat, that if it took not effect, he might disclaim the knowledge of the overture: Whereupon he privately dispatcheth a Messenger, in shew an Heralds; but was indeed a fellow of no office or estimation, and not known to any of the Kings Household, but to *Villiers* the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the plot and party. This counterfeit Pursuivant at Arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpet's Banner-rowl, addrest himself to the King of *England*, and upon admission to his presence, insinuates the *French* Kings desire, which was, to have Commissioners on both parts assigned, to confer of the means to reconcile the differences between the two Kings; or at least to conclude a cessation from Arms for some time. And so well this Messenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and the Kings request granted; and thereupon Letters of safe conduct are sent of both sides; for such Commissioners as to this purpose should meet at *Amyens*. For King *Edward* came the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and Doctor *Morton*, after made Lord Chancellor of *England*. For King *Lewis* came the Admiral of *France*, the Lord *Saint Piers*, and *Heberg* Bishop of *Eureux*. After long Conference, Articles of Peace are concluded on to this effect: That the *French* King should pay presently to the King of *England*, threescore and fifteen thousand Crowns, and from thenceforth annually fifty thousand Crowns, during the life of King *Edward*: That within one year, the *French* King should send for the Lady *Elizabeth* the King of *Englands* Daughter, and joyn her in Marriage to the Dauphin: That the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheyney* Master of the Horse, should remain in Hostage there, till the *English* Army had quitted *France*, and a general Peace for nine

The conditions of Peace between the two Kings.

years: wherein the Dukes of *Burgoigne* and *Britain*, are included if they will accept thereof. This Conclusion was the more easily compassed by the King of *France*, his following the Heralds counsel; for he distributed sixteen thousand Crowns amongst King *Edward's* Counsellors and Favourites; two thousand Crowns to the Lord *Hastings* the Kings Chamberlain; and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and *Montgomery*, the residue; besides great store of Plate and Jewels, distributed amongst inferiour Officers of the Court. The Duke of *Glocester* only opposed this accord, as not suiting with his design; nevertheless it proceeded, and notice thereof is presently sent to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who thereupon only with fifteen Horse, comes posting to the *English* Camp, whom King *Edward* perswades to enter into the Peace, according to the reservation; but he in great chafe, reproacheth King *Edward* for entering into it himself, saying, That his Predecessors had by many brave exploits gotten fame and reputation upon the *French*; and now he had brought his Souldiers only to shew them the Country, and return as they came; adding withal, that to make it appear he was able without help of the *English* to subsist of himself, he utterly disclaimed any benefit of that Truce, until three months after the *English* were returned to their own Country; and so in a great snuff returned home.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* reproacheth King *Edward* for making the Peace.

For the better confirmation of what is agreed upon between the two Kings, an interview is desired; but before the same is effected, the *French* King sends the *English* Army an hundred Tonne of *Gascoigne* Wine, to be drunk out amongst the private Souldiers, and therewithal free license for Commanders and Gentlemen to recreate themselves in *Amyens*, where they were lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the Town, by the King's expresse command. The place of interview of these two Kings, is agreed on to be at *Picquiny*, a Town three miles distant from *Amyens*, seated in a bottom, through which the River of *Some* runneth; over which a strong Bridge was built, and in the midst thereof a grate made overthwart with Bars, no wider asunder than a man might well thrust in his Arm; covered with boards over head, to avoid the rain, four of the Bed-Chamber on both sides, are appointed to search the rooms, to prevent Traps or Instruments of Treachery: and being by them certified that all was clear, the Kings advance themselves. King *Edward* being come in sight of the place, made a stand; being told, that the circumstance of coming first to the place was a matter of great disparagement in point of State: but the *French* King more regarding substance than circumstance, gave the King of *England* the advantage to come at his pleasure, and went first to the Bar appointed for Conference, and there did attend King *Edward's* leisure. He had in his company John Duke of *Bourbon*, with his Brother the Cardinal, and eight hundred men at Arms. King *Edward* had with him his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellor, and at his back his whole Army in Battel. The Kings lovingly salute each other, and complements

An interview between the two Kings is agreed upon.

The place and manner of their interview.



ments of courtesie reciprocally pass : which finished, they, with their Noblemen there present, take all their Oaths upon the Holy Evangelists, in all their power, to observe the Articles of accord Agreed on. After which, in private, the French King importunes King Edward that the Duke of Britain might be left out of these Articles : but after much urging to that purpose, King Edward gave this resolute answer, that if King Lewis desired the friendship of England, he should not molest the Duke of Britain; for that he was resolved, at any time to come in person to relieve him, if he were disturbed : King Edward pretended the many kindnesses he had formerly received of the Duke of Britain; but it was conceived, that the desire of compassing the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, now in the Duke of Britain's Country, were the greatest motives of his standing so firmly for him. After more serious discourse, King Lewis told King Edward, that he would one day invite him to Paris, there to court his French Ladies, with whom, if he committed any sin, he merrily told him, that Cardinal Bourbon should be his Confessor, who ( he might be sure ) would assign him an easie penance; as one that loved to kiss fair Ladies himself : but when King Edward seemed not unwilling to accept his offer, he was then glad to put it off with other discourse : for that ( as he told Commynes ) too many English Princes had been there before.

The money to be paid to King Edward by the Articles, is accordingly paid; and thereupon the French Hostages are delivered, and the English Army retire to Calice, and from thence is transported into England; and then the English Hostages are likewise delivered. This Peace was said to be made only by the Holy Ghost; because on the day of meeting, a white Dove came and sat upon the King of England's Tent : though the Dukes of Gloucester and Burgoigne thought it was made by no good spirit.

King Edward being returned into England, had his mind running still upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of Richmond : he therefore dispatched Doctor Stillington, and two other his Ambassadors, to the Duke of Britain, to send him over to him, under this subtle pretence, that he meant to match him in marriage with the Lady Cicely, his younger Daughter; and withal, sent also no small store of Angels to speak for him; which so prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of Richmond to the Ambassadors, who conducted him thence to Saint Malos, where whilest they stayed for a wind, the young Earl by the cunning plotting of Peter Landois, the Duke's Treasurer, ( more out of scorn that he was not gratified by the English Ambassador, to the proportion of his place, than for any love to the Earl ) escapes into the Sanctuary; from whence neither prayers nor promises could get him out : Nevertheless upon Peter Landois his promise he should be safely kept there, the Ambassadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King Edward with the Duke of Britains courtesie in delivering him, and their own negligence in suffering him to escape; only making amends with the promise of Peter Landois :

1475.  
King Edward sends to the Duke of Britain to deliver the Earl of Richmond to him.

The Earl is delivered, but makes escape; and how.

which might be to King Edward some contentment, but was no satisfaction.

At Christmas following, being the sixteenth year of his Reign, he created his eldest Son Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. His second Son he made Duke of York; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of Lincoln, and many others. He created also four and twenty Knights of the Bath, whereof Brian Chief Justice, and Littleton a Judge of the Common Pleas were two.

1476.  
King Edward's Son Edward, created Prince of Wales, &c.

About this time, there were two examples of severity seen; not unworthy the relating, if but only to make us see how dangerous a thing it is *Ludere cum sanctis*, to speak words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The first was of one Walter Walker, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Crown in Cheapside : This man one day when his Child cried, bid him be quiet, and he would make him Heir of the Crown : which words being subject to interpretation, he was called in question about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was of Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickshire Esq. It happened that King Edward hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white Buck, whereof Master Burdet made special account : so as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wished it horns and all in his belly that had counselled the King to kill it : and because none counselled the King to kill it but himself, it was thought those words were not spoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King : and thereupon Burdet was arraigned and condemned, drawn to Tyburn, and there beheaded : though Markam, then Chief Justice, chose rather to lose his place, than assent to the Judgment.

Two great examples of severity : one upon Walter Walker.

The other upon Mr. Burdet.

1477.

And now began ambition to boil in Richard Duke of Gloucester; whereof the first heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of Clarence, how to rid him out of the way; to which end, he seeks to raise jealousies in King Edward's head against him, telling him, that some of Clarence his followers were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth speeches, that one whose name begun with G. should disinherit his Children, and get the Crown : and for a colour of this suggestion, one of the Duke of Clarence his Servants, who came with him out of Ireland from Dublin, where the Duke was born, is in his Masters absence, by the procurement underhand of the Duke of Gloucester, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at Tyburn for a Conjuror, and all within the space of two dayes : and the Duke of Gloucester, to make shew that he had no hand in this fellow's death, set on the Duke of Clarence to complain of it to King Edward; and in the mean time finds matter, at least colour of matter to make him be committed to the Tower : and then again to make shew he had no hand in his imprisonment, bids him be of good cheer; for it should not be long ere he would see him released : and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, he was drowned in a Butt of Malmsey, ( and this was his releasment ) and then laid in his bed, to make the people believe that he

The Duke of Gloucester plots to take away his elder brother the Duke of Clarence.

1478.

He procures him to be drowned in a Butt of Malmsey.



he died of discontent ; whose death King Edward, though perhaps consenting to it, so much regretted, that afterwards, when he was sued to for any man's Pardon, he would sighing break out into such words: Oh unfortunate Brother ! for whose life not one man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at *Temkbury* in *Glocestershire*, by the Body of his Dutchess, who great with Child, died of poison a little before.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King Edward's Reign, when James King of Scotland sent Ambassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest Son James Duke of *Rothsay*, and Cicely King Edward's second Daughter. This overture for a Match, was by the King and his Council readily embraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the Scots with this Proviso, That if the marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of *Edinburgh* should be bound to repay it again. But the Scottish King, who had other phantasies in his head, and would take counsel of none but his own will, and diverted also perhaps by the King of France ; not only dallied the proceeding in the Match, but affronted those of the Nobility that perswaded him to it ; inso-much that his Brother the Duke of *Albany* was enforced to abandon the Country, and to fly for refuge into *England*: by whom King Edward being informed of King James his fickle disposition, was so much incensed, that under the conduct of the Duke of *Glocester*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany*, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against *Scotland*; who in their way took in *Berwick*, and besieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earl of *Bothwell*, the Duke left the Lord *Stanley* to continue the siege, whilst he with the rest of the Army, marcheth toward *Edinburgh*; where within the Castle of *Maydens*, King James had immured himself. But the Nobility of *Scotland* seeing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a Peace, at least a cessation from War; which with much importunity they obtained, upon these conditions: That full satisfaction should be presently given, for all damages sustained by the late incursions: That the Duke of *Albany* should be fully restored to grace and place, with an abolition of all discontents between his Brother King James and him: That the Castle of *Berwick*, (which had been now out of the possession of the *English*, one and twenty years) should immediately be surrendered into the Generals hands, and from thence no reduction of that, or the Town attempted: That all such sums of money as upon proposition of the marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed.

When this business with *Scotland* was indifferently accommodated; King Edward receives intelligence from his Ambassadour Legier in *France*, that the French King not only denied the payment of the Annual Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace, but had also married the Dauphin of *France* to the Lady Margaret Daughter of

Maximilian, Son of the Emperour; which so much incensed King Edward, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advice of his Council, open War was presently Proclaimed against *France*. But whilst King Edward is making preparation, and intentive to the business, he is attached by the hand of Death, and upon the ninth of April, in the year 1483, at *Westminster* ended his mortal life.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, he sent his Privy Seal through *England*, to move men to give him a certain sum of money towards resisting the Scots, which was granted and given liberally: In his seventh year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were resumed all manner of gifts, which the King had given from the first day he took possession of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth year, at a Parliament were granted two fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein a Subsidy was granted; and the year following, towards War to be undertaken in *France*, a new way of raising money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great sums of money were gotten of the Subjects: And it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widow at this time did; whom King Edward, amongst others, having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth she) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking scarce for half that sum, thanked her, and lovingly kist her; which so wrought with the old Widow, that she presently swore, he should have twenty pounds more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his death he was by ill Counsellors put upon a distasteful course for raising of money; which was, by fining men for Delinquencies against Penal Statutes: by which course some money was gathered; but before it came to full execution, he dying, that also died with him.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his fourth year, he newly devised the Coin both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is; the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles, the Silver Groats, and half Groats: the new Groat weighing scanty three pence; and the Noble of six shillings eight pence, appointed to go for eight shillings four pence. In his fifth year it was proclaimed in *England*, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shoes and Boots should not pass two Inches, upon pain of cursing by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty shillings to be paid, one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwayners of *London*, and the third to the Chamber of *London*: and for other Countreys and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382, the Pykes of Soes and Boots were of such length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with Chains of Silver, and Gilt, or at least with Silken Laces.

1482.  
A Match treated on between the King of Scots eldest Son, and a Daughter of King Edward.

But dallied by the King of Scots.

Whereupon King Edward enters Scotland with an Army.

And brings the Scots to submission.

Causes of King Edward's discontentment.

1483.  
He falls sick and dies.

A merry passage between King Edward and an old Widow.

Money gathered upon Penal Statutes.

The length of Beaks and Pykes of Shoes limited.



Affairs of the Church in his time.

The year of Jubile brought from fifty to five and twenty.

IN this Kings time the Jubile, which was before but every fiftieth year, was, by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, brought to be every five and Twentieth year. Also, where before this time, the Scottish Bishop had no Metropolitan, but the Bishop of York was Metropolitan and Primate of Scotland: Now in this Kings time, Pope Sixtus appointed the Bishop of Saint Andrews to be Metropolitan of Scotland, who had twelve Bishops under his obedience.

Works of Piety done in his time.

Queens Colledge in Cambridg founded.

Katharine Hall in Cambridg founded.

THIS King laid the foundation of the new Chappel at Windsor, and his Queen Elizabeth founded the Queens Colledge in Cambridg, and endowed it with large Possessions. About his fifteenth year, Doctor Woodlark Provost of Kings Colledge in Cambridg, founded Katharine-Hall there. In his seventeenth year, the Wall of the City of London, from Cripplegate to Bishopsgate, was builded at the Charges of the Citizens; also Bishopsgate it self was new built by the Merchants Almshouses of the Steelyard. Also in this year died Sir John Crosby Knight, late Mayor of London, who gave to the repairing of the Parish-Church of St. Helens, in Bishopsgate-street, where he was buried, 500 Marks: to the repairing the Parish-Church of Henworth in Middlesex, forty pounds: to the repairing of London-Wall, an hundred pounds: to the repairing Rochester-Bridge, ten pounds: to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Grocers in London, two large Pots of Silver chased half gilt, and other Legacies. About this time also, Richard Rawson, one of the Sheriffs of London caused a house to be builded in the Church-yard of St. Mary Hospital without Bishopsgate, where the Mayor and Aldermen use to sit and hear the Sermons in Easter Holydays. In his nineteenth year, William Taylor Mayor of London, gave to the City certain Tenements; for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every fifteenth granted to the King, for all such as shall dwell in Cordwainer-street-Ward, fessed at twelve pence a piece, or under. And about the same time, one Thomas Ilam, Sheriff of London, builded, at his cost, the great Conduit in Cheapside. In his three and twentieth year, Edward Shaw Goldsmith, who had been Mayor of London, at his own costs re-edified Cripplegate in London, which Gate in old time had been a prison.

The great Conduit in Cheapside builded. Cripplegate re-edified.

Of Casualties hapening in his time,

Two great Plagues.

IN his third year, the Minster of York, and the Steeple of Christs-Church in Norwich, were burnt. In his seventeenth year, so great a Pestilence reigned in England, that it swept away more people in four Months, than the Wars had done in fifteen years past. Also in his nineteenth year was another Pestilence; which beginning in the latter end of September, continued to the beginning of November, twelve months following; in which space of time innumerable people died.

Of his Wife and Issue.

KING Edward had been contracted to Eleanor Daughter to John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, married after to Sir John Butler, Baron of Sudely; but he married Elizabeth the Widow of Sir John Gray, Daughter of Richard Woodville, by his Wife Jaqueline Dutcheff of Bedford: She lived his Wife eighteen years and eleven months; by whom he had three Sons and seven Daughters. Edward his eldest Son, born in the Sanctuary at Westminster: Richard his second Son, born at Shrewsbury: George his third Son, born also at Shrewsbury, but died a Child. Elizabeth his eldest Daughter promised in marriage to Charles Dauphin of France, but married afterward to King Henry the seventh: Cicely his second Daughter, promised in marriage to James Duke of Rothesay, Prince of Scotland; but was married afterward to John Viscount Wells, whom she out-lived, and was again re-married, but by neither Husband had any Issue: She lieth buried at Quarena in the Isle of Wight. Anne his third Daughter, was married to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and high Treasurer of England, by whom she had two Sons, both dying without Issue: she lieth buried at Framingham in Norfolk. Bridget his fourth Daughter, born at Eltham in Kent, became a Nun in the Nunnery of Dartford in Kent, which King Edward had founded. Mary his fifth Daughter, was promised in marriage to the King of Denmark, but died in the Tower of Greenwich, before it could be solemnized; she lieth buried at Windsor. Margaret his sixth Daughter died an Infant. Katharine his seventh Daughter was married to William Courtney Earl of Devonshire; to whom she bare Lord Henry, who by King Henry the Eight was created Marquess of Exeter.

King Edward's three special Concubines.

Concubines he had many; but three especially; and would use to say, that he had three Concubines, who in their several properties excelled: One, the merriest; another, the wyldest, the third, the holiest Harlot in his Realm; as one whom no man could lightly get out of the Church to any place, unless it were to his bed. The other two were greater Personages than are fit to be named: but the merriest was Shore's Wife; in whom therefore he took special pleasure. This woman was born in London, worshipfully descended, and well married; but when the King had abused her, anon her Husband (as he was an honest man, and did know his good, not presuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

Shore's Wife.

By these he had natural Issue, Arthur surnamed Plantagenet (whose Mother, as is supposed, was the Lady Elizabeth Lucy) created Viscount Lisle, by King Henry the eighth, at Bridewel in London; and Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Thomas Lumley Knight; to whom she bare Richard, afterward Lord Lumley, from whom the late Lord Lumley did descend.

The late Lord Lumley from whom descended.

Of His Personage and Conditions.

HE was (saith Comines) the goodliest Personage that never mine eyes beheld, exceeding

Ff

tall



tall of stature, fair of complexion, and of most Princely presence; and we may truly say, he was of full age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen years old when his Father died, he sued out his Livery presently: so as he began the race of his Fortune just like *Augustus Caesar*, each of them at the same age succeeding an Ancestor after a violent death; and each of them left to set on a roof, where but only a foundation was laid before. For his conditions, he was of an erected composure both of body and mind, but something sagging on the fleshes side; and never any man, that did marry for love, did so little love marriage; for he took as much pleasure in other mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, than when he was in danger, nor ever more doubtfull than when he was secure. Of the four Cardinal Vertues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally: Temperance and Justice, but to serve his turn. He was Politick even to irreligion; for to compass his ends he would not stick to swear what he never meant. Yet he was Religious beyond Policy; for before Battels, he used to make his Prayers to God, after Victories to give him Thanks. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious: and could use Familiarity, and yet retain Majesty. He was a great Briber; and what he could not get by Force, he would by Rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in error, sometime to the hurt of himself, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flourish as long as *Henry the Fourth* made the Red, if he had not made it change colour with too much blood. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother; but he was well enough served, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepherd. He had an excellent Art in improving his favours; for he could do as much with a small courtesie, as other men with a great Benefit: And that which was more, he could make advantage of disadvantages: For he got the Love of the *Londoners* by owing them money; and the good Will of the Citizens, by lying with their Wives,

*Of his Death and Burial.*

Whether it began from his mind being extremely troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of *France*; or from his body by intemperance of diet, to which he was much given: He fell into a Sicknes (some say a Catarrh, some a Feaver) but into a Sicknes whereof he died. In the time of which Sicknes, and at the very point of death, Sir *Thomas Moor* makes him to make a speech to his Lords; which I might think to be the speech of a sick man, if it were not so sound; and of a weak man, as if it were not so long: But it seems Sir *Thomas Moor* delivers rather what was fit for him to say, than what he said; the Contents being only, to exhort the Lords, whom he knew to be at variance, to be in Love and Concord amongst themselves; for that the welfare of his Children, whom he must now

His speech  
to his Lords  
at his death

leave to their care, could not otherwise be preserved but by their agreement. And having spoken to this purpose as much as his weakness would suffer him, he found himself sleepy; and turning on one side, he fell into his long sleep, the ninth of *April*, in the year 1484. when he had lived one and forty years, reigned two and twenty and one month; and was buried at *Windsor*, in the new Chappel, whose foundation himself had laid.

*Of Men of Note in his time.*

MEN of Valour in his time were many, but himself the chiefest; the rest may be observed in reading his story. For men of Letters, we may have leave at this time to speak of some strangers, having been men of extraordinary Fame; as *Johannes de Monte Regio*, *Purbachius* and *Blancanus*, all great Astronomers; *Ludovicus Pontanus*, *Paulus Castrensis*, and *Anthonus Rossellanus*, all great Lawyers; *Servisanus*, *Savanarola*, and *Barzizius*, all great Physicians; *Bassarion* and *Cusanus*, both great Cardinals; *Argyropole*, *Philelphus*, *Datus*, *Leonardus*, *Aretinus*, and *Poggius*, all great men in humane Literature. And of our Countrey-men, *John Harding* an Esquire, born in the North parts, who wrote a Chronicle in *English Verse*; and, among other special points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submissions and Homages made by the *Scottish Kings*, even from the dayes of King *Althelstan*: whereby it may evidently appear, how the *Scottish Kingdom*, even in a manner, from the first establishing thereof here in *Britain*, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of *England*, and holden of them as their chief and superiour Lords. *Juliana Barnes*, a Gentlewoman of excellent gifts, who wrote certain Treatises of Hawking and Hunting; also a Book of the Laws of Arms, and knowledge appertaining to Heralds. *John Fortescue* a Judge, and Chancellour of *England*, who wrote divers Treatises concerning the Law and Politick Government: *Rochus a Charter-house-Monk*, born in *London*, who wrote divers Epigrams. *Walter Hunt*, a *Carmelite Fryer*, who for his excellent Learning was sent from the whole body of the Realm, to the General Council holden first at *Ferrara*, and after at *Florence*, by Pope *Eugenius the Fourth*; where he amongst others disputed with the *Greeks*, in defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the *Latin Church*. *William Caxton*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus Temporum*, and an Appendix unto *Trevisa*, besides divers other Books and Translations. *John Milverton*, a *Carmelite Fryer* of *Bristow*, and Provincial of his Order; who, because he defended such of his Order as preached against endowments of the Church with Temporal Possessions, was committed to prison in the Castle of *Saint Angelo* in *Rome*, where he continued three years. *David Morgan* a *Welshman*, who wrote of the Antiquities of *Wales*, and a description of the Countrey. *John Tiptoft*, a Nobleman born, who wrote divers Treatises, but lost his head in the year 1471. *Robert Huggon*, born in *Norfolk*, who wrote certain vain Prophecies

*William Caxton*  
who wrote  
a Chronicle.

*Thomas*



Scogan at  
this time  
lived  
Thomas  
Littleton,  
who  
wrote the  
Tenures,  
at this  
time li-  
ved.

Thomas Norton, born in Bristow an Alchymist.  
Scogan a learned Gentleman, and a Student for  
a time in Oxford; who for his present wit and  
merry conceits, was called to Court. But most  
worthy of all to be remembred, Thomas Littleton,  
a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who  
brought a great part of the Law into Method,  
which lay before confusedly disperfed; and his  
Book called Littleton's Tenures.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this  
Kings time.

In his first year,  
Sir Hugh Witch was Mayor.  
George Ireland, John Lock, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Sir Thomas Cook was Mayor.  
William Hampton, Bartholomew James Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Sir Matthew Philip was Mayor.  
Robert Bassett, Thomas Muschampt, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Sir Ralph Joceline was Mayor.  
John Tate, John Stones, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir Ralph Verney was Mayor.  
Henry Weaver, William Constantine, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir John Young was Mayor.  
John Brown, Henry Brice John Darby, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir Thomas Oldgrave was Mayor.  
Thomas Stalbrook, Humfrey Heyford, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir William Taylor was Mayor.  
Simon Smith, William Herriot, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Sir Richard a Lee was Mayor.  
Richard Gardner, Robert Drope, Sheriffs.

In his Tenth year,  
Sir John Stackton was Mayor.  
John Crosby, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,  
Sir William Edwards was Mayor.  
John Allen, John Shelley, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,  
Sir William Hampton was Mayor.  
John Brown, Thomas Bledlow, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,  
Sir John Tate was Mayor.  
Sir William Stocker, Robert Belisdon, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,  
Sir Robert Drope, was Mayor.  
Edmund Shaa, Thomas Hill, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,  
Sir Robert Bassé was Mayor.  
Hugh Brice, Robert Colwich, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,  
Sir Ralph Joceline was Mayor.  
Richard Rawson, William Horn, Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,  
Sir Humfrey Heyford was Mayor.  
Henry Collet, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
Sir Richard Gardner was Mayor.  
Robert Harding, Robert Bifield, Sheriffs.

In his Nineteenth year,  
Sir Bartholomew James was Mayor.  
Thomas Ilam, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his Twentieth year,  
Sir John Brown was Mayor.  
Thomas Daniel, William Bacon, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty first year,  
Sir William Herrot was Mayor.  
Robert Tate, Rich. Charey, Will. Wiking, Sheriffs.

In his Twenty second year,  
Sir Edmund Shaa was Mayor.  
William White, John Matthew, Sheriffs.



The REIGN of  
**KING EDVVARD**  
 THE FIFTH.

1483.

King Edward  
 proclaimed  
 King; but  
 never  
 Crowned.



The Duke  
 of Gloucester  
 hearing of  
 his Brothers  
 death, posts  
 out of the  
 North to  
 London.

**K**ING Edward the Fourth being dead, his eldest Son Edward, scarce yet eleven years old, succeeded in the Kingdom, but not in the Crown; For he was proclaimed King, but never Crowned: and it may not so properly be called, the Reign of Edward the Fifth, as the Tyranny of Richard the Third; for from the time of King Edward's death, though not in name, yet in effect, he not only ruled as King, but raged as a Tyrant. Prince Edward, when his Father died, was at Ludlow in Wales, where he had lived sometime before, the better by his presence to keep the Welsh in awe; he had about him of his Mothers Kindred many; but Sir Anthony Woodville, the Earl Rivers his Uncle, was appointed his chief Counsellour and Director. The Duke of Gloucester was at this time in the North, but had word presently sent him from the Lord Hastings, Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King Edward's death, who acquainted him withal, that by his Will, he had committed the young King, his Queen, and other Children, to his care and Government; and thereupon putting him in mind, how necessary it was for him speedily to repair to London: But the Duke of Gloucester needed no spur to set him forward, who was already in a full career; for he had long before projected in his mind, how he might come to attain the Crown; and now he thought the way was made him. For as it is said, the very night in which King Edward died, one Miffelbrook, long e're morning came in great haste to the house of one Potter, dwelling in Redcross-street without Cripplegate; where he shewed unto Potter, that King Edward was departed: To whom Potter answered. By my troth man, then will my Master the Duke of Gloucester be King: What cause he had so to think, is hard to say; but surely it is not likely he spake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to London with a strong Guard, partly to make a first expression of his Greatness, and partly to oppose any disorders that might be offered. But the Duke of Gloucester finding this proceeding like to be a rub in his way, at least, not fit for his designs, he presently falls to undermining; writes most loving Letters to the Queen, protesting all humble and faithfull service to the King and her; but

withal perswading her, that this great Guard about the King might be presently dismissed; which did but minister matter of suspicion, and would be apt to breed new jealousies in them who were now throughly reconciled. The Queen of a nature easie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glozing Letters; and thereupon sends in all haste to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord Rivers, requiring them by all means, for some causes to her known, to dismiss their Guard; (not mentioning by whose advice she writ them; which if she had done, they would never have done it) but now upon her Letters they presently did, and came forward with only a sober Company. And now is Gloucester's first work done; but he, knowing that the work yet behind was too great to be done by himself alone, gets the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Hastings, two of the greatest men of power at that time in the Kingdom, to joyn with him in opinion, that it was not fit the Queens Kindred should be so wholly about the King; and others of better blood and desert, to be estranged from him, and therefore by all means for to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke of Buckingham is easily wrought, upon a promise to have the Earldom of Hartford conferred upon him; and the Lord Hastings not hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many, whom in King Edward's days he had justly offended. And now another great work was done; it remains in the next place to put it in execution, which was presently thus effected: The young King had been at Northampton, and from thence went to Stony-Stratford, whither the two Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the entertainment of their Companies, they went back to Northampton, and alight at the same Inn where the Earl Rivers had taken up his Lodging for that night, intending the next morning early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidental meeting, great shews of courtesie passed between them; and supper ended, the Dukes pretending weariness, retire to their Lodgings, the Earl to his: but the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into consultation with their private friends, in which they spent a great part of the night, and then secretly get the Keys of the Inn-Gates, suffering none to pass either in or out; whereof the Earl having notice by his Host, though he suspected the worst, yet setting

He perswades the Queen that her Son may dismiss his guard.

And thereupon seizeth upon the King's uncle and other friends.



ting a good countenance upon the matter, and trusting to his own Innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of *Glocester's* Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest closely set in Council; with whom he expostulates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his Inn against his Will: But they instead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking order for his safe imprisonment, they speedily took Horse, and came to *Stony-Stratford*, at such time as the King was taking Horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted: But presently in the Kings presence, a quarrel is pickt against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Kings half-Brother: The Duke of *Buckingham* making relation to the King, that he and the Marquess his Brother, with the Earl *Rivers* the Queens Brother, had endeavoured, and almost effected, to draw to themselves the whole managing the affairs of the Kingdom, and to set variance between the Peers of the Realm; and particularly, that the Lord Marquess without any Warrant, had taken out of the Tower of *London* both Treasure and Armour, to a great quantitie: But to what purpose though they were ignorant, yet there was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was thought expedient by the advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth-coming to make his answer for these and many other his over-bold actions. The King unable to sound the depth of these plots, mildly said unto him: What my Brother Marquess hath done I cannot say; but for my Uncle and Brother here, I dare answer that they are ignorant of any unlawful Practices either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of *Buckingham*) that hath been their cunning to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: And thereupon, instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his Company back to *Northampton*, putting away all his old Servants, and placing in their Rooms creatures of their own, whom they had power to command. At which dealing the young King wept, but it booted nothing; and to colour the matter, the Duke of *Glocester* at dinner sent a Dish from his own Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheer, for all shortly would be well. But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same Message for his comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his dayes been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it. But for all the comfortable courtesie of the Duke of *Glocester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, into the North Countrey, into divers places to prison, and afterward to *Pomfret*, where in conclusion, they were all beheaded.

The Earl Rivers and other Lords beheaded at *Pomfret*.

The Duke of *Glocester* gives out colours for these Lords imprisonment.

And now the Duke of *Glocester* having thus gotten the custody of the King, set forwards toward *London* giving out by the way, that the Marquess and the Queens Kindred had plotted the destruction of the King, and of all the an-

cient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the Government of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their tryal according to Law. And the better to fettle these suggestions in the apprehension of the Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour (of their own providing) with Dry-fats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the payment of Soldiers; with which they so possess the Common people, that all was believed for truth which was thus rumoured: but the finest device of all was, to have five of the Duke of *Glocester's* Instruments manacled and pinioned like Traytors; and these in every place where the King lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be men of great birth, drawn into this vile plot of Treason by the Queens Brother: who must seem to be penitent for their offence, and to confess their own guilt: And this device continued acting till the King came to *London*, where their Vizards were pulled off, and the disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen in the mean time having intelligence of these doleful accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow; with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*; and the young King hearing of these things, with tears and sighs expressed his grief: but the Dukes making protestation of their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed only to marvel why he should be melancholick.

The Queen with her young Son and Daughters takes Sanctuary.

At this time a messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain to the Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, to signifie to him, that there was no fear of any thing, for that he assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the Messengers departure, he calleth up his Servants (being then in the night) and taking the great Seal with him, came before day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Rushes, all desolate and dismayed, whom he comforted the best he could; assuring her, that if they Crowned any King but her Son, whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her; and therewithal delivering to her the great Seal, departed: but soon after bethinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him: yet shortly after, reproved for delivering it, by the Council-Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered to Doctor *Russel*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the most learned man at that time.

The Lord Chancellour delivers the great Seal to the Queen, and after fetcheth it from her again.

And now the Duke of *Glocester* so respectfully carries himself towards the King, with so much shew and care of faithfulness, that by a general consent of the Council, he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this means, he hath the King in his custody: It remains now, how to get his Brother the Duke of *York*; for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: And to effect this, he makes

The Duke of *Glocester* is appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom.



The Arch-  
bishop of  
York is sent  
to persuade  
the Queen  
to send her  
young Son  
to keep his  
Brother  
company.

The Duke  
of Bucking-  
ham vilifies  
the privi-  
ledge of  
Sanctuary.

The Arch-  
bishops rea-  
sons pre-  
vail with  
the Queen  
to deliver  
her Son,  
but with  
great hea-  
viness.

makes the effect to become a cause: for where-  
as by his undue dealings, he had made the King  
melancholick, he now makes that melancholy a  
cause to require his Brothers company to make  
him merry: and therefore wishes some course  
may be taken, either by perswasion or other-  
wise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke  
of York to keep his Brother the King company.  
Here the Archbishop of York, the Lord Cardin-  
al, the man thought most fit to be sent in this  
employment, riseth up and saith, he would do  
his best endeavour to perswade her; but if he  
could not, he then thought it was not to be at-  
tempted against her Will, for that it would turn  
to the high displeasure of God, if the privi-  
ledge of that holy place should now be broken,  
which had so many years been inviolably kept,  
which both Kings and Popes so good had gran-  
ted, so many had confirmed, and which holy  
ground was more than five hundred years ago,  
by Saint Peter in his own person, accompanied  
with great numbers of Angels by night, so  
specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and  
for proof hereof, there is yet in the Abby, St.  
Peters Cope to shew; that from that time hi-  
therward, there never was so undevout a King,  
that durst violate that sacred place; nor so ho-  
ly a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it:  
and therefore (saith he) God forbid, that any  
man, for any earthly thing, should enterprise  
to break the immunity and liberty of that sa-  
cred Sanctuary: And I trust with Gods Grace,  
we shall not need it, at least my endeavours  
shall not be wanting; if the Mothers dread  
and womanish fear be not the let. Womanish  
fear, nay Womanish frowardness, (quoth the  
Duke of Buckingham) for I dare take it upon  
my Soul, she well knoweth there is no need of  
any feat, either for her Son, or for herself:  
and prosecuting his discourse, declareth at  
large, that there was no just cause for the  
Queen to keep her Son, so there was great  
cause for them to require him; and that for  
breach of Sanctuary in this case there could be  
none; for that he had often heard of Sanctu-  
ary-men, but never heard of Sanctuary-Chil-  
dren. And to this purpose having spoken  
much, it was well assented to by the Lords  
that were present, and with this Instruction is  
the Archbishop (upon whom the Queen speci-  
ally relied) sent unto her: who after humble  
salutations, acquaints her with his Message,  
earnestly perswading her not to oppose the  
Lord Protectors request, and giving her many  
reasons, first that she ought not, and then that  
she could not keep him in Sanctuary. She an-  
swered all his reasons, though with great mild-  
ness, yet with great earnestness; so as the  
Archbishop finding little hope to prevail with  
her by perswasion, turns the tenor of his speech  
another way; telling her plainly, that if she  
did not consent to send her Son: he doubted  
some sharper course would be speedily taken.  
This warning sank so deep into the Queens  
mind, that after a little pausing, taking her  
Son by the hand, she said, my Lord Archbi-  
shop, here he is; for my own part I will never  
deliver him, but if you will needs have him,  
take him, and at your hands I will require  
him: and therewith weeping bitterly, Dear

Child (saith she) let me kiss thee, before we  
part. God knows whether ever we shall meet  
again: And so the Child weeping as fast as she,  
went along with the Archbishop to the Star-  
Chamber, where the Lord Protector and other  
Lords had stayed all the while looking for his  
coming back: and as soon as he was entred the  
Room, the Protector spying the Child, riseth  
up and embraceth him, saying, Dear Nephew,  
now welcome with all my heart, next to my  
Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me  
so much contentment as your presence: and we  
may believe him, he spake as he thought; for  
now he had the prey which he so much desi-  
red. A few dayes after, pretending to have  
them lodged in a place of more security, until the  
distempers of the Common-wealth might better  
be quieted; he caused them in great Pomp and  
State, to be conveyed through London to the Tow-  
er, there at pleasure to remain, till the time of  
Coronation; whereof there was great shew of  
preparation made.

But now the great work is to be done, the  
Princes are to be made away; and how to have  
it done, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*: There must be  
potent Instruments, and none so potent as the  
Duke of Buckingham; and he, by a match to  
be concluded betwixt their Children, and an  
equal partition of the Treasure of the Realm  
betwixt them two; not only is drawn to con-  
descend, but most forward to contrive and plot  
stratagems to effect it. The first rub in the  
way was the Lord Hastings; who being found  
so firm to his old Master King Edward's Sons,  
that nothing could remove him, it was fit to  
remove him out of the way; which was done  
in this manner: All the Lords of the privy  
Council, in the Protectors name, are convoked  
to the Tower; where fitting preparations for the  
Coronation of the young King, are proposed,  
until the Protector came in; who taking his  
Chair, very affably saluted them, merrily jest-  
ing with some, and more than ordinarily plea-  
sant with them all: when after a little talk, he  
said to the Bishop of Ely; my Lord, I hear  
you have very good Strawberries at your Gar-  
den in Holborn; I pray let us have a Mess of  
them: Most gladly (said the Bishop) and pre-  
sently sent for some: And then the Protector  
rising up, prayed the Lords to spare his absence  
a little; and so departed. Within the space  
of an hour he returned; but so changed in  
countenance, and with such inward perturba-  
tions, which with sighings and other passionate  
gestures he expressed so, that it made them all  
to marvel. After long silence (the better to  
prepare them to the more attention) he confu-  
sedly interrogates, What they deserved that  
nefariously had practised his destruction? This  
unexpected interrogation struck such amaze-  
ment amongst the Lords, that they all sat ga-  
zing on one another, and were as it were,  
stricken dumb: At length the Lord Hastings,  
by Buckingham's instigation as one presuming  
on his intimacy with the Protector, boldly an-  
swered, that they deserved the punishment of  
Traytors; which all the rest by their silence ap-  
proved: Whereat the Protector riseth up, and  
with a stern look upon the Lord Hastings, re-  
plied: Why it is the old Sorcerers my Bro-  
thers

The Pro-  
tectors  
shew of  
kindness to  
the young  
Prince.  
The two  
Princes  
are with  
great shew  
of honour  
conveyed to  
the Tower.

The Lord  
Hastings  
firm to the  
Princes and  
therefore is  
first made a-  
way, and in  
what manner



thers Widow, and her Partner the common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by incantation conspired to bereave me of my life : and though by Gods grace I have escaped the end of their malice, yet see the Mischief they have done me; for behold ( and then he bared his left arm to the elbow: and shewed it ) how they have caused this dear limb of mine to wither, and grow useles; and so should all my body have been served, if they might have had their Will a little longer. Those to whom the Queens Religious courses were not unknown, and who knew his withered arm to have been such from his birth, sate gazing one upon another, not knowing what to think or say; until the Lord *Hastings*, thinking thereby to leave all blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Paramour Mistress *Shore* ( whom ever since the death of King *Edward* he had entertained for his bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted from her, ) with a sober look submissively said, *If the Queen have conspired*—Which word was no sooner out of the Lord *Hastings* mouth, than the Protector clapping his hand upon the board, and frowningly looking upon him, said, Tellest thou me of If and And? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thy self art partaker of the villany. Who I, my Lord, quoth he? Yea thou Traytor, quoth the Protector; and therewith, upon a Watchword given, those prepared before for that purpose, in the outer Chamber, cried, Treason, Treason! when presently a great number of men in Arms came rushing in, as it were to guard the Protector; one of which with a Pollax strook a main blow at the Lord *Stanley*, and wounded him on the head, and had slain him outright, if he had not avoided the stroke by slipping backward, and falling down to the ground. Forthwith the Protector arrested the Lord *Hastings* of high Treason, and wished him to make haste to be confessed; for he swore by Saint *Paul* ( his usual Oath ) that he would not touch bread nor drink till his head were off. It booteth not to ask, why; for he knew the Protectors Actions were not to be examined, So he was led forth unto the Green ( before the Chappel ) within the *Tower*, where his head was laid down upon a long log of timber, and there stricken off. His body afterward with his head were interred at *Windsor*, besides the body of King *Edward*. In this mans death we may see how inevitable the blows of Destiny are: for the very night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a secret Messenger to him at midnight, in all haste to acquaint him with a Dream he had; in which he thought that a Boar with his tusks so goared them both by the heads, that the blood run about their shoulders: and forasmuch as the Protector gave the Boar for his Cognisance, this Dream made so fearful an impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly resolved to stay no longer; and had made his Horse ready, requiring the Lord *Hastings* to go with him, and that presently, to be out of danger, before it should be day. But the Lord *Hastings* answered the Messenger: Good Lord! leaneth your Master so much to such trifles, to put such faith in Dreams, which either his own fear fantasieth, or else do rise in

the nights rest, by reason of the days thoughts? Go back therefore to thy Master, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no fear; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man he wotteth of, as of my own hand. The man he meant, was one *Catesby*, well learned in the Laws of the Land; who by his favour was grown into good authority in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord *Hastings* Estate lay. Of this man he made himself so sure, that he thought nothing could be plotted against him, which he would not presently reveal unto him. But this man deceived him, and was grown so inward with the Protector, that being set by the Protector to draw him to be a party in his designs, and finding he could not do it, was himself the first mover to rid him out of the way. Another warning the Lord *Hastings* had, the same morning in which he was beheaded, his Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to falling: which though it often happen to such to whom no mischance is toward, yet hath it of old been observed as a token for going some great misfortune. Also at the *Tower-Wharf*, near to the place where his head soon after was stricken off, he met with one *Hastings* a Pursuivant of his own name; to whom he said, Ah *Hastings*, dost thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy heart? Yea, my Lord, saith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked that time is past. In faith man, said the Lord *Hastings*, I never stood in so great dread of life, as I did when thou and I met here: and lo, how the world is changed! Now stand my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayst hap to hear hereafter ( for the Enemies he meant, were the Lord *Rivers*, and others of the Queens Kindred, who that very day were beheaded at *Pomfret*: ) and I never so merry, nor in so good surety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater Omen or sign of ill Fortune, than to presume of good. And indeed, such is the uncertainty of our estate in this life, that we seldom know when we are in a tempest at Sea, nor when we are in a calm on shore; thinking our selves oftentimes most safe, when we are most in danger, and oftentimes to be in danger, when we are most safe: He only is in the true Haven that can say, as Christ teacheth us, *Thy Will be done in earth as it is in Heaven*.

But this Lord being thus put to death, the Lord Protector, to colour the matter, immediately after dinner, in all haste, sent for many substantial Citizens; at whose coming, himself with the Duke of *Buckingham* stood harnessed in old rusty Brigandines, to make a shew they were forced by the sudden danger to take such as they could first come by: and withal, a Herald of Arms is sent with a Proclamation in the Kings name, signifying that the Lord *Hastings* with some others had conspired the same day to have slain the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they sate in Council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom at their own pleasures. Now was this Proclamation made within two hours after the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded; and was so curiously indited, and so fair written in Parchment, and withal so long, that every Child might perceive it was prepared before; which made

The Lord *Hastings* is beheaded.

His neglect of prelates and warnings.

How the Lord Protector colours the death of the Lord *Hastings*.



made one that was Schoolmaster of *Pauls* standing by when the Proclamation was read, to say, *Here is a gay goodly cast; foul cast away for haste:* To whom a Merchant answered, *It was written by Prophecy.* And now by and by, as it were in revenge of his offence, the Protector sent the Sheriffs of *London* into the house of *Shore's Wife*, and spoiled her of all her Goods, above the value of three thousand Marks; and then conveying her through *London* to the *Tower*, there left her prisoner; where he laid to her charge, that she went about to bewitch him, and was of Council with the Lord *Hastings* to destroy him. In conclusion, she was laid into *Ludgate*, and by the Bishop of *London* put to open Penance for Incontinency; going before the Cross in Procession upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: In which, although she were out of all array, save her Kirtle only; yet went she so fair and lovely, and withal so womanly and demurely, that many who hated her course of life, yet pitied her course of use, and were not a little grieved to see her misery. And indeed, this may be said in her behalf, that being in extraordinary favour with King *Edward*, yet she never used it to the hurt of any, but to the relief of many: and was ever a mediator, an Oppressor never.

*Shore's Wife*  
how pun-  
ished.

Now it was contrived by the Protector, that the very day in which the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded at *London*, and about the very same hour, there were beheaded at *Pomfret* the Lord *Rivers*, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony-Stratford*; which was done in the presence, and by the Order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, Knight, whose service the Protector specially used in that business; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not suffering them to declare their innocency, lest their words might have inclined men to hate the Protector, caused them hastily, without Judgment or Order of Process, to be beheaded.

When these were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protector, that now was the time to put himself in possession of the Crown: but all the study was, by what means this matter being so hainous in it self, might be broken to the people, in such wise as that it might be well taken: for which purpose, it was thought fit to call to this Council *Edmund Shaw*, Knight, the then Mayor of *London*: who upon promise of advancement, should frame the peoples inclination to it. And because spiritual men are best hearkened to, for matters of Conscience, some of them were used also; among whom, choice was made of *John Shaw*, Clerk, Brother to the Mayor; *Fryer Penker*, Provincial of the Order of the *Augustine* Fryers; both great Preachers, both of more learning than virtue, of more fame than learning. These two were appointed to preach, the one at *Pauls* Cross, the other at the *Spittle*, in praise of the Protector: *Penker* in his Sermon so lost his voice, that he was fain to leave off and came down in the midst: *Shaw* by his Sermon lost his reputation, and soon after his life; for he never after durst come abroad for very shame of the world.

*Shaw* Mayor  
of *London* is  
made an in-  
strument for  
bringing the  
Duke of  
*Glocester* to  
the Crown.

But now was all the labour and study, to find out some convenient pretext, for which the

people should be content to have the Prince deposed, and the Protector be received for King; to which purpose many things were devised: the chief was, to alledge Bastardy either in King *Edward* himself, or in his Children, or in both. To lay Bastardy to King *Edward*, founded openly to the reproach of the Protector's own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point should more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the Bastardy of his Children, he would have enforced to the uttermost. The ground whereof was, that King *Edward* had been formerly contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, by whom he had a Child; though the said Lady, having been examined about it, confessed plainly, they were never assured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor *Shaw* taking for his Text, *Bastard plants shall take no deep root*; in his Sermon declared, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, and so his Children Bastards. And besides that, neither King *Edward* himself, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were reckoned very sure for the Children of the noble Duke *Richard*, as those that by their favours more resembled other known men; but the Lord Protector (saith he) is the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his Visage, the plain express likeness of that noble Duke. Now, it was before devised, that just at the speaking of these words the Protector should have come, to the end that these words meeting with his presence, might be taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth, and so should move the people even then to cry, King *Richard*, King *Richard*! that it might be after said, he was specially chosen by God, and in a manner by Miracle: But this device failed, for whether by the Protector's slackness in coming, or the Doctors haste in preaching, he had passed these words, and was gone clean to another matter before the Protector came; so as afterward seeing him come, he was fain to leave the matter he had in hand, and out of all Order and frame begin to repeat those words again: This is the very noble Prince, the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his Visage, the plain express likeness of that noble Duke. While these words were in speaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, pressed through the people into the place where the Doctors sit; and there sate to hear the Sermon. But the people were so far from crying King *Richard*, that they cried shame on the Preacher, for abusing his sacred Function with so shameful a Sermon.

Causes de-  
vised to  
make the  
two Princes  
illegitimate.

The Tuesday following this Sermon, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with divers Lords and Knights, came to the *Guildhall* in *London*; and there before the Mayor and whole assembly of Citizens, made a very solemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King *Edward's* Government; his many unnecessary Taxations and unjust severities; thereby to bring his Children into hatred: and then remembered them of the late Sermon made at *Paul's* Cross, by a learned Doctor; who clearly

The Duke  
of *Bucking-*  
*ham* at  
*Guildhall*  
propound-  
eth the  
Duke of  
*Glocester* for  
the rightful  
Heir to the  
Crown.



clearly shewed the bastardy of King *Edward's* Children; and that *Richard* Duke of *Glocester* was the only rightful and indubitate Heir to the Crown of *England*: which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their consents. Which Oration ended, all men stood wondering at the motion, but no man offered to speak a word. At which the Duke marvelling, as supposing the Mayor had prepared them before; he asked the Mayor privately, what this silence meant? who answered, that perhaps they had not heard or understood what it was he said. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the same matter again, in a more earnest and plain expression; yet neither did that move them to shew any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whispering with the Mayor, it was thought that the Citizens being used to have such motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called *Fitzwilliams*) being an honest man, and newly come to his place, repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the people to break their silence. At last the Duke seeing their resolved fullness, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to chuse the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great respect they all bear to this honourable City, and therefore required them plainly to speak their minds, whether they would joyn with them in this choice or no. At this, certain servants of the Dukes, and others of their procuring, standing at the lower end of the Hall, cast up their Caps, and cried aloud, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; whereat, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, as of an unanimous consent. A goodly cry (saith he) and thanked them all for their universal approbation, promising he would acquaint the Protector with the great love they shewed toward him; and then requiring the Mayor and chief Citizens to meet him the next morning at *Baynards* Castle, where the Protector then lay, there to joyn with him in petitioning the Protector to accept of this their freely profered subjection, he took his leave and so departed.

The Duke of Buckingham and the Mayor of London make suit unto the Protector to take the Crown upon him,

The next morning according to appointment they all meet at *Baynards* Castle; where the Duke of *Buckingham* sends up word to the Lord Protector, that himself with the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, were come to present a supplication to him concerning a business of great importance: but the Protector (though preacquainted with all passages, yet) made it strange what their supplication should be; and answered, that though he suspected nothing which the Duke of *Buckingham* presented to

him, yet he desired at least some slight intimation to what it might tend. To this it was answered; that the business they came about was to be made known to himself in person; and therefore humbly besought him of admission in his presence. Upon this, as if not yet well assured of their meaning towards him; he appears unto them in an upper Gallery, making semblance as though he would prevent all danger, by standing something aloof and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, in behalf of the Mayor and Nobility there present, in most respectful and reverent manner makes request that his Grace would pardon what he should deliver to him: and much circumstance he used, before he would discover their cause of coming: but though long first, yet at last he told it: That in respect of the urgent necessities of the Commonwealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own right; to whom they all rendred their Allegiance. At which words the Protector starting back, as if he had heard something most unpleasing to him, passionately answered: I little thought, good Cousin, that you of all men would have moved me to a matter which of all things in the World I most decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to my dear deceased Brothers sweet Children, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in his premeditated dissimulation, the Duke in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee, said, Your Grace was pleased to give me free liberty to deliver unto you in the name of this worthy Assembly the tender of their dutiful Obedience to you: but I must further add, that it is unanimously resolved on, That your late Brother King *Edward's* Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of *England*; and therefore if your Grace shall neither regard your self nor us so much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to confer it upon some other of the House of *Lancaster*, that will be more sensible of his own and our good. These words wrought so powerfully upon the Protector's passions, that with some change of countenance, and not without seeming reluctance, he said: Since I perceive the whole Realm is so resolved, by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and seeing the Right of succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitate Heir of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, my Illustrious Father: We are contented to condescend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of the Kingdom; and will, to the uttermost of my power, endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having so said, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally saluted them all: which so pleased the giddy multitude, that presently they fell to acclamations, Long live King *Richard* our dread Sovereign Lord! and then every man departed.

The Protector or started at their motion.

But yet accepts it.



The REIGN of  
**KING RICHARD**  
 The THIRD.

1483.

**I**T was now the eighteenth day of June, in the year 1483, when RICHARD Duke of Gloucester took upon him the Crown: so as the imaginary Reign of Edward the Fifth, continued but just ten weeks. The next day King Richard with a great Train went to Westminster-Hall, and placed himself in the Court of the King's Bench, saying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himself sitteth and ministreth the Law, because he considered that it is the chiefeft duty of a King to administer the Laws. And here, to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency, he sent for one Fogge out of Sanctuary, who for fear of his displeasure was fled thither; and there in the sight of all the people, caused him to kiss his hand.

King Richard marries the Relict of Prince Edward Son to Henry the sixth.

After his return home, he took to Wife the Lady Anne, youngest Daughter of the great Warwick, and the Relict of Prince Edward, Son of Henry the Sixth, though she could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her Husbands and Fathers death. But womens affections are Eccentric to common apprehension; whereof the two Poles are Passion and Inconstancy.

Lords created.

Against his Coronation he had sent for five thousand men out of the North; and these being come under the leading of Robin Riddesdale, upon the fourth of July: together with his new Bride, he went from Baynard's Castle to the Tower by water, where he created Edward his Son, a Child of ten years old, Prince of Wales; John Lord Howard Duke of Norfolk, his Son Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey; William Lord Berckley Earl of Nottingham; Francis Lord Lovel Viscount Lovel and his Chamberlain; and the Lord Stanely (who had been committed prisoner to the Tower, in regard his Son the Lord Strange was reported to have levied Forces in Lancashire) not only that day was released out of Prison, but was made Lord Steward of his Household. The Archbishop of York was likewise then delivered; but Morton Bishop of Ely (as one that could not be drawn to the disinheriting of King Edward's Children) was committed to the Duke of Buckingham, who sent him to his Castle of Brecknock in Wales, there to be in custody. The same night were made seventeen Knights of the Bath, Edmund

Morton Bishop of Ely committed to the Duke of Buckingham.

the Duke of Suffolk's Son, George Gray the Earl of Kent's Son, William the Lord Zouches Son, Henry Aburgaveny, Christopher Willoughby, Henry Babington, Thomas Arundel, Thomas Boleign, Gervis Clifton, William Say, Edmund Bedingsfield, William Enderby, Thomas Lewknor, Thomas of Urmond, John Brown, and William Berckley. The next day, being the fifth of July, the King rode through the City of London to Westminster, being accompanied with the Dukes of Norfolk, Buckingham, and Suffolk; the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Kent, Surrey, Wiltshire; Huntington, Nottingham, Warwick, and Lincoln, the Viscounts Lisle and Lovel, the Lords Stanely, Audley, Dacres, Ferrers of Chartley, Powis, Scroop of Upsale, Scroop of Bolton, Gray of Codnor, Gray of Wilton, Sturton, Cobham, Morley, Burgaveny, Zouch, Ferrers of Croby, Wells, Lumley, Matrevers, Herbert and Beckham, and fourscore Knights. On the morrow, being the sixth of July, the King, with Queen Anne his Wife, came down out of the White Hall, into the great Hall at Westminster, and went directly to the Kings Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth, bare-footed, went to St. Edward's Shrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Bishop of Rochester bore the Cross before the Cardinal: Then followed the Earl of Huntington, bearing a pair of gilt Spurs, signifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earl of Bedford, bearing St. Edward's Staff for a Relique: After him came the Earl of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointless Sword in his hand, signifying Mercy: The Lord Stanely bare the Mace of Constablenesship: The Earl of Kent bore the second Sword, on the right hand of the King, naked, with a point; which signified Justice to the Temporality: The Lord Lovel bore the third Sword on the Kings left hand, with a point, which signified Justice to the Clergy: The Duke of Suffolk followed with the Scepter in his hand, which signified Peace: The Earl of Lincoln bore the Ball and Cross, which signified Monarchy: The Earl of Surrey bore the fourth Sword before the King, in a rich Scabbard, which is called the Sword of Estate: Then went three together; in the midst went Garter King of Arms, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Mayor of London, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Usher of the Privy-Chamber: Then followed the Duke of Norfolk, bearing the Kings Crown between his hands: Then followed King Richard

King Richard and his Queen in great state are crowned, and the manner of it.



Richard in his Robes of Purple Velvet, and over his head a Canopy, born by four Barons of the Cinque-ports; and on each side of the King went a Bishop; on one side the Bishop of Bath; on the other, of Durham: Then followed the Duke of Buckingham, bearing the Kings Train; with a white Staff in his hand, signifying the Office of High Steward of England. Then followed the Queens Train, before whom was born the Scepter, the Ivory Rod, with the Dove (signifying Innocency) and the Crown: her self apparelled in Robes like the Kings, under a rich Canopy, at every Corner thereof a Bell of Gold. On her head she wore a Circlet, set full of precious Stones, the Countess of Richmond bearing her Train; the Dutcheffes of Norfolk and Suffolk in their Coronets, attending, with twenty Ladies of Estate most richly attired. In this order they passed the Palace into the Abbey: and going up to the High Altar, there shifted their Robes; and having other Robes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them Anointed and Crowned: and then after the Sacrament received (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered to St. Edward's Shrine, where the King left St. Edward's Crown wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his own: and this done, in the same Order and State as they came, they returned to Westminster Hall, and there held a most Princely Feast; at the second course whereof, there came into the Hall Sir Robert Dymock, the King's Champion, making Proclamation, that whosoever would say that King Richard was not lawful King of England, he was there ready to prove it against him; and thereupon threw down his Gantler: and then all the Hall cried, King Richard, King Richard. And thus with some other Ceremonies the Coronation ended, and the King and Queen returned to their Lodgings.

King Richard sends to make amity with the King of France, but he rejects it.

Presently after this, King Richard sent a Solemn Ambassage to Lewis King of France, to conclude a League and Amity with him: but the French King so abhorred him, and his Cruelty, that he would not so much as see or hear his Ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in disgrace of their Master.

King Richard sets Sir James Tyrrel to murder the two Princes.

At this time with his Queen, he made a Progress to Gloucester, under colour to visit the place of his old Honour; but indeed to be out of the way, having a special villany to be acted: for though he had satished his Ambition, by depriving his dear Nephews of their Livelihoods; yet it satisfied not his Fear, if he deprived them not also of their Lives. For effecting whereof, his old Friend the Duke of Buckingham was no fit Instrument; it must be one of a baser metal; and to find out such a one, he needed not go far; for upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next chamber to him, Sir Thomas and Sir James Tyrrel; two Brothers like Jacob and Esau, not more near in blood, than different in conditions; of equal goodliness of personage both, but not of equal goodness of mind; Sir Thomas a man of an honest and sober disposition; but Sir James of a turbulent spirit, and one who gaping after preferment, would not stick to make a fortune out of any villany. Being told of this man as

he was sitting at the Close-stool, he presently rose and went to him; where being met, the match is soon made up between them: for he found Sir James more ready to undertake the work, than he was himself to set him about it. It only remained to procure him free passage to the place where the work was to be done: for King Richard had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his, named John Green, to Sir Robert Brackenbury then Lieutenant of the Tower, thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to do the deed himself; but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord (saith he) whom may a man trust? Once he saw plainly, that whilst he was Lieutenant, there was no possibility to effect it. To remove therefore this rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to Brackenbury, to deliver presently the Keys of the Tower to Sir James Tyrrel, who being now Lieutenant for the time, and having the two Innocent Princes under his custody, gets two other, as very villaines as himself, the one Miles Forrest, the other James Dighton, his Horse-keeper, a big sturdy Knave; and these he makes his under-agents: who coming into the Childrens Chamber in the night (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one Black Will, or William Slaughter, a bloody Rascal) they suddenly lapped them up in their cloathes, and keeping down by force the Feather-bed and Pillows hard under their mouths, so stifled them, that their breath failing, they gave up their innocent souls to God: whom when the Murderers perceived; first by their struggling with the pains of death, and then by their long lying still, to be thoroughly dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir James to see them; who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian-burial, by a Priest of Sir Robert Brackenburys, who dying within a few days after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day; and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of Perkin Warbeck in King Henry the Seventh's Reign. Some report that King Richard caused their bodies to be taken up and closed them in Lead; and then to be put in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with Iron, and so cast into a place called the Black Deep, at the Thames mouth, to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. And now see the Divine Revenge upon the Actors of this execrable Murther: Miles Forrest, at St. Martins le Grand, piece-meal rotted away: Dighton lived at Calice a long time after, but detested of all men, died in great misery: Sir James Tyrrel was beheaded afterward on the Tower-hill for Treason: and King Richard himself, after this abominable fact done, never had a quiet mind, troubled with fearful Dreams; and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him; that it was verified in him, *Utrix Tisiphone vocat agmina seva sororum.*

The Princes are murdered.

But where buried, not known.

The murderers miserably ended.

Confederacies in evil are seldom long-lived

G g 2 and



King Richard  
and the  
Duke of  
Buckingham  
fall at va-  
riance.

and commonly end in a reciprocal destruction : and so was it now with King *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham* ; They had confederated together to the destruction of many ; and now their Confederacy dissolves in both their ruines. But what the cause was of their dissolving, is not so certain : whether it were that the Duke thought not himself so well rewarded, as his great services had deserved ; or whether it were, that King *Richard* thought not himself absolute King as long as the Duke, by whose means he came to be King, was in such a height of greatness ; or whether it were ( as was rather thought ) that the Duke being a man ambitious, and of an aspiring spirit ; though he had himself been the means to bring King *Richard* to the Crown ; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, so envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the light ; and for the same cause, was willing not to have been present at the Coronation, pretending sickness in excuse of his absence : but that King *Richard* sent him a sharp message, requiring him to come, or he would fetch him ; whereupon the Duke went, but with so ill a mind, that he bore it in mind ever after. Whatsoever it was, certain it is, that presently after the Coronation there grew great jealousies between them, and the Duke retired himself to his Castle at *Brecknock*, where he had the Bishop of *Ely* in custody. And here we may observe the unsearchable depth of the Divine Providence, the bottom whereof, the soundest judgment of man can never sound, as working effects by contrary causes : for whereas King *Richard* had committed the Bishop to the Duke, as to one that would have a most watchful eye over him ; this which the King did for the Bishops greater punishment, proved a means afterward of the Bishops greater advancement, and a means at the present of King *Richard's* ruin : for the Duke being retired home, and having his head so full of thoughts, that of necessity it required vent ; for his own recreation would sometimes fall in talk with the Bishop, with whose discourse ( as he was a man of great wit and solid judgment ) the Duke was so taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more than to be conferring with him. One time it happened, that the Duke had opened his mind something freely to him ; and the Bishop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke which he found most working in the Duke ; which he perceived to grow out of envy to King *Richard* ; he said to this purpose : My Lord, you know I followed first the part of King *Henry* the Sixth, and if I could have had my wish, his Son should have had the Crown, and not King *Edward* : But after that God had ordained King *Edward* to Reign, I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. And so was I to King *Edward* also a faithful Chaplain, and glad would have been that his Child had succeeded him : Howbeit, if the secret Judgment of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to labour to set up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King——and even there he left, saying, he had already medled too

The Duke  
of Bucking-  
ham plots  
with Merton  
Bishop of  
Ely, to put  
down King  
Richard, and  
to bring in  
the Earl of  
Richmond.

much with the World ; and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have said, because he ended with the King, and there suddenly stopped ; and thereupon entreated him to be bold to say whatsoever he thought ; whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would think ; and withal, that himself intended to use his secret counsel ; which ( he said ) was the only cause for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his custody. The Bishop humbly thanked him, and said, In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a thing not all out of peril, though the word be without fault ; for so much as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I think on *Æsop's* Tale, that when the Lion had proclaimed on pain of death, that no horned Beast should abide in a certain Wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace : the Fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste ? who answered, In faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of the Proclamation made of horned Beasts : Why fool ( quoth the Fox ) thou mayest abide well enough, the Lion meant it not by thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head : No marry ( quoth he ) that wot I well enough : but what if he call it a horn, where am I then ? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and said, My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boar shall pick any matter at any thing here spoken ; for it shall never come near their ear. Then said the Bishop, In good faith, Sir, if it did, the thing I was about to say, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deserve but thanks ; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to less. Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was : whereupon the Bishop said, My Lord, as for the late Protector, sith he is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his Title : but for the weal of the Realm, I could wish he had in him those excellent vertues which God hath planted in the person of your Grace ; and there left again. The Duke somewhat marveling at this sudden pause, said, My Lord, I cannot but note your sudden stoppage in your speech, so as your words come not to any direct sentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what your affection is toward me : I therefore intreat you to use no more such obscurity, but plainly to disclose your mind unto me, who upon mine Honour will be as secret in the case, as the deaf and dumb person is to the finger, or the tree to the Hunter. The Bishop then upon confidence of the Duke's promise, said, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the Kingdom being in the case as it is, under such a King as now we have, must needs decay and be brought to confusion ; but one hope I have, that when I consider and daily behold your noble Personage, your Justice, your ardent Love towards your Countrey, and in like manner the great love of your Countrey towards you ; I must



must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in store, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whose person consisteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the present King with many cruelties and oppressions, he concluded, saying, And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Lineage, or your native Countrey, you must your self take upon you the Crown and Imperial Diadem of this Realm: but if your self will refuse to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the Faith you owe to God, and by the love you bear to your native Countrey, to devise some way how this Realm may by your Princely Policy be reduced to some convenient regiment, under some good Governour by you to be appointed: And if you could devise to set up again the Lineage of *Lancaster*, or advance the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* to some puiſſant Prince: not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the glory of his Dignity, but all Civil War should cease, and Peace and Profit should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a good while, which sore abashed the Bishop, and made him change colour; which the Duke perceiving, he said, Be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall be kept; so for that time they parted. The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the communication had between them the day before, he went on and said: My Lord of *Ely*, since I perceive your true heart, and sincere affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath passed my own imaginations. After I had found the dissimulation and falseness of King *Richard*, and especially after I was informed of the murder of the two young Princes, to which (God be my judge) I never condescended; I so much abhorred the sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cause to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing less, than that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknock* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inspiration, or else through some melancholick disposition, I had divers imaginations, how to deprive this unnatural and bloody Butcher of his Royal Seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I rested two days at *Tewkesbury*; in my journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all men, and especially the Nobility would oppose me; but at last there sprung up a branch in my head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: for I suddenly remembered that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather, was with King *Henry* the Sixth, in two or three degrees of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*: so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, that I was next Heir to King *Henry* the Sixth, of the

House of *Lancaster*: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Council, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent; but while I was in amaze, whether I were best suddenly to set this Title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secret a while, see what chanced: As I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgnorth*, I met with the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Daughter and sole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfathers elder Brother (which was as clean out of my mind, as if I had never seen her) so that she, and her Son the Earl of *Richmond*, have both of them Titles before mine, and then I clearly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastical imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my self; and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true establishment, than that the Earl of *Richmond*, very Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, should take to Wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, the very Heir of the House of *York*; so that the two Roses may be united in one: and now (saith the Duke) I have told you my very mind. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the mark he had himself aimed at: and thereupon, after some complements of extolling his device, he said: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countess of *Richmond* the Earl's Mother; who knoweth where he is, either in Captivity, or at large in *Britain*. And thus was the foundation laid of a League, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not talkt of only, but presently put in execution; for now is *Reynold Bray* employed by the Bishop, to his Mistress the Dutchesse of *Richmond*; Doctor *Lewis*, the Dutchesse's Physician, was employed by her to the Queen *Elizabeth*; *Hugh Conway*, and *Thomas Rame*, were employed to the Earl of *Richmond*, to acquaint them, but in most secret manner, with the intended plot, and to procure their promises to the propounded marriage; which was no hard matter to make them all willing to their own wishes. This done, Instruments are employed to draw in parties to the confederacy: *Bray* by his credit drew in *Sir Giles Dawbeny*, *Sir John Cheyney*, *Richard Guildford*, *Thomas Rame*, and others; *Urſewick* likewise drew in *Hugh Conway*, *Thomas Colepeper*, *Thomas Roper*, with some others; Doctor *Lewis* drew in *Edward Courtney*, and his Brother *Peter* Bishop of *Exeter*. It is memorable, that *Thomas Conway* being sent most part by Sea, and *Thomas Rame* most part by Land; yet came to the Earl of *Richmond* in *Britain*, within the space of little more than an hour; upon whose information of the plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of *Britain* with it, who, though by *Hutton* King *Richard*'s Ambassador, he had by many great offers been solicited to detain him in Prison, yet he both readily promised, and really performed, both his advice and



Bishop Morton in disguise passeth over into Britain to the Earl of Richmond.

The Duke of Buckingham sent for by King Richard, refuseth to come.

The Duke of Buckingham betakes himself to the house of one Humphrey Bannister his own servant, who betrays him.

And is beheaded.

The Judgment of God upon Bannister.

and aid to the Earls proceedings. In this meantime Bishop Morton, not without asking the Dukes leave, though without obtaining it, secretly in disguise, gets him into the Isle of Ely; and there having done the Earl good offices by procuring of Friends, he thence passeth into Britain to him; from whence he returned no more, till afterward the Earl being King, sent for him home, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury.

But though all these things were carried closely, and oath taken by all for secrecy, yet came it to King Richard's knowledge: who notwithstanding dissembled it, sends for the Duke of Buckingham to come to him; and he putting off his coming with pretended excuses, is at last peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this resolute answer: that he owed no Allegiance to such a perjur'd inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood: and so from that time preparation for Arms is made on both sides. The Duke had gotten a good power of Welshmen, and the Marquess of Dorset having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in Yorkshire to raise Forces; the like did the two Courtneys in Devonshire and Cornwall, and Guilford and Rame in Kent. King Richard setting forward with his Forces, the Duke of Buckingham doth the like, intending at Gloucester to have passed the Severn and so to have joyned with the two Courtneys; but such abundance of rain at that time fell, that the Severn was broken out, and impossible to be passed over; which the Welshmen seeing, and taking it for an ill sign, they secretly slipt away; so as the Duke left well-near alone, without either Page, or so much as a Footman, repaired to the House of one Humphrey Bannister near to Shrewsbury; who having been raised by him, and his Father before him; he thought himself safe under his roof: But Bannister, upon proclamation made by King Richard, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke, should have a thousand pound for his labour; like an ungrateful and perfidious wretch, discovered him to John Mitton, High Sheriff of Shropshire, who took him in a pilled black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behind the House; and carried him to Shrewsbury, where King Richard then lay, and there without Arraignment, or Legal proceeding, he was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether Bannister received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King, is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the reward of a Villain from the hand of Divine Justice, for himself was afterward hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest Daughter was deflowered by one of his Carters, as some say, stricken with a foul Leprosie; his eldest Son in a desperate Lunacy murdered himself, and was found to have done so, by the Coroners Inquest; and his younger Son in a small puddle was strangled and drowned.

Upon this disaster of the Duke of Buckingham, his complices shifted for themselves; some taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown places, but many conveyed themselves into Britain to the Earl of Richmond; of whom the Marquess Dorset, John Lord Wells,

the Bishop of Exeter, and his Brother Sir John Bouchier, Sir Edward Woodville Brother to Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir John Cheyney, and his two Brethren, Sir William Brackley, Sir William Brandon, and his Brother Thomas, Sir Richard Edgecome, Hollowel and Poynings Captains, were the chief. Whilst these things are in doing, King Richard receives intelligence from Hutton his Ambassador lieger in Britain; that the Duke not only refuseth to restrain the Earl of Richmond, but intendeth also to give him assistance: whereupon the King took present order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earls landing in any Port of England. He apprehended also in divers parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of Richmonds confederation; but coming himself to the City of Exeter, and to the Castle there, and understanding that it was called Rugemont, he suddenly fell into a dump, as one astonished, said; Well, I see my days be not long: He spake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came once to Richmond, he should not live long after: which fell out to be true, not in respect of this Castle, but in respect of Henry Earl of Richmond.

Upon the twelfth day of October, in the year 1484, the Earl of Richmond, with forty Ships and five thousand waged Britains, took to Sea; but that evening by tempest of weather, his whole Fleet was dispersed; so as only the Ship wherein the Earl himself was, with one little Bark, was driven upon the Coast of Cornwall; where discovering upon the shore great store of Armed Souldiers to resist his landing, he hoisted Sail, and returning toward France, arrived in Normandy; from whence sending Messengers to Charles the Eighth; King of France, he was by him not only kindly invited to come to his Court, but was aided also with good sums of money to bear his charges. After this, the Earl returning into Britain, received there the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces; with which, though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquess Dorset, and those other Lords and Captains come unto him: soon after whose coming, upon Christmas day before the High Altar in the great Church of Rheims, the Earl of Richmond gave Oath, to marry the Lady Elizabeth, as soon as he should be quietly settled in the Government of England: and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present did him homage; and in the same place each to other Religiously vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it, never to cease prosecuting War against King Richard, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

King Richard being informed of these things, makes diligent inquiry after all such as might be suspected to be favourers of Richmonds association; of whom Sir George Brown, and Sir Roger Clifford with four other Gentlemen are apprehended and executed at London: Sir Thomas Sentleger, who married Anne the Duke of Exeter's Widow, this Kings own Sister, and Thomas Rame Esquire, were executed at Exeter.

Thomas

1484.

The Earl of Richmond is aided by the King of France.

He takes Oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth King Edward's eldest Daughter.



Thomas Marquess Dorset, and all such as were with the Earl of Richmond, were at a Parliament then holden attainted of Treason, and all their Goods and Lands seized on to the Kings use: Besides these, a poor Gentleman called Collingborn, for making a small Rhyme of three of his wicked Councillors; the Lord Lovel, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby: which Rhyme was thus framed: *The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog, rule all England under a Hog*: was put to death, and his body divided into four quarters.

At this time a Truce is concluded betwixt England and Scotland, for three years; and for settling a firmer amity between the two Kingdoms, a marriage is treated of between the Duke of Rothsay, eldest Son to the King of Scots, and the Lady Anne de la Pool, Daughter to John Duke of Suffolk, by Anne Sister to King Richard: which Sister he so much favoured, that after the death of his own Son, who died some time before, he caused John Earl of Lincoln, her Son and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of England.

And now King Richard, to take away the root of his fear, once again sent Ambassadors to the Duke of Britain, with order (besides the great gifts they carried with them) to make offer, that King Richard should yearly pay and answer the Duke of all the Revenues and Profits of all Lands and Possessions, as well belonging to the Earl of Richmond, as of any other Nobleman or Gentleman that were in his company; if he after that time would keep them in continual prison, and restrain them from liberty. But the Duke of Britain being at that time fallen into such infirmity, that the Ambassadors could have no audience; they addressed themselves to Peter Landois the Dukes chief Treasurer: and he taken with this golden hook, faithfully promised to satisfy their Requests; and had done so indeed, but that Bishop Morton sojourning then in Flanders, having by his friends intelligence of his purpose, presently informed the Earl thereof. The Earl was then at Vannes, who upon the Bishops information, taking with him only five Servants, as though he went but to visit some friend; when he was five miles forward on his way, suddenly turned into a Wood adjoining, and there changing Apparel with one of his Servants followed after as their attendant, and never rested till by ways unknown he came to his company, abiding at Angiers: yet was not his departure so secret nor so sudden; but that Peter Landois had notice of it; who sending Posts after him, was so near overtaking him, that he was scarce entered one hour into France, when the Posts arrived at the Confines, and then durst go no further. In the mean time, Sir Edward Woodville and Captain Poinings, who with their Companies were left behind in Vannes, had been in danger of Peter Landois his malice; but that the Duke being informed by the Chancellour of their case, not only protected them, but furnished them with all necessaries for their journey to the Earl: and was so incensed against Landois for this action of his; that for this and some overbold presumptions he was afterward hanged.

The Earl having passed this danger in Britain, and being arrived in France, addresseth himself to the French King, imploring his aid; and hath it promised and performed: and in this time John Vere Earl of Oxford, who had long time been kept prisoner in the Castle of Hammes, so far prevailed with James Blunt Captain of the Fortrefs, and Sir John Fortescue, Porter of the Town of Calice; that not only they suffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him also to the Earl of Richmond, to whom Captain Blunt gave assurance that the Fortrefs remained wholly at his Devotion. At this time also there resorted to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the University of Paris, profering him their service; amongst whom was Richard Fox, at that time famous for his learning; with whom afterward the Earl advised in all his affairs, made him one of his most Privy Council, and at last Bishop of Winchester.

But now King Richard having been disappointed of his design in Britain, hath another way in his head to disappoint the Earl of Richmond of his Marriage with the Daughter of Queen Elizabeth: and to this end, he sent to the Queen, (being still in Sanctuary) divers messengers, who should first excuse and purge him of all things formerly attempted and done against her; and then should largely promise promotions innumerable, not only to her self, but also to her Son Lord Thomas Marquess Dorset: by Force of which promises the messengers so prevailed with her, that not only she began to relent, but at last was content to submit her self wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murder of her innocent Children, the Butchering of her own Brother and Son, the infamy of her Royal Husband, the aspersions of Adultery cast upon her self, the imputation of Bastardy laid to her Daughters, forgetting also her Oath made to the Earl of Richmond's Mother: seduced by flattering words, she first delivered into King Richard's hands her five Daughters, and after sent Letters to the Marquess her Son, being then at Paris with the Earl of Richmond; willing him by any means to leave the Earl, and with all speed to repair into England; where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Assuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and she incorporated in the Kings favour. If we consider at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive she was moved with the two great motives of Fear and Hope; she feared (no doubt) that if she denied the Kings request, he would presently take some sharp course both against her and her Daughters; and she hoped that if she yielded to his request, he would undoubtedly perform his promise, seeing it was as easie for him to keep it as to break it.

But now King Richard's purpose being to marry one of his Brother King Edward's Daughters; there was one impediment which directly hindred it, that he had a Wife living, and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new aspersions upon himself, he could not well tell: yet this he resolved, that he rid of her

Richard Fox made first known to the Earl of Richmond.

King Richard seeks to marry the Lady Elizabeth King Edward's Daughter.

The Queen is brought to give her consent.

1485.

King Richard and his wife, and by what devices,

King Richard seeks by great gifts to have the Earl of Richmond delivered to him.

Which plot the Earl escapes by Morton's information; and in what manner.

Peter Landois hanged.



her he would by some way or other: but before he would use extremity, he would first try milder ways; and first he abstained both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrenness; which coming to her ear, he hoped might cause her to dye with grief: and when this device failed, he then caused a rumour to be spread among the people, that she was suddenly dead, hoping the very conceit thereof would kill her: When this device also failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and mistrusting the worst, with a most sorrowful countenance came unto him, demanding what she had done, that he should judge he worthy to dye? who answered with fair words, bidding her be of good cheer, for (to his knowledge she should have no other cause) he then made sure work, for within few days after, whether by poison, or by what other means, it is not certainly known, she departed this life; and with all solemnity, not without some formal tears of King Richard, was interred in St. Peter's Church at Westminster.

He makes  
love to the  
Lady Elizabeth.

King Richard now by his Wives death, having made himself way to marry another; useth all the alluring means he can devise, to win the love of the Lady Elizabeth his Niece; but meaning at last to purchase his desire by Rape, if he could not otherwise; and had perhaps done it, but that the storms threatened from beyond the Seas, growing every day more strong than other, forced him to prorogue the execution of his desires, and look to the prevention of his present danger. The Lord Stanley is commanded presently to levy Forces for the Kings aid, as he will justify his integrity to him; but yet is not permitted to go down into the Country, untill he had left George Lord Strange his eldest Son, as a pledge of his Loyalty behind him. And now King Richard being informed (though the information was craftily suborned by his Enemies) that the Earl of Richmond was out of hope of any great assistance from France, dischargeth the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewise all the Souldiers; only order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

Which  
makes him  
hasten his  
coming over.  
To whom  
many Lords  
and others  
come.

At this time, one Morgan Kidwelly, a Student at the Inns of Court, with great hazard of his life, passed over to the Earl; informing him, that King Richard by all means laboured to match himself with the Lady Elizabeth; which so wrought with the Earl, that he saw there was no lingring: and the more, being by him further informed, that Rice ap Thomas and John Savage, two powerful men in their Countreys, were ready with great Forces to assist him: Whereupon, not having above two thousand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over, about the middle of August he put to Sea, and by the advice of the said Kidwelly, steered his course for Wales, and on the seventeenth day after his departure from Harflew, arrived at Milford-Haven; and there landing his Forces without trouble or impeachment, from thence marched peaceably to Hereford, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receiveth news by Captain Arnold Butler, that the Earl of Pembroke with all his retinue was upon the way to

join with him; also thither came to him Richard Griffith, and John Morgan, with a band of brave Welshmen, and the same day Sir Gilbert Talbot with all the Earl of Shrewsbury's Tenants, (being about two thousand well appointed men) came unto him: with these he marched toward Shrewsbury, at which time word is brought him, that Sir Robert Herbert and Rice ap Thomas, were ready with a great power to stop his passage, which somewhat troubled him, that his friends so suddenly should revolt: but it was but a trick of Rice ap Thomas, to make his bargain the surer: for soon after, Rice ap Thomas meets him, and offers him his service, so as the Earl will pledge his faith to perform his promise formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make Rice sole Governour of Wales; which was now assented to, and afterward performed. At this time the Lord Stanley with five thousand men had taken up his lodging at the Town of Leicester; but hearing of the Earl's march that way, he left Leicester, and went to Adderton, not daring to shew himself openly for the Earl, for fear the King should put his Son the Lord Strange to death, whom he had left an Hostage with him.

All this time King Richard lay at Nottingham, and was as it were fatally taken with a spirit of security, hearing that the Earl had but small assistance either from France or in England; and therefore slighting him as little able to do any greater matter: but when he heard that part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and sends present direction to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Northumberland and Surrey, with Sir Thomas Brackenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, with all speed to bring their Forces to him at Lutterworth; from whence upon their arrival, hearing that the Earl was encamped at Lichfield, he marcheth thitherward; At which time, Sir Walter Hungerford and some others, withdrew themselves from King Richard's part; and Sir John Savage, Sir Brian Stanford, and Sir Simon Digby, with their several Forces, joined with the Earl.

King Richard took the advantage of a large Plain near Bosworth, adjoining to a Hill called Anne Beam; where he encamped: And observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him Battel, he the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vanguard was led by the Duke of Norfolk, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bowmen, flanked with two hundred Cuyrassiers, under the conduct of the Earl of Surrey: The Battel, King Richard led himself, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, empaled with two thousand Pikes: The Rereward was led by Sir Thomas Brackenbury, consisting of two thousand mingled Weapons, with two wings of Horsemen, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast into square maniples; expecting the Lord Stanley's coming with two thousand, most of them Horsemen: But the Lord Stanley carried himself so warily, that he might neither give cause of suspicion to the King, nor yet cause of disadvantage to the Earl: that when early in the morning the Earl sent unto him, desiring his

Near to Bosworth their Armies meet: and how King Richard's Army was marshalled.



his present repair; he answered, that he must look for no aid from him, till the Battels should be joyned; and therefore advised him, with all possible speed to give the onset. This answer somewhat staggered the Earl, because his number did but little exceed one half of the Kings: Yet to make the best shew he could, by the advice of his Council of War, he made his Vanguard open and thin; of which *John* Earl of *Oxford* had the leading: The Earl himself led the Battel, *Sir Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right wing, and *Sir John Savage* the left: whose Souldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Frize, by the reflection of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the view of their Enemies, double the number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, which consisted most of Horse, and some Pikes, and black Bills. King *Richard*, to encourage his Souldiers, made a solemn speech to them: But alas! what hope could he have to put them in heart, whose hearts he had lost? or to raise alacrity in others, who had none in himself? For now the remembrance of his fore-passed villanies, and specially a fearful Dream he had the night before, (wherein it seemed to him, he saw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take any rest or quiet) so damped his spirits, that although he set a good face upon the matter, yet he could not choose but have a presaging fear, that the date of his days was not far from expiring. The Earl of *Richmond* on the other side, having a clear conscience in himself, and speaking to men that followed him for love, had the easier means to give them encouragement: which he did with so chearful a countenance, as though already he had gotten the Victory. After their military exhortations ended, King *Richard* commanded to give the onset. Between both Armies there was a great Marsh; which the Earl left on his right hand, that it might be a defence for his Souldiers on that side; and besides, by so doing he had the Sun at his back, and in the faces of his Enemy. When King *Richard* saw the Earl's company was passed this Marsh, he commanded with all speed to set upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both sides, and those spent, they came to hand-strokes: at which encounter comes in the Lord *Stanley*, and joyns with the Earl. The Earl of *Oxford* in the mean time, fearing lest his company should be compassed in with the multitude of his Enemies, gave charge in every rank, that no man should go above ten foot from the Standard: whereupon they knit themselves together, and ceased a while from fighting: which the Enemy seeing, and mistrusting some fraud, they also paused and left striking. But then the Earl of *Oxford*, having brought all his Band together, set on the Enemy afresh, which the Enemy perceiving, they placed their men slender and thin before, but thick and broad behind: and resolutely again began the fight. While these two Van-guards were thus contending, King *Richard* was informed that the Earl of *Richmond*, with a small number, was not far off: whereupon he presently makes towards him, and being of an

invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the last proof, he made so furious an assault, that first with his own hands he slew *Sir William Brandon*, who bore the Earl's Standard; next he unhorsed and overthrew *Sir John Cheyney*, a strong and stout man at Arms, and then assaulted the Earl of *Richmond* himself, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the King's fury held him off at his Launces point, till *Sir William Stanley* came in with three thousand fresh men: and then oppressed with multitude, King *Richard* is there slain. It is said, that when the Battel was at the point to be lost, a swift Horse was brought unto him; with which he might have saved himself by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refused it, saying, He would that day make an end of all Battels, or else lose his life. In this Battel *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who led King *Richard*'s Rereward, never strook stroke; as likewise many other, who followed King *Richard* more for fear than love: and so King *Richard*, who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many; which was not unforeseen by some, who caused a Rhyme to be set upon the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Gate the night before the Battel, which was this:

Jack of *Norfolk*, be not too bold,  
For Dicken thy Master is bought and sold:

Yet notwithstanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King *Richard*; and more considering what he was towards him, than what towards others, followed him at the last, and in his quarrel lost his life. This *John Howard* was the Son of *Sir Robert Howard* Knight, and *Margaret* eldest Daughter of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, in whose right he was created Duke of *Norfolk* by King *Richard* the Third, in the year 1483, having been made a Baron before by King *Edward* the Fourth. The whole number slain in this Battel on King *Richard*'s part was not above a thousand persons; whereof, of the Nobility, besides the Duke of *Norfolk*, only *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Sir Richard Ratcliffe*, and *Sir Robert Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more. *Sir William Catesby*, one of the chief Counsellours of King *Richard*, with divers others, was two days after beheaded at *Leicester*. Amongst those that ran away, were *Francis* Viscount *Lovel*, *Humphrey* *Stafford*, and *Thomas* *Stafford* his Brother, who took Sanctuary in *Saint Johns* at *Gloicester*. Of Captives and Prisoners there were great number. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who thought on King *Richard*'s side, intermeddled not in the Battel, was incontinently taken into favour, and made of the Council: But *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, though he submitted himself, yet, as having been specially familiar with King *Richard*, was committed to the Tower; where he remained a long time: but at last was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earl of *Richmond*'s part were slain scarce an hundred persons; (some say but ten) of whom the principal was *Sir William Brandon*, the Earl's Standard bearer. This Battel was fought at *Rodmor*, near *Bosworth* in *Leicestershire*, the two and twentieth

H h day

King *Richard* encounters the Earl of *Richmond* hand to hand.



day of *August*, in the year 1485 having continued little above two hours. Presently after the Battel, the Earl Knighted in the field, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Poynts*, Sir *Humphrey Stanley*, Sir *John Turbervile*, Sir *Hugh Pershal*, Sir *R. Edgecomb*, Sir *John Pykenil*, and Sir *Edmund Carew*: and then kneeling down, he rendred to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed persons to be cured: whereat the people rejoicing, clapped their hands, and cried, King *Henry*, King *Henry*: which good-will and gladness of the people when the Lord *Stanley* saw, he took the Crown of King *Richard*, which was found amongst the spoils in the field, and set it on the Earls head, as though he had been elected King by the voice of the people. It may not be forgotten, that when King *Richard* was come to *Bosworth*, he sent to the Lord *Stanley* to come presently to his presence; which if he refused to do, he swore by Christs Passion, that he would strike off his Sons head before he dined: whereto the Lord *Stanley* answered, That if he did so, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his pleasure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which answer when King *Richard* heard, he commanded the Lord *Strange* immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in fight of each other; his Lords perswaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to execution; and so the Lord *Strange* escaped.

The Lord Stanley takes the Crown from King Richard's head, and puts it on the Earl of Richmond.

#### Of his Taxations.

WE must not look for Taxations in kind in this Kings Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not money so much as blood; and the money he drew was most by blood, which drew on Confiscations: whereof let never any Prince make a Precedent: for where Taxations properly do but *Tondere*, these did *Deglubere*. Yet in his second year. he called a Parliament, wherein, besides the great Confiscations of those that were then attainted, he imposed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not recorded.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HAVING gotten the Crown by pestilent courses, he sought to establish it by wholesome Laws; for in no Kings Reign were better Laws made, than in the Reign of this man. Amongst others of his Laws, it was enacted, That from thenceforth the Commonalty of the Realm should in no wise be charged by any imposition called a Benevolence, nor any such like charge; and that such actions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, should be taken for no example to make any such like charge hereafter; but shall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made; that we may say he took the ways of being a good King, if he had come to be King by ways that had been good.

No Benevolence to be required.

#### Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time the troubles of the Temporality kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were complainings in the streets, there was none in the Church. Only *Shore's* Wife might complain, why she should do Penance for offending lightly against only the Seventh Commandment; and King *Richard* do none for offending heavily against all the ten, but that perhaps he had gotten some good fellow to be his Confessor.

#### Works of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet some good works he did; he founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *York*; and a Collegiate Chauntry in *London*, near unto the Tower, called our *Lady of Barking*: He endowed the Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, with five hundred Marks of yearly Revenue; and disforested the great field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his Brother had inclosed for Deer.

#### Casualties happening in his time.

IN his second year, at the time when the Duke of *Buckingham* meant to pass with his Army over *Severn*, so great an Inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houses were overturned, children were carried about the fields swimming in Cradles, beasts were drowned on hills: which rage of water continued ten days; and is to this day in the Countreys thereabout, called the Great Water, or the Duke of *Buckingham's* Water.

A great Inundation called the Duke of Buckingham's water.

#### Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Anne* the second Daughter of *Richard Nevil* the Great Earl of *Warwick*, being the Widow of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Son of King *Henry* the sixth: she lived his Wife to the last year of his Reign; and then, to make way for another, was brought to her end, and laid at rest in the Abbey of *Westminster*: By her he had only one Son, born at *Middleham*, near *Richmond* in the County of *York*: at four years old, created Earl of *Salisbury* by his Uncle King *Edward* the Fourth; at ten years old created Prince of *Wales* by his Father King *Richard*, but died soon after.

#### Of his Personage and Conditions.

THERE never was in any man a greater uniformity of Body and Mind, than was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, crook'd back'd, hook-shouldered, splay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round, his complexion swarthy, his left arm from his Birth dry and withered: born a Monster in nature, with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And just such were the qualities of his mind: One quality he had in ordinary; which was, to look sawnly when he plotted, sternly when he executed. Those Vices, which in other men are Passions, in him were Habits: and his



and his cruelty was not upon occasion, but natural. If at any time he shewed any vertue, it was but pretence; the truth of his mind was only lying and falshood. He was full of courage, and yet not valiant; valour consisting not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politick, and yet not wise; Policy looking but to the middle, Wisdom to the end: which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty, that it might be in his power to kill at his pleasure: And to say the truth, he was scarce of the number of men who consist of flesh and blood, being nothing but blood. One Miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the Truth of History to exceed the Fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy than those that were feigned. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no Issue behind him: and it had been pity he should; at least in his own Image; one such Monster was enough for many Ages.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

King Richard  
and basely  
used being  
dead.

**B**EING slain in the Battel at *Bosworth*, as before is related; his body was left naked and despoiled to the very skin, not so much as a clout left about him to cover his privy parts: and taken up, was trussed behind a pursuivant at Arms, one *Blanch Senglier*, or *White-Boar*; his head and arms hanging on one side of the Horse, and his legs on the other; and all besprinkled with mire and dirt; he was brought to the *Gray-Friers* Church within the Town of *Leicester*, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle; and afterward, with small Funeral Pomp was there interred. But after this, King *Henry* the Seventh caused a Tomb to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a Picture of Alabaster, representing his person; which at the suppression of that

Monastry was utterly defaced: Since when, his Grave overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone Chest, wherein his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-Trough for Horses at a common Inn in *Leicester*, and retaineth the only memory of this Monarchs greatness. But his body (as is reported) was carried out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed under the end of *Bow-bridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Stowre*, upon the West side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a Stone of some height; against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance struck his Spur: and against the same stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the horse-side, his head was dashed and broken: as a wise Woman (forsooth) had foretold; who before his going to Battel, being asked of his success, said, That where his Spur struck, his head should be broken. But these are but Reports. He had lived seven and thirty years, Reigned two, and two Months.

*Of Men of Note in his time.*

**O**F men of Note for wickedness and villany, enough hath been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better Kings Reign:

*Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.*

In his first year,  
*William Billeston* was Mayor:  
*Thomas Newland*, *William Martin*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
*Thomas Hill* was Mayor:  
*Richard Chester*; and he dying, *Ralph Astry*,  
*Thomas Britain*, Sheriffs.



The REIGN of  
**KING HENRY**  
 The SEVENTH.

1485.

King Henry's first Title.



Edward Plantagenet Son and Heir of George Duke of Clarence, shut up in the Tower.

The Earl of Richmond is Crowned King.

ENRY Earl of Richmond, born in Pembroke Castle, Son to Edmund Earl of Richmond, by his Wife Margaret, sole Daughter of John Duke of Somerset, which John was Son of John Earl of Somerset, Son of John

of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by his third Wife Katharine Swinford; and by this descent, Heir of the House of Lancaster; having won the Battel at Bosworth, against King Richard, is by publick acclamations saluted King of England, on the 22 day of August, in the year 1485; and this was his first Title. And now to take away a root of danger, before his departure from Leicester, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby to the Castle of Sheriffhaddon in the County of York, for Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, Son and Heir to George Duke of Clarence, being then of the age of fifteen years, whom King Richard had there kept a prisoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to London, and shut up in the Tower to be kept in safe custody. In the same Castle also King Richard had left residing the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to King Edward the Fourth: and her now King Henry appoints honourably attended to be brought up to London, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his journey towards London; where at his approaching near the City, Thomas Hill the Mayor, Thomas Britain and Richard Chester, Sheriffs, with other principal Citizens, met him at Shore-ditch, and in great state brought him to the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of St. George; in the other was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarcenet; in the third was painted a Dun Cow, upon yellow Tartern. After Prayers said, he departed to the Bishops Palace, and there sojourned a season: And in the time of his stay here, he advised with his Council, and appointed a day for solemnizing his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth: before which time notwithstanding, he went by water to Westminster, and was there with great solemnity Anointed and Crowned King of England, by the whole consent as well of the Commons, as of the Nobility, by the Name of Henry the Seventh, on the thirtieth day of October, in the year 1485; and this was his second Title. And even this was re-

vealed to Cadwallader, last King of the Britains, seven hundred ninety and seven years past; That his Off-spring should Reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

On the seventeenth day of November following, he called his High Court of Parliament: where, at the first sitting, two scruples appeared: One concerning the Burgeses, for that many had been returned Burgeses and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King Richards time stood attainted still: and it was thought incongruous for men to make Laws, who were themselves outlawed: For remedy whereof an Act was presently passed for their restoring, and then they were admitted to sit in the House. The other concerning the King himself, who had been attainted by King Richard: but for this, It was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer-Chamber, That the possession of the Crown takes away all defects; yet for Honours sake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. And so these scruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were attainted, first, Richard late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third: Then his Assistants at the Battel of Bosworth: John late Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey, Francis Viscount Lovel, Walter Devereux late Lord Ferrers, John Lord Zouch, Robert Harrington, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratcliff, William Berley of Wely, Robert Middleton, James Harrington, Robert Brackenbury, Thomas Pilkington, Walter Hopton, William Catesby, Roger Wake, William Sapcote, Humfrey Stafford, William Clark of Wenlock, Geoffrey St. Germain, Richard Watkins Herald at Arms, Richard Sevel, Thomas Pulter, John Welsh, John Kendal late Secretary to the late King Richard, John Buck, Andrew Rat, and William Brampton, of Burford. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the persons aforesaid were afterwards not only by King Henry pardoned, but restored also to their Lands and Livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, That whosoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, should have their Pardon, Whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places; who submitting themselves, were received to mercy.

The possession of the Crown takes away all defects.

Lords and others attainted by Parliament.

And now King Henry considering that *Pax & Præmio Respublica contingitur*; after punishing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Service; and first, Jasper Earl of Pembroke his Uncle, he created Duke of Bedford: Thomas Lord

Dukes and Earls created.



Lord Stanley he created Earl of Derby; the Lord Chendow of Britain, his special friend, he made Earl of Bath: Sir Giles Daubeney was made Lord Daubeney; Sir Robert Willoughby was made Lord Brook; and Edward Stafford eldest Son to Henry late Duke of Buckingham, he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for setting the Crown upon the Person of King Henry and the Heirs of his body successively for ever. And then with all speed he sent and redeemed the Marquess Dorset, and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left Hostages in France for money: and called home Morton Bishop of Ely, and Richard Fox, making Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of Exeter. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Council, Jasper Duke of Bedford, John Earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, John Bishop of Ely, Sir Will. Stanley Lord Chamberlain of his Household; Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brook, Lord Steward of his Household; Giles Lord Daubeney; John Lord Dynham, after made Lord Treasurer of England; Sir Renold Bray, Sir John Cheyney, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Edgecomb, Sir Thomas Lovel, Sir Edmund Poynings, Sir John Risley, with some other.

Morton is made Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. Fox is made Lord Privy Seal.

1486.

King Henry marries the Lady Elizabeth.

These things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make the Crown sit the surer on his head; on the eighteenth day of January he proceeded to the solemnizing his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth; which gave him a third Title: And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three so indissoluble, that no Age since hath ever questioned it: and it is fixt upon a Tree planted so happily by the waters side, and hath at this day so many flourishing branches, that there is good hope it will continue as long as the World continues.

The Kings Guard first ordained.

And now whether King Henry doubted any sudden attempt upon his person, or whether he did it to follow the example of France; in the very beginning of his Reign he ordained a band of tall personable men to be attending upon him, which was called the Kings Guard; which no King before, and all Kings since have always used: But though he provided a Guard for defence of his own body, yet for the bodies of his people he could provide none; for at this time a Sickness (of the Symptome called the Sweating-sickness) seized so violently upon them, that within a short time many thousands perished; particularly in London, two Mayors successively, and six Aldermen within eight dayes died: and for this Sickness no Physick afforded any cure; till at last this remedy was found: If a man were taken with the sweat in the day-time, that then he should presently lie down in his cloaths, and so lie still the whole four and twenty hours; if he were taken in the night, then he should not rise out of his bed for the space of four and twenty hours; not provoking sweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at least but very moderately. In this Sickness there was one good circumstance, that though it were violent, yet it lasted not long: for beginning about the one and twentieth of September, it cleared up before the end of October following.

A violent sickness in London, and the remedy.

And now all things being set in good order in the South parts, there ariseth a little storm in the North, but was soon dispersed. For King Henry making a journey into the North parts, to shew himself there where he had not yet been; and where the respect to King Richard might have left some opposites: at his coming to Lincoln, was certified that the Lord Lovel and Humfrey Stafford were gone out of Sanctuary in Colchester; but whither, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to York; and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, That the Lord Lovel with a strong power was at hand; and would presently invade the City. This made the King in a great strait: for neither had he any Army ready; nor if he had men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this strait, he commanded the Duke of Bedford, with three thousand men to set out against him; but so ill armed, that their Armour for the most part were but of tanned Leather: who being come near the Camp of the Rebels, caused Proclamation to be made; That whosoever would submit themselves as Loyal Subjects, should have their Pardons, and be received into Grace. Which Proclamation so prevailed that it made the Lord Lovel secretly in the night to fleeaway; and then the Army, left without a head, submitted themselves to the Kings mercy. The Lord Lovel fled into Lancashire, and there for a time lurked with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man powerful in those parts. Humfrey Stafford took Sanctuary in a Village called Culbham, two miles from Abington; but the Sanctuary being judged by the Justices of the Kings Bench, to be no lawful defence for Traytors; he was taken from thence by force, and conveyed to the Tower, afterward to Tyburn, and there hanged. His Brother Thomas was pardoned, because it was thought he was drawn in by his Brother Humfrey.

The Lord Lovel raiseth an Army against the King, but upon Proclamation of pardon is dispersed.

A Sanctuary no defence for Traytors.

In this year John Persival the Mayor of London's Carver, waiting at his Table, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of London, only by Sir John Collets, then Mayor, drinking to him in a Cup of Wine, as the custom is to drink to him whom he list to name Sheriff, and forthwith the said Persival fate down at the Mayors Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Mayor himself.

The Mayors Carver chosen Sheriff of London, and by what occasion.

At this time a mean instrument attempted a great work; by which we may see, how far imaginations may out-go reason: One Richard Simond a Priest, a man of base birth, though some learning; had a Scholar of baser birth, the Son of a Shoemaker (some say a Baker) named Lambert Symnel; but of a pregnant wit, and comely personage: Him he gives out to be Edward Earl of Warwick, lately (as was said) escaped out of Prison, both of them being of like years and Stature: with this Scholar of his, he sails into Ireland, and so sets forth the matter, that not only the Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerrard Earl of Kildare, and Deputy of Ireland; but many other of the Nobility gave credit to his words; and as those that affected the House of York, were ready to take his part, and even already saluted the young Simnel King. Withal they

Lambert Symnel given forth to be Edward Earl of Warwick.

Countenanced in Ireland.



Chiefly by  
the Lady  
Margaret  
Duchess of  
Burgoyne.

Queen Elizabeth  
hath  
all her  
goods con-  
fiscated and  
her self con-  
fined.

By the Plot  
of the Earl  
of Lincoln  
and the Lady  
Margaret,  
Symnel is  
conveyed  
into Ireland,  
and there  
Crowned  
King of Eng-  
land.

1487.

they sent into *Flanders* to the Lady Margaret Sister to the late King Edward, and Widow of Charles Duke of *Burgoyne*, requiring aid and assistance from her. This Lady being of the House of York, bore an inward grudge against King Henry, being of the House of Lancaster; and therefore, though she well understood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it: and thereupon promised her assistance. King Henry being advertised of these things, advised with his Council, by whom it was agreed, that two things presently should be done. First, to grant a pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any offence whatsoever, though it were for High Treason. The next, that the Earl of *Warwick* should be openly shewed abroad in the City, and other publick places; whereby, the report spread abroad of his being in *Ireland*, might appear plainly to be false. Withal, the Queen Elizabeth, Widow of King Edward the Fourth, and Mother to the present Queen, was adjudged to forfeit all her Lands and Possessions, and to live confined in the Abbey of *Bermondsey* in *Southmark*, where in great pensiveness within a few years she died. But for what cause this severity was used against this Queen, is not altogether certain: To say (as was commonly said) that it was for rendring her self and her Daughters into the hands of King Richard, were manifest Injustice, to punish her for doing a thing out of fear, which else she should have been compelled to do by force: And to say (as some also have said) That it was for giving aid under-hand to *Perkin*, were a manifest unlikelihood, that she should aid a Counterfeit against her own Son-in-law. We must therefore content our selves with knowing the bare colourable pretext, and leave the true reason as a secret of State. But this shewing abroad of the true Earl of *Warwick*, though it satisfied some, yet not all: for some gave out that it was but a trick of the King, and not the true *Warwick*. At least the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and Elizabeth Sister to King Edward the Fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that *Symnel* was a Counterfeit. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he fled secretly into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Lady Margaret, Duchess of *Burgoyne*; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord *Lovel* should go into *Ireland*, and there attend upon the Counterfeit *Warwick* and honour him as a King, and with the power of the *Irish* men bring him into *England*: but it was concluded withal, that if their actions succeeded, then the Counterfeit *Warwick* should be deposed, and the true be delivered out of Prison, and Anointed King. And to this purpose the Earl of *Lincoln*, by the help of the Lady Margaret, had gotten together two thousand *Almains*, with one *Martin Swart*, a valiant and expert Captain, to be their Leader. With this power the Earl sailed into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin*, caused young *Lambert*, the Counterfeit *Warwick*, in most solemn manner, first to be proclaimed, and after to be Crowned King of *England*: and then with a great number of beggerly and unarmed *Irish*

men, under the conduct of the Lord Thomas Gerardine Earl of *Kildare*, they sailed into *England*, and landed at a place called the *Pile of Fowdray*, not far from *Lancaster*; hoping there by the means of Sir Thomas Broughton, a powerful man in that Countrey, to have their Army both furnished and increased. King Henry hearing that the Earl of *Lincoln* was landed at *Lancaster*, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*; and with these he marched to *Nottingham*, and there by a little Wood called *Bowres*, he pitched his Field; whither there came unto him, the Lord George Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. In which meantime the Earl of *Lincoln* being entred into *Yorkshire*, passed quietly on his journey, without doing spoil or hurt unto any; trusting thereby to have won the people to come to his aid; but when he perceived few or none to resort unto him, he then determined to venture a Battel with the Army he had already; and thereupon took his way from *York* to *Newark* upon *Trent*. King Henry understanding which way he took, came the night before the Battel, to *Newark*; and going three miles further, near to a Village called *Stoke*, there waited the approach of the Earl of *Lincoln*; so the next day they joyned Battel; where after a long fight of at the least three hours; though the *Almains*, and specially their Captain *Martin Swart*, behaved themselves most valiantly; yet their *Irish*, being in a manner but naked men, were at last overthrown, four thousand slain, and the rest put to flight, but not one of their Captains; for the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir Thomas Broughton, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord Gerardine, were all found dead in the very place where they had stood fighting; that though they lost the Battel, yet they won the reputation of hardy and stout Souldiers. Only of the Lord *Lovel*, some report, that attempting to save himself by flight, in passing over the River of *Trent*, he was drowned. On the Kings part, though some were slain, yet not any man of note. This Battel was fought on a Saturday (observed as always fortunate to King Henry) being the sixteenth of June, in the second year of King Henry's Reign. The young *Lambert* and his Master *Simond* the Priest, were both taken, and both had their lives saved: *Lambert*, because but a Child, *Simond* because a Priest; yet *Simond* was kept in prison, *Lambert* was taken into the Kings Kitchen, to turn the Spit in the turn of his fortune, and at last made one of the Kings Faulkners.

In the beginning of his third year, King Henry having been in *Yorkshire*, to settle the minds of that people, about the middle of August came to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, and from thence sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*, Richard Fox, lately before made Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir Richard Edgecomb Comptroller of his House, to conclude a Peace or Truce with James King of Scots: A Peace, by reason of the peoples backwardness, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of seven years; with a promise from the King, that it should be renewed before

King Henry  
goeth with  
an Army a-  
gainst the  
Earl of *Lin-*  
*coln*.

At *Stoke* he  
gives him  
Battel, and  
overthrows  
him.

Where he  
and divers  
other Lords  
are slain.

Saturday al-  
ways fortunate  
to King  
Henry.

*Lambert* is  
taken into  
the Kings  
Kitchen.

A Truce for  
seven years  
between  
King Henry  
and the King  
of Scots.



fore the first seven years should be expired.

At this time Ambassadors came from the King of France to King Henry; who declared, that their Master King Charles was now at War with Francis Duke of Britain, for that he succoured the Duke of Orleans and other Rebels against the Realm of France; and therefore requested, that for the old familiarity that had been between them, he would either assist him, or not assist the Duke, but stand Neuter. King Henry answered, That having received courtesies from them both, he would do his uttermost endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as soon as the French Ambassadors were departed, he sent Christopher Urswick his Chaplain over into France, who should first go to the French King, and after to the Duke of Britain, to mediate a Peace between them.

Queen Elizabeth is Crowned.

In the time of Urswick's Ambassage, King Henry caused his Wife the Lady Elizabeth to be Crowned Queen on Saint Katherine's day, in November, with all solemnity; and at the same time delivered the Lord Thomas Marquis Dorset out of the Tower, and received him again into his former favour.

A Peace between France and England.

Urswick travelled between the two Princes to procure a Peace: but they, though making a shew to incline to Peace, yet prepared for War, and offers on neither side would be accepted. In which time Edward Lord Woodville, Uncle to the Queen, made suit to the King, for leave to go over with a power of men, in aid to the Duke of Britain; which suit, though the King denied, yet the Lord Woodville would venture it; and with a power of four hundred able men, got secretly over, and joyned with the Britains against the French. This the French King took ill at King Henry's hand; but being informed that it was against the King's will, he seemed satisfied; and a Peace was concluded between France and England, to endure for twelve months. But in conclusion, King Henry finding that the French King dealt not really with him, but only held him on with pretences; he called his High Court of Parliament, requiring their advice what was fit to be done: where it was concluded, that the Duke of Britain should be aided; and to that end great summes of money were by Parliament granted. This determination of the Parliament, King Henry signifies to the French King, hoping it would have wrought him to some terms of Peace. But the King of France little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courses against the Britains, so at last, on the eight and twentieth day of July, the Britains gave Battel to the French, near to a Town called St. Aubyn; having apparelled seventeen hundred of the Britains in Coats with red Crosses, after the English fashion, to make the French men believe they were all English, although indeed they had no more English than the four hundred of the Lord Woodville's. But notwithstanding this device, the Victory fell to the French; so that all the English men almost were slain, with the Lord Woodville himself, besides six thousand Britains. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange, who were on the Britain's part, were taken Prisoners. The French lost twelve hundred men; and amongst other, that

The King of France overthrows the Duke of Britain's Army, where the Lord Woodville is slain.

valiant Italian Captain, James Galeot.

This news being brought into England, caused King Henry to make haste to send forth his Army: and thereupon the Lord Brook, with Sir John Cheyney, Sir John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Lacon, and Sir Edmund Cornwall, are sent over with all speed into Britain, having with them eight thousand men, to aid the Duke of Britain against the French. But while this War was thus set forward, the Duke of Britain died; leaving, in effect, one only Daughter, the Lady Anne (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and then the chief Rulers of Britain falling at dissention amongst themselves, little regarded the defence of the Countrey: whereupon the English returned home within five months after their setting forth; and the French King getting the upper hand of the Britains, and marrying the Lady Anne sole Daughter of the Duke of Britain, incorporated that Dutchy to the Crown of France.

The French King marries the Heir of the Duke of Britain.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidy was granted for the furnishing out an Army into Britain; and it was agreed that every man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to pay the tenth penny of his goods: which Tax the most part of Yorkshire and the Bishoprick of Durham refused to pay: whereof the Collectors complained to Henry Earl of Northumberland, President of the North parts: The Earl signifies it to the King, and the King commands him to levy the same by distress or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude multitude, hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple fellow named John a Chamber; and alledging all the fault to be in the Earl, as chief author of the Tax, they cruelly murdered both him and divers of his household-Servants. And to make good their seditious fact, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir John Egremont their Captain: declaring, That in defence of their liberties, they would bid the King battel. In this bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them; but when Thomas Earl of Surrey appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader John a Chamber was taken, and at York on a Gibbet set upon a square pair of Gallows, like an Arch-traytor, was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent people for the most part pardoned. But Sir John Egremont fled into Flanders, to the Lady Margaret Dutches of Burgundy; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King Henry. After this, the King appointed Sir Richard Tunstall to gather the Subsidy, & would not spare the payment of a penny. This year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulness; which he did at a time he needed not, to the end perhaps he might do it another time, when he needed.

The Earl of Northumberland is slain in collecting the Subsidy.

1489.

John a Chamber, Ring-leader of the Insurrection is hanged.

At this time James the third, King of Scotland,



land, having by some errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and people, laboured with King Henry, as also with the Pope, and the King of France, to make an accord between him and his people; who had compelled Prince James his Son to be the Titular head of those Arms which they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by Ambassadors; but could receive no other but this outrageous answer, That there was no talking of Peace, unless he would resign his Crown. Which answer the Kings protested against, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought it a common injury to themselves, and that the Example was not sufferable for Subjects to lift their hands against their Sovereign. Hereupon it came to a Battel at Bannocks-born by Strivelin; where King James, rashly beginning the fight before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary commandment of the Prince his Son) slain in the Mill of that field, whither he fled after the Battel ended.

James King of Scots in a Battel at Bannocks-born is slain.

About this time, a difference fell out which grew to a War, between the Emperour Frederick, and some Towns of his in Flanders, especially Gaunt and Bruges: In this War, the Lord Ravenstein a principal person about Maximilian, not only forsook the Emperour and his Son Maximilian his Lord (corrupted as was thought from France) but made himself head of the popular party, seizing upon the Towns of Ipre and Sluce: and not this only, but forthwith sent to the Lord de Cordes, Governor for the French King in Picardy, to aid him against some Towns in Flanders: To which the Lord de Cordes, willing of any occasion to set foot in Flanders, was easily drawn. But King Henry not liking to have the French so near his English pale, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men, who should joyn with the Lord Danbeny then Deputy of Callice, to resist them. Amongst other Acts by them performed, this was chief, That the Lord Danbeny, with the Lord Morley, Sir James Tyrrel Captain of Guisnes, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Humfrey Talbot Marshal of Callice, and others, to the number of two thousand, issued secretly one night out of Callice, and came to Newport, and from thence to Dixmude; where the Lord Danbeny commanded all men to send back their Horses: which the Lord Morley only refusing to do, was cause that he only of all the Captains was slain with a Gun: for the rest after their arrows discharged, fell prostrate to the ground; by which means the Enemies Ordnance over-shot them, killing only the Lord Morley that was on Horse-back. Here they slew of the Enemy to the number of eight thousand; of the English part was slain the Lord Morley, and not above a hundred more. This Victory so enrich'd the English, that they who went forth in Cloth, came home in Silk; and they who went out on foot, returned back on Horse-back. Upon this defeat, the Lord de Cordes lying at Ipre with twenty thousand, and thinking to be revenged, besieged the Town of Newport; and so strongly assaulted it, that one day his men entred, and set up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town; when suddenly a Bark arriving with

The Lord Morley slain, and by what chance.

only fourscore fresh English Archers, so terrified them, thinking their number to be far greater, that the French were glad to leave their Banner behind them, and give over the assault; and the night following, the Lord de Cordes (who so much longed for Callice, that he would commonly say, he would be content to lye seven years in Hell, so that Callice were in the possession of the French) brake up his siege, and returned to Holding with as much shame, as the English to Callice with honour.

The French frighted with a concert.

How much the French longed for Callice.

A little before this time, Francis Duke of Britain dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady Anne, affianced to Maximilian King of the Romans; and in so solemn a manner, that she taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit Maximilian's Deputy, in presence of many noble witnesses, as well men as women, to put his leg stript naked to the knee, between the Spousal-sheets; accounting that Ceremony to amount to the Consummation. The King of France likewise had been contracted to the Lady Margaret, Daughter to the foresaid Maximilian, and had received her to that end: Yet all this notwithstanding, out of a violent desire to joyn the Dutchy of Britain to the Crown of France, he disannulled and made void both the Contracts. But to the end he might do it without opposition of the King of England, he sent Ambassadors, the Lord Francis of Lutsemburgh, Charles Marignane, and Robert Caaguine, to King Henry; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King Henry's good will to make void the foresaid Contracts: to which, though King Henry was not willing to give consent, yet he consented willingly to have a Treaty for Peace; and to that end, sent over Thomas Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenstone Prior of Christ's Church in Canterbury, to the French King about it. But during this Treaty, and before conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the French King had gotten into his possession the Lady Anne of Britain, and solemnly married her. Which under-hand dealing so incensed King Henry, that he presently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the just cause he had of War with France, desiring their Benevolence to the Charge thereof; which was as readily granted as desired, and great sums of money were soon collected.

Two Contracts of Marriage, formerly made, disannulled by the King of France.

King Henry propounds to this Parliament a War with France, to which end he hath a Benevolence granted.

In the year 1491, being the sixth year of the King's Reign, on the sixth of April, the Nobility of the Realm assembled in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, where also was the Mayor and Aldermen, and principal Citizens in their Liveries: to whom Doctor Morton Lord Chancellor made an Oration, declaring from his own Letters, that the King of Spain had won the great and rich City and Countrey of Granada from the Moors, which had been in their possession above seven hundred years: and having, in places of their superstition, built Churches to the Honour of Christ, was thereupon entituled the Catholick King. For joy whereof, Te Deum was sung with great solemnity.

1491.

Granada won by the King of Spain from the Moors.

In the Month of May was holden a solemn Justing at the King's Palace of Sheen, now called Richmond, which continued the space of a month,

A Just at Sheen which continued a month.



month, sometimes within the Palace, and sometimes without, upon the Green before the Gate; in which Juffs, Sir James Parker running against a Gentleman named Hugh Vaughan, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was stricken into the mouth at the first course; so that his tongue was born to the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place.

King Henry is drawn in to France to assist the Emperour, upon promise, which the Emperour keeps not.

And now Maximilian having received back his Daughter from the King of France, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassador, one James Contibald, to King Henry, requiring him to take his part in a War against the French King; towards which he promised to provide ten thousand men with pay for two years: King Henry consented to it; and having provided himself of a puissant Army, on the sixth day of October sailed to Callice; but sending his Almoner Christopher Urswick, and Sir John Resley to Maximilian, requiring his promised Forces; they found him altogether unprovided of either men or money: which brought King Henry into a great strait what he should do. To proceed in the War with his own Forces alone, would be full of hazard: to return home without doing any thing, would bring an imputation upon him among his Subjects, as though he had used the pretence of War but as a trick to get money: at last he resolved to do something; and thereupon went and besieged Bolloigne, having in his Army, of chief Lords, Jasper Duke of Bedford, his Lieutenant General, Thomas Marquess Dorset, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, Devonshire, and Ormond; sundry Barons, as Dambeny, Aburgany, De la Ware, Zouch, Hastings, Cobham, and others. During his siege of Bolloigne (in which there were but a few slain, and none of note, but Sir John Savage, who riding to take view at what place the Town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certain French men, and by them slain) King Henry was secretly dealt with by the Lord Cordes Governor of Heynault, on the King of France's behalf, to accept of certain conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter, and Giles Lord Dambeny to conclude them; which amongst other Articles were; That King Henry, without quitting his claim to France, should, for a Peace to continue during the two Kings lives, receive in present of Charles King of France, for his charges in that War, seven hundred forty and five thousand Duckats, which in English money amounts to one hundred eighty six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and five and twenty thousand Crowns yearly, towards the expences he had been at before in aiding the Britains; which (by the English called Tribute) was duly paid, during all the King's Reign, and also to King Henry his Son afterward, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the French King, unto all King Henry's principal Councillors, great Pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted: for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace; and therefore

King Henry hath a great sum of money of the King of France, to agree to a Peace.

a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best Captains and Men of War, to advise him to a Peace under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a Supplication; that he might have it to shew for justifying himself, and to give some alay to the discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their Estates upon the hopes of the War. After the Peace thus concluded, he went to Callice, where he stayed some time; and the seventeenth of December following, came to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas.

Soon after his return, he elected into the Order of the Garter, Alphonsus Duke of Calabria; Son and Heir to Ferdinand King of Naples; to whom Christopher Urswick, the Kings Almoner, was sent to Naples to carry it; which as soon as Alphonsus had received, he apparelled himself presently in the Habit, before a great Assembly; indeed to shew what favour he was in with the King of England.

There had been disturbance in the Realm before, by a Counterfeit Son of the Duke of Clarence; but that device had two main imperfections; one, that the true Son of the Duke was forth-coming, and to be shewed openly for convincing the false; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have laid no claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of King Edward the Fourth were living: Now therefore a device is found, by which those imperfections were both of them amended: for now a Counterfeit was set on foot, who pretended to be Richard the younger Son of King Edward the Fourth: so that neither any other could be produced to convince him of being false, nor any Daughters of King Edward could hinder his Right for claiming the Crown. This device was first forged by Margaret Dutchess of Burgundy; a Woman that could never be quiet in her mind, as long as King Henry was quiet in his Kingdom: and by this device she hoped, if not to put him clean out of his seat; yet foully at least to disturb him in it; and this was the purpose of the plot: but by what instrument it was acted, by what abettours fomented, and what issue the device had, are worthy all to be related. The Dutchess having formerly given out, that Richard the younger Son of King Edward, was not murdered, but in compassion spared, and sent secretly away to seek his fortune; and having after long search gotten at last a fit Boy to personate a Prince, keeps him secretly a good time with her; in which time she so thoroughly instructed him in all Circumstances, and he afterward put them so gracefully in practice, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King Edward's Son, yet he was his Godson, and might perhaps have in him some base blood of the house of York. This Perkin Warbeck (for so was the youth's name, called Perkin; as a diminutive of Peter) when he so perfectly had learned his lesson, that he was fit to come upon the Stage, she sent him into Portugal, that coming

1493.  
The Dutchess of Burgundy sets up Perkin Warbeck, to take upon him to be Richard the younger Son of Edward, and how the plot was carried.



from a strange Countrey, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Countrey to another, for safeguard of his life, at least that she of all other might not be suspected. From Portugal she caused him to pass into Ireland, where the House of York was specially respected, in respect of the great love which Richard Duke of York, Father of King Edward the fourth, had won amongst them: by reason whereof, this Perkin, as esteemed his Grandchild, was well entertained by them, and held in great estimation. He had not been long in Ireland, when the French King sent for him: for being at that time at variance with King Henry, he thought he might make good use of Perkin, as a pretender against King Henry for the Crown. Perkin being come to Paris, was entertained in a Princely fashion; and for his more honour, had a guard assign'd him, over which the Lord Congreschal was Captain. He had not been long at Paris, when there resorted to him Sir George Nevil Bastard, Sir John Taylour, Richard Robinson, and about a hundred other English. Amongst the rest, one Stephen Fryon, that had been King Henry's Secretary for the French Tongue; but discontented, fled, and became a chief Instrument in Perkin's proceedings. But this float of Perkins lasted not long; for as soon as Peace was concluded between the two Kings, the King of France dismissed Perkin, and would keep him no longer. Then passed he secretly to his first Foundress, the Lady Margaret; who at his first coming, made a shew of suspecting him to be a Counterfeit: but causing him in great assemblies to be brought before her, as though she had never seen him before; and finding him to answer directly to all questions she put unto him: she openly professed, That she was now satisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew; and thereupon assigned a Guard of thirty persons, clothed in Murrey and Blue, and called him the White Rose of England. Upon report hereof many in England were inclined to take his part; and Sir Robert Clifford, and Robert Barclay were sent into Flanders, to acquaint the Dutchess with the peoples respect to Perkin: and indeed Sir Robert Clifford upon sight and conference with him, wrote Letters into England, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be the true Son of King Edward, by his face, and other lineaments of his body. King Henry hearing of these things, sent certain espials into Flanders, that should feign themselves to have fled to Perkin, and by that means the better search out who were of the Conspiracy with him. Whose names being returned unto the King, he caused them to be apprehended and brought to his presence: the chief of whom were John Ratcliff, Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Montford, and Sir Thomas Thwayts, Knights, William Dawbeny, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood: Also certain Priests, William Richford D. of Divinity, Thomas Boyns, D. William Sutton, William Worsley Dean of Pauls, Robert Layborn, & Richard Lisley, of whom some hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary; others were taken and condemned, as Sir Simon Montford, Robert Ratcliff, and William Dawbeny, who were all three beheaded. The Lord

Perkin is entertained by the King of France.

Perkin's assistants taken and put to death.

Fitzwater, pardoned of life, was conveyed to Callice, and there laid in hold; where seeking to make escape by corrupting his Keeper, he lost his head. Shortly after, Sir Robert Clifford, returning out of Flanders (not as some think, sent a spy from the beginning, but rather now at last, either discerning the fraud, or won by rewards) submitted himself to the King's mercy; discovering unto him, as far as he knew, all that were either open or secret abettors of the Conspiracy; amongst whom, he accused Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain: his accusation was this, That in conference between them, Sir William had said, That if he certainly knew that the young man named Perkin were the Son of King Edward the fourth, he would never fight nor bear Arms against him. These words being considered of by the Judges, seemed to express a tickle hold of Loyalty: for who could tell how soon he might be perswaded that he knew it? besides, that the uttering such an expression was in it self upon the matter, to be disloyal to King Henry; and withal it struck upon a string which had always sounded harsh in King Henry's Ears, as preferring the Title of York before that of Lancaster. Sir William being hereupon arraigned, whether trusting to the greatness of his favours, or the smallness of his fault, denied little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon confession was adjudged to die; and accordingly on the sixteenth day of February was brought to the Tower-hill, and there beheaded: after whose death, Giles Lord Dawbeny was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir William Stanley who came in to rescue the Earl of Richmond when he was in danger of his life; who set the Crown upon his head; and was the cause of his being saluted King: And could it enter into his breast, to put him to death, that had saved his life, and done him so many great services besides? But it may be said, It was not the Earl of Richmond that did it, but the King of England: for certainly, in many cases, a King is not at liberty to shew mercy, so much as a private man may. Though there be that affirm, the cause of his death was not words only; but real acts, as giving aid to Perkin underhand by money. And it seems there was some conflict in the mind of King Henry, what he should do in this case; for he stayed six weeks after his Accusation, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the Summer following, the King went in Progress to Latham, to the Earl of Derby, who had married his Mother, and was Brother to Sir William Stanley: perhaps to congratulate his own safety; perhaps to console with him his Brothers death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any sinister opinion of him; For to think that Sir William's suing to be Earl of Chester (an Honour appointed to the King's Son) or his great wealth, (for he left in his Castle at Holt in ready money forty thousand Marks, besides Plate and Jewels) were causes that procured or set forward his death; are considerations very unworthy of so just a Prince, against a servant of so great deserving.

But in this mean while Perkin having gotten a power of idle loose fellows, took to Sea,

Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain accused to partake with Perkin.

Is convicted and beheaded.



1495  
A hundred and sixty of Perkin's followers executed.

Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where, though he were repelled, yet some of his Souldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and sixty persons were taken prisoners, whereof five were Captains; *Mortford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintyn*, and *Gemyne*; The hundred and sixty persons were brought to *London*, railed in Ropes, like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon the arraignment, confessing their offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoining to the Sea-Coast. *Perkin* finding no entertainment in *Kent*, sailed into *Ireland*, and having stayed there a while, and finding them also, being a naked people, to be no competent assistants for him, from thence he sailed into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fair words and colourable pretext, (made no doubt before by the Dutcheffs of *Burgoyne*) that he received him in great state, and caused him to be called the Duke of *York*; and to perswade the world that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in marriage the Lady *Katharine Gourdon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, his own near Kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkin's* quarrel, entred with a puissant Army into *England*, making Proclamation, That whosoever would come in and aid the true Duke of *York*, should be spared; but none coming in, he then used all kind of cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: whereat *Perkin* at his return, expressed much grief, saying, It grieved him to the heart, to see such havock made of his people: To whom the King answered, Alas, alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Countrey came in to his Succour. King *Henry*, incensed with this bold attempt of the King of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necessity he had of a present War to revenge the indignity offered him by the *Scots*; and thereupon requiring their aid by money, had a Subsidy of sixscore thousand pounds readily granted him; and then in all haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny* sent into *Scotland*; but before he arrived there, he was suddenly called back by reason of a commotion begun at *Cornwal*, for payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ring-leaders of this Commotion were *Thomas Flammock* a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith; who laying the blame of this exaction upon *John Merton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Sir Reynold Bray*, as being chief of the King's Council, exhorted the people to take up Arms; and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peyrn*, one of the Commisioners for the Subsidy, and from thence came to *Wells*, intending to go to *London*, where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Dawbeny*, appointed *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* (after the death of the Lord *Dinham*, made Lord Treasurer of *England*) to have an eye to the *Scots*, and if they made invasion, to resist them. In the mean time *James Twichet* Lord *Audley* confederated himself with the Re-

bels of *Cornwal*, and took upon him to be their Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great aid, but found none; for the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Aburgain*, *John Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, *Sir Edmund Poynings*, *Sir Richard Guilford*, *Sir Thomas Bourchier*, *John Peachy*, and *William Scot*, were ready in Arms to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Black-beath*, four miles distant from *London*, and there in a Plain on the top of a hill encamped themselves; whereof when the King had knowledg, he presently sent *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas* and *Sir Humfrey Stanley* to environ the hill on all sides, that so all hope of flight might be taken from them; and then set forward himself, and encamped in *St. George's* fields; where for encouragement he made divers Bannerets. The next day he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to set upon the Rebels early in the morning, who first got the Bridge at *Debtford Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers; whose Arrows were reported to be full Cloth-yard in length; but notwithstanding, the Lord *Dawbeny* coming in with his company, and the Earls assailing them on every side, they were soon overcome: In which conflict were slain of the Rebels above two thousand, taken prisoners a very great number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none: for the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms, painted upon paper, reversed and all torn; and there on the four and twentieth day of *June* was beheaded; *Thomas Flammock* and *Michael Joseph* were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their heads and quarters pitched upon stakes, set up in *London*, and other places. Of the King's Army were slain not above three hundred. It is memorable, with what comfort *Joseph* the Blacksmith cheered up himself at his going to execution, saying, That yet he hoped by this that his name and memory should be everlasting; so dear even to vulgar spirits is perpetuity of Name, though joyned with infamy: what is it then to Noble Spirits, when it is joyned with Glory?

In the mean time the King of *Scots*, taking advantage of these troubles in *England*, invaded the Frontiers, foraged the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham*; whereof *Richard Fox* then Bishop of *Durham* was owner; who thereupon sent presently to the Earl of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this Invasion: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him *Ralph* Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas* Lord *Barns*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, *George* Lord *Strange*, many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little less than twenty thousand men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brook* was Admiral, set forward against the *Scots*, and not only forced the *Scots* to raise the siege of *Norham* Castle; but followed them also into *Scotland*; where he overthrew and defaced the Castle at *Cawdestrains*, the Tower of *Heten-hall*, the Tower of *Edington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at last by composition took the strong Castle of *Hayton*, and rased it to the ground.

The Lord *Audley* confederate with the Rebels.

The Rebels are overthrown.

The Lord *Audley* beheaded, *Flammock* and *Joseph* the Smith hanged and quartered.

1496.

The King of *Scots* invades the Frontiers, but is repelled.



At the Earls being at *Hayton*, the King of *Scots* sent to him *Marchmont* and another Herald, requiring him at his Election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or else they two to fight with him in single combat; upon condition, that if the victory fell to the *Scottish* King, the Earl should deliver for his Ransom the Town of *Berwick*: Whereunto the Earl made answer, That the Town of *Berwick* was the King his Masters, and therefore not for him to dispose of; but for his offer of single Combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himself highly honoured by such a match: But King *James* of *Scotland* had no meaning to perform either one or other, but privily in the night fled back into *Scotland*, and then the Earl returned to *Berwick*. In the mean time, one *Peter Hyalus*, a man of great learning and policy, was sent Ambassadour to the King of *Scots*, from the King of *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; who finding the King of *Scots* conformable to his motion, found after, the King of *England* (who was never averse from Peace upon honourable Conditions) no less inclining to it: and so a Truce was concluded for certain years; upon condition, that *Perkin Warbeck* should be sent out of the *Scottish* Dominions.

A Truce between King Henry and the King of Scots.

About this time the Lord *Camphyre*, and others sent from *Philip* Archduke of *Austria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to King *Henry* for a conclusion of Amity, and to procure the *English* Merchants resort again to his Countrey; for King *Henry* sometime before, upon displeasure with the *Flemings*, but specially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*, not only had banished all *Flemish* Wares and Merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had also restrained all *English* Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, causing the Mart for all *English* Commodities to be kept at *Calice*: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hinderance to his own Merchant-Adventurers, and thereupon some Insurrections had risen, he willingly condescended to their request, and so the *English* resorted again to the Archdukes Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with general Procession: so glad was that Town of the *English* mens returns.

In the eleventh year of this Kings Reign died *Cicely* Dutcheß of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, at her Castle of *Berkamstead*, being of extream age; who had lived to see three Princes of her Body Crowned, and four Murthered: she was buried at *Foderingham* by her Husband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the *Scottish* Dominions: who thereupon with his Wife and Family sailed into *Ireland*: where understanding that the *Cornish* men were ready to renew the War again, he thought best not to let pass so fair an occasion; and thereupon, having with him four small Ships, and not above sixscore men, he sailed into *Cornwal*, and there landed in the month of *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*; where with fair words, and large promi-

*Perkin* thrust out of *Scotland*, sailed into *Ireland*, and from thence came into *Cornwal*, and there gets Forces.

ses he so prevailed with the people, that he had gotten to him above three thousand persons to take his part; and then made Proclamations in the name of King *Richard* the Fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the fourth: and, by the advice of his three Counsellors; *John Heron* a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Taylor, and *John Astley* a Scrivener, determined to attempt first the winning of *Exeter*; which with great violence he assaulted, and the Townsmen with as great valiantness defended: whereof when the King heard, he sent the Lord *Darweny* to their rescue: but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and the valiant Lord *William* his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halewel*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecomb*, *William St. Maure*, with others, came to their aid: upon whose coming *Perkin* left the siege, and retired to *Taunton*; where he mustered his men, as though he meant to prepare for Battel: but finding his number to be much diminished (for of six thousand which he had at *Exeter*, many were fled from him, when they saw no great ones to take his part) he began to distrust his case; and hearing withal, that the King with a great Power was at hand, about midnight with threescore Horsemen in his company, he departed in post from *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beaully* near to *Southampton*. When King *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled, he sent after him to the Sea side, to stop his passage, and apprehend him: But the Messengers that were sent, when they came to *St. Michaels Mount*, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his Wife the Lady *Katherine Gourdon*, whom they presently brought to the King; a beautiful young Lady; to whom, in honour of her birth, and commiseration of her beauty, the King allowed a competent maintenance, which she enjoyed during the King's life, and many years after. King *Henry*, being come to *Exeter*, stayed there a few days; about examination of the Rebellion, and execution of the chief Offenders: of whom there being a great multitude, and all of them craving pardon, the King caused them all to be assembled in the Church-yard of *St. Peter*, where they all appeared bare-headed in their shirts, and halts about their necks: whom the King viewing out of a window made for the purpose, after he had paused a while, made a speech unto them, exhorting them to obedience; and then in hope they would afterward be dutiful Subjects he pardoneth them all: whereat they made a great shout, crying all, God save King *Henry*! though some of them afterward, like ungrateful wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

Followed by the King's Forces, he takes Sanctuary at *Beaully*.

King *Henry* pardons *Perkin's* followers.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary: and the King, thinking himself in danger as long as he was in safety, set a Guard about the place, to keep him from escaping; whereby *Perkin* was so restrained, that at last he submitted himself to the King's mercy, and was thereupon sent to the Tower, to be there in safe custody. This done, King *Henry* appointed *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Paulet*, and *Robert Sherburn* Dean of *Pauls*, to be Commissioners for

*Perkin* submits himself to King *Henry*, and is sent to the Tower.



for making enquiry of the Offenders, and for assessing their Fines, which they did with great severity to some, with great mildness to others, to all with equity.

1499. It was now the fourteenth year of the King's Reign, when one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Genovese's* Son, born at *Bristow*, perswaded the King to Man and Victual a Ship at *Bristow*, to search for an Island, which (he said) he knew to be replenished with rich Commodities; who setting forth with three other small Ships of *London-Merchants*, returned home two years after, when he had made a large discovery Westward, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Mariners had not forced him to return; as likewise six years before, one *Christopher Columbus* a *Spaniard*, made the first discovery of *America*.

*Perkin* being in the *Tower*, and carefully guarded, yet found means to escape; and fled to the Priory of *Sheen*, near *Richmond*; where discovering himself to the Prior of that Monastery, he begged of him for God's sake to get the King's Pardon for his life; which the Prior effected: but then was *Perkin* brought to the Court at *Westminster*, and was one day set fettered in a pair of Stocks before *Westminster-Hall*, and there stood a whole day: the next day he was set upon a like Scaffold in *Cheapside*; and there standing the whole day also, he then read openly his Confession, written with his own hand; wherein he declared his Parentage, and the place of his Birth, and all the passages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed again to the *Tower*, and care taken he should be better looked to than he was before. But all the care notwithstanding once again *Perkin* attempted to escape; and drawing into a confederacy with him the young Earl of *Warwick*; by fair words and large promises so corrupted his Keepers, *Strangwish*, *Blenet*, *Aitwood*, and *Long Roger*, Servants to Sir *John Digby* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, that they intended to have slain their Master, and set *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* at liberty: But this practice was soon discovered, so that *Perkin* and *John a Water*, sometime Mayor of *Cork* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkin's* chief Folders, were on the sixteenth day of *November* arraigned at *Westminster* and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged; where *Perkin* took it upon his death, that the Confession he had formerly made, was true: soon after also *Blenet* and *Aitwood*, two of the Lieutenants men were in the same place executed.

On the one and twentieth day of the same month, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was arraigned at *Westminster* before the Earl of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for consenting to break Prison, but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise Sedition, and destroy the King; and, upon his Confession, had Judgment, and on the eight and twentieth day of the same month, in the year 1499, was brought to the Scaffold on the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. This Earl of *Warwick* was the eldest Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, and was the last Heir-male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been kept in the *Tower* from his very infancy out of

all company of Men, and fight of Beasts; so as he scarcely knew a Hen from a Goose, nor one Beast from another; and therefore could never know how to practise his escape of himself, but by *Perkins's* subtilty: for which cause the King favoured him so far, that he was not buried in the *Tower*, but at *Bissam* by his Ancestors. And thus ended the designs of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdom and the King the space of seven or eight years, a great part of the King's Reign.

But in the time of *Perkin's* being in the *Tower*, another like practice was set on foot: for an *Augustine* Frier called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford*, a Cordwainer's Son, he caused him to take upon him to be the Earl of *Warwick*, lately by great chance gotten out of the *Tower*; and they going together into *Kent*, when the Frier perceived some light credit to be given to him, he then stuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, desiring all men to assist him. But this practice was soon discovered, and both the Master and the Scholar were apprehended and attainted, the Scholar *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrove-Tuesday* at *St. Thomas Waterings*, & the Frier was condemned to perpetual prison: for at that time so much reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Priest, though he had committed Treason against the King, yet had his life spared: And this practice was some cause to exasperate the King against the Earl of *Warwick*, who though innocent in himself, yet was nocent in pretenders: and besides *K. Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the King in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his Son's succession, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived: & thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

In the fifteenth year of his Reign, partly to avoid the danger of the Plague, then reigning in *England*; but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgoyne* about many important businesses; the King and Queen sailed over to *Callice*, where at an interview between him and the Duke, at *St. Peter's Church* without *Callice*, the Duke offered to hold the King's stirrup at his alighting, which the King by no means would permit, but descending from horse-back, they embraced with great affection: and after communication between them, the King and Queen in the end of *June* returned into *England*.

In his seventeenth year two great Marriages were solemnized: the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* was sent by her Father King *Ferdinand*, with a puissant Armada of Ships into *England*; where she arrived at *Plymouth* the second day of *October*; and, on the fourteenth of *November* after, was espoused openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white; he of the age of fifteen years, she of eighteen, at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night: when morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for drink, which before time he had not used to do; whereof one of his Chamberlains asking him the cause, he answered merrily, saying, I have been this night in the midst of *Spain*, which is a hot Countrey, and that

Another practice to set up one *Ralph Wilford* to be the Earl of *Warwick*.

But the practice discovered, and *Wilford* hanged.

1500.

King *Henry* fails to *Callice* to confer with the Duke of *Burgoyne*.

1502.

Prince *Arthur* espouseth the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*: and lye together all night.

*Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, for plotting with *Perkin* is beheaded.



The King of  
Scots marries  
the Lady  
Margaret,  
King Henry's  
eldest  
Daughter.

Prince Ar-  
thur within  
five months  
after his  
marriage  
died.

His toward-  
liness in  
learning.

Prince Henry  
not above  
twelve  
years old is  
contracted  
to the Lady  
Katharine his  
Brother's  
Widow, by  
dispensation  
from the  
Pope.

that makes me so dry: though some write, that a grave Matron was laid in bed between them, to hinder actual Consummation. The Ladies portion was Two hundred thousand Duckets, her Joynture the third part of the Principality of *Wales, Cornwall, and Chester*. At this Marriage was great solemnity and Royal Justings: during which time there came into *London* an Earl, a Bishop, and divers other Noble Personages sent from the King of *Scots* for a conclusion of Marriage (before treated of) between the Lady *Margaret* the King's eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl, by Proxy in the name of King *James* his Master, affianced and contracted the said Lady; which Contract was published at *Paul's Cross*, the day of the Conversion of *Saint Paul*; for joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and great fires were made through the City of *London*; And if such joy were made when the Match was made, what joy should be made now at the issue of the Match, when by the Union of those persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms; and *England* and *Scotland* are but one *Great Britain*? The Ladies portion was Ten thousand pounds, her joynture Two thousand pounds a year, after King *James* his death; and in present One thousand. When this Match was propounded at the Council-Table, some Lords opposed it; objecting, that by this means the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the *Scottish* Nation. To which King *Henry* answered, What if it should? It would not be an accellion of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *England*. And this answer of the King passed for an Oracle: and so the Match proceeded, & in *August* following was consummate at *Edenburgh*, and she conducted thither in great state by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Prince *Arthur* after his marriage, was sent again into *Wales* to keep that Country in good order; to whom were appointed for Counsellors, Sir *Richard Pool* his Kinsman and chief Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Philips*, Sir *William Udal*, Sir *Thomas Englefield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Wallerston*, *Henry Marton*, and Doctor *William Smith* President of his Council; but within five months after his marriage, at his Castle at *Ludlow*, he deceased, and with great solemnity was buried at the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*. His Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was stayed from the Title of Prince of *Wales* the space of half a year, till to women it might appear, whether the Lady *Katharine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur*, was with child or no. The towardliness in learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable; who dying before the age of sixteen years, was said to have read over all or most of the Latin Authors, besides many other.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* left a young Widow; King *Henry* loth to part with her Dowry, but chiefly being desirous to continue the Alliance with *Spain*, prevailed with his other Son Prince *Henry*, though with some reluctance, such as could be in those years (for he was scarce twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katharine* his Brother's Widow: for which marriage, a dispensation, by advice of the most Learned men at that time in *Christendom*, was

by Pope *Julius* the second granted, and on the five and twentieth day of *June*, in the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s house in *Fleetstreet*, the marriage was solemnized.

A little before this time, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Lady *Elizabeth* Silter to King *Edward* the Fourth, had in his fury killed a mean person, and was thereupon indicted of Murder; for which, although he had the King's Pardon, yet because he was brought to the King's Bench-Bar, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a blemish to his Honour, that in great rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned again. But after the marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine*, whether it were that in that solemnity he had run himself in debt, or whether he were drawn to do so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second time, with his Brother *Richard*, into *Flanders*. This put the King into some doubt of his intention; whereupon he had recourse to his usual course in such cases, and sent Sir *Robert Curson* Captain of *Hamme* Castle, to feign himself one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the depth of their intentions: and to take away all suspicion of his employment, the first Sunday of *November* he caused the said Earl and Sir *Robert Curson*, with five others, to be accursed openly at *Paul's Cross*, as enemies to him and his Realm. In conclusion, Sir *Robert Curson* acquainted the King with divers of that Faction; amongst whom, *William* Lord *Courtney*, and *William de la Pool*, Brother to the foresaid Earl of *Suffolk*, who were taken but upon suspicion, yet held long in Prison: but Sir *James Tyrrel* (the same that had murdered the two young Princes in the *Tower*) and Sir *John Windham*, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly attainted, and on the sixth day of *May*, at the *Tower-hill* beheaded. Whereof when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good success, he wandered about all *Germany* and *France*, where finding no succour, he submitted himself at last to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, by whom afterward he was delivered to King *Henry*, by this occasion: *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, by his Wife *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof named *Jane*, was married to this *Philip* Duke of *Austria*; the younger named *Katharine*, to *Arthur* Prince of *England*; and now Queen *Isabella* being lately dead, by whose death the Kingdom of *Castile* descended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke *Philip*; they were sailed out of *Germany* into *Spain*, to take possession of the Kingdom; but by tempest and contrary winds were driven upon the Coast of *England*, and landed at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*; where desiring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (a principal Knight in that Countrey) to his house, who presently sent word to the King of their arrival. King *Henry* glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a courtesie from him, which afterward he obtained; sent presently the Earl of *Arun- del* to wait upon him, till himself might follow;

*Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk* his courtesie by which he offended King *Henry*, and what his end was.



follow; and the Earl went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant Troop of three hundred Horse, and for more state came to him by Torch-light. Upon whose Message, though King Philip had many reasons of haste on his journey; yet not to give King Henry distaste; and withal, to give his Queen the comfort of seeing the Lady Katharine her Sister; he went upon speed to the Queen at Windsor, while his Queen followed by easie Journeys. After great magnificence of entertainment, King Henry taking a fit opportunity, and drawing the King of Castile into a room, where they two only were private; and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, said unto him, Sir, you have been saved upon my Coast; I hope you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours. The King of Castile asking him what he meant by that speech? I mean it (saith the King) by that hare-brain'd fellow the Earl of Suffolk, who being my Subject, is protected in your Countrey, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it. The King of Castile answered, I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him. King Henry replied, that his desire was to have him delivered to him: With this the King of Castile a little confused, said, That can I not do with my Honour. Well then (said the King) the matter is at an end. At last the King of Castile, who held King Henry in great estimation, composing his countenance, said, Sir, you shall have him; but upon your Honour, you shall not take his life. I promise it upon my Honour, said King Henry: And he kept his promise, for he was not put to death during all his Reign; but yet he took such order, that in the Reign of his Son King Henry the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the King of Castile's being here, a Treaty was concluded, and bears date at Windsor; which the Flemings term *Intercursus malus*, for that the free Fishing of the Dutch upon the Coasts and Seas of England, granted in the Treaty of Undecimo, was not by his Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now when King Henry had received the King of Castile into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son Prince Henry admitted to the Order of the Golden-Fleece; and that the Earl of Suffolk was brought over and committed to the Tower, the King of Castile departed home.

Two Calls of Serjeants at Law.

In this King's time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law; one in his eleventh year, in which were called nine Serjeants, Mordant, Higham, Kingesmil, Conisby, Butler, Taxely, Fromick, Oxenbridge, and Constable; who kept their Feast at the Bishop of Ely's Palace in Holborn, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twentieth year, in which were called seven Serjeants, Robert Brudnel, William Grevil, Thomas Marow, George Edgore, Lewis Pollard, Guy Palmes, and William Fairfax, who kept their Feast at the Archbishop's House in Lambeth.

King Henry having gotten as much honour as the estimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intentive to getting of wealth; wherein he quickly found Instruments fit for his purpose; but especially two,

Empson and Dudley, both Lawyers, and both of them Barons of the Exchequer: Dudley of a goodly Family, but Empson the Son of a Sieve-maker. These two persons being put in authority, turned Law and Justice into Rapine. For first, their manner was, to cause divers Subjects to be indicted of Crimes, and then presently to commit them; and not produce them to their answer, but suffer them to languish long in prison; and by sundry artificial devices and terror, extort from them great Fines, which they termed Compositions and Mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the half face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictment; but sent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves and some others at their private houses, and there used to shuffle up a Summary proceeding by examination, without trial of Jury; assuming to themselves, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and Controversies Civil. Then did they also use to intral and charge the Subjects Land with Tenures in *Capite*, by finding false Offices; refusing upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false Offices; as by Law they might. Nay the King's Wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have Livery of their Lands, without paying excessive Fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. When men were out-lawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens Lands and Rents during the space of full two years, for a Pain in case of Outlawry. They would also ruffle with Jurors, and enforce them to find as they would direct; and if they did not, then convent, imprison, and fine them. These and many other courses they had of preying upon the people: but their principal working was upon Penal Statutes; wherein they considered not whether the Law was obsolete, or in use; and had ever a rabble of Promoters and leading Jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found, either for fact or valuation. There remaineth to this day a report, that K. Henry was on a time entertained very sumptuously by the Earl of Oxford, at his Castle of Heningham: and at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants stood in their Livery-coats with Cognisances, ranged on both sides, to make the King a lane. Whereupon the King called the Earl to him, and said, My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality; but I see it is greater than is spoken; these handfom Gentlemen and Yeomen whom I see on both sides of me, are sure your Menial Servants. At which the Earl smiled, and said, It may please your Grace, That were not for mine ease; they are most of them my Retainers, and are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace. Whereat the King started a little, and said: By my faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my sight: my Attorney

Empson and Dudley King Henry's Instruments for raising of money, and by what unjust courses.

Chiefly upon Penal Statutes.

The Earl of Oxford entertains King Henry to his cost.



torney must speak with you about it. And it is part of the Report, that it cost the Earl for a composition, fifteen thousand Marks. And to shew further the King's extream diligence, I remember (saith Sir Francis Bacon, Lord of Verulam, in his History) to have seen long since a Book of Accompt of Empson's, that had the King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing: and was in some places postilled in the Margent with the King's own hand likewise, where was this remembrance:

*Item, Received of such a one five Marks for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid, except the party be some other way satisfied.*

And over-against this Memorandum (of the King's own hand) *Otherwise satisfied.* This (saith he) I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness.

1508.

In his three and twentieth year there was a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel, now the second time, for misgovernment in his Mayoralty. The great matter was, that in some payments he had taken notice of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine who were the Offenders: for which, and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds; whereof, being a man of stomach, he refused to pay a farthing; and thereupon was sent to the Tower, where he remained until the King's death. Knefworth likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuses in their Offices questioned and imprisoned, and not delivered but upon payment of one thousand four hundred pounds. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand pounds; & Sir Lawrence for refusing to pay it, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place. By these courses he accumulated so great store of Treasure, that he left at his death most of it in secret places, under his own key, and keeping, at Richmond (as is reported) the sum of near 18 hundred thousand pounds sterling. But though by this course he got great store of Treasure, yet by it he lost the best Treasure (the peoples hearts) but that he something qualified it by his last Testament, commanding that Restitution should be made of all such moneys as had unjustly been levied by his Officers.

King Henry at his death leaves eighteen hundred thousand pounds

King Henry had concluded to marry the Lady Margaret Dutcheſs Dowager of Savoy; but protracted by reason of his Infirmitie.

It seems King Henry, after the death of his Queen the Lady Elizabeth, had an inclination to marry again; and hearing of the great Beauty and Vertue of the young Queen of Naples, the Widow of Ferdinando the younger, he sent three confident persons, Francis Marſin, James Braybrook, and John Stile, to make two enquiries; one of her Person and Conditions, the other of her Estate: who returning their answer, that they found her Beauty and Vertues to be great, but her Estate to be only a certain Pension or Exhibition, and not the Kingdom of Naples, as he expected; he then gave over any further medling in that matter. After this, another Treaty of Marriage was propounded to the King between him and the Lady Margaret Dutcheſs Dowager of Savoy, only Daughter to Maximilian, and Sister

to the King of Castile; a Lady wife and of great fame: in which business was employed, for his first piece, the King's then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate, Thomas Woolsey. It was in the end concluded, with ample conditions for the King, but with the promise *de futuro* only. Which Marriage was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the King; which held him by fits till he died.

He left Executors, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and Treasurer of England, Edward Earl of Worcester, and Lord Chamberlain, John F. Knight, chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Robert R. Knight, chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. A little before his death he had concluded a Marriage (in which negotiation Fox Bishop of Winchester was employed) between his younger Daughter the Lady Mary, of the age of ten years, and Charles King of Castile, not much elder: but though concluded, yet not solemnized; and she was afterward married to Lewis the French King.

King Henry's Executors.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN his third year there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in Britain, That every man should pay the tenth penny of his Goods: which Tax though at first withstood in Yorkshire and Durham, yet was afterward levied to the uttermost. In his seventh year, towards his Wars in France, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted, by which great summes of money were collected of the richer sort only. In his eleventh year, a Subsidy of sixscore thousand pounds was granted him by Parliament, towards his Wars with Scotland, which caused afterward the Insurrection in Cornwall. In his nineteenth year a Subsidy was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth year he raised great sums of money from Offenders against Penal Statutes: the greatest, but the unjustest way for raising of money, that ever any King of England used; and not content with this, he required, and had at the same time a Benevolence both from the Clergy and Laity. To the Clergy was employed Rich. Fox, then Bishop of Winchester: who assembling the Clergy before him, exhorted them to be liberal in their Contribution; but the Clergy being of two sorts, rich and poor, made each of them several excuses: The rich, and such as had great Livings, said, they were at great charges in keeping Hospitality, and maintaining their Families; and therefore desired to be spared. The poor sort alledged, that their Means were small, and scarce able to find them necessities, and therefore desired to be forborn. But the Bishop answered them both with a pretty Dilemma, saying to the rich, It is true, you live at great charges in Hospitality, in Apparel, and other demonstrations of your wealth; and seeing you have store to spend in that order, there is no reason but for your Prince's service you should do it much more, and therefore you must pay. To the poorer sort he said, Though your Livings be small, yet your frugality is great, and you spend not in house-keeping and apparel as others do; therefore be content, for you shall pay.

Bishop Fox's Dilemma to draw the Clergy to contribute to the King.

Of



Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Yeomen of  
the guard  
when first  
ordained.

**T**His King was the first that ordain'd a company of tall strong men (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to be attending about the person of the King, to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his time the authority of the Star-Chamber, which subsisted before by the Common-Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain cases by Act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent general Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be final, and conclude all strangers rights: Another for admission of poor suitors, *in forma pauperis*, without paying Fee to Counsellor, Attorney, or Clerk. Another, that no person that did assist by Arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or Attainted either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void, and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the sums which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murtherers should be burnt on the Brawn of the left hand, with the Letter M; and Thieves with the Letter T: so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but be put to death; and this to reach also to Clerks Convict. In his fifth year, it was ordained by Parliament, That the Mayors of London should have Conservation of the River of Thames, from the Bridge of Stanes to the Waters of Tendale and Medway. In his seventeenth, John Shaw Mayor of London caused his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the Guild-hall to the water-side, when he went to Westminster to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caused the Kitchens and other houses of Office to be builded at the Guild-hall; where since that time the Mayors Feast hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylors Hall. In his eighteenth year, King Henry being himself a Brother of the Taylors Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henry the sixth, Henry the fifth, Henry the fourth, and Richard the second; also of Dukes 11, Earls 28, Lords 48; he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant-Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever.

The Mayors  
Feast when  
first kept at  
Guild-hall.

The Title of  
Merchant-  
Taylors  
when first  
given.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

**I**N the tenth year of his Reign, Jane Bough-ton Widow, was burnt in Smithfield for holding certain opinions of John Wickliff. In his seventh year, King Henry, finding great inconvenience by the privilege of Sanctuaries, wrote to Pope Alexander, desiring him by his authority to adjudge all English men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treason, to be enemies of the Christian Faith; and to prohibit the privilege of Sanctuary to all such as once had enjoyed it before. Which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year, being the year 1500, a Jubilee in Rome was

The privilege of  
Sanctuaries  
abated.

celebrated; whereof Alexander the then Pope, by his Messenger Gaspar Pons a Spaniard, gave notice to the King; offering withal, that those who could not come to Rome, should notwithstanding at a certain price have pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee; as if they came: and to the end the King should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the King, and also promised to bestow it upon a War against the Turk; by which course he gathered great sums, for which he had other use than to spend it so idly. In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope Alexander the sixth died of Poyson; by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard near the Vatican; where his Son Valentino meaning to Poyson Adrian Cardinal of Cornetta, sent thither certain flaggons of Wine infected with Poyson, and delivered them to a servant of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope coming in something before Supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season; called for drink, his own provision being not yet come: The servant that had the poysoned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son Valentino came in, and drank also of the same; whereby they were both poysoned: but the Pope only overcome of the Poyson, died; his Son by the strength of youth bare it out, though with long languishing.

Pope Alexander the sixth poysoned, by what chance.

Works of Piety and other Structures by him and others.

**T**His King magnificently enlarged Greenwich, which Humphrey Duke of Gloucester had formerly builded, calling it Placentia. In his sixteenth year he new builded his Mannor of Sheen, and named it Richmond. He also new builded Baynards Castle in London. In his two and twentieth year, he finished the goodly Hospital of the Savoy near Charing-cross, to which he gave Lands for the relieving of two hundred poor people. This was first called Savoy-place, built by Peter Earl of Savoy, Father to Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury; about the nine and twentieth year of Henry the third, who made the said Peter Earl of Richmond. The house belonged since to the Duke of Lancaster, and at this time was converted to an Hospital, retaining still the first name of the Savoy. In this Kings time, John Morton being Bishop of Ely, bestowed great cost upon his House at Hatfield in Hertfordshire; now the House of the Right Honourable the Earl of Salisbury; and at Wisbich-Castle in Cambridgeshire, a house belonging to that See; all the Brick building was of his charge: being afterward Bishop of Canterbury, he bestowed great sums in repairing and augmenting his houses at Maidstone, Alington-Park, Charing, Ford, Lambeth, and specially at Knoll in Kent, where he died: King Henry also builded three houses of Franciscan Friers, which are called Observants: one at Richmond; another at Greenwich, a third at Newark; and three others of Franciscan-Friers; which are called Conventuals, one at Canterbury;

Greenwich enlarged by King Henry's Richmond new builded.

The Savoy made an Hospital.

K k another



another at *Newcastle*, and a third at *Southampton*, And drawing near his end, he did these works of Charity: He granted a general Pardon to all men, for any offence committed against any of his Laws, Thieves and Murderers only excepted: He paid also all Fees of all Prisoners in all Goals in and about *London*, abiding there for that cause only. He paid also the Debts of all such persons as lay in the Counters or Ludgate for forty shillings or under, and some also for ten pounds. In his eighteenth year, the Chappel of our Lady, above the East-side of the High Altar at *Westminster-Church*, with a Tavern called the *White-Rose* near adjoining, was taken down in which place a most beautiful Chappel was then presently begun to be builded by King *Henry*: the charges whereof amounted to the sum of fourteen thousand pounds (as *Stow* witnesseth.) In his second year, the great Conduit in *Cheapside* at the charges of *Thomas Ilam* Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Cross also in *Cheapside* was new builded; towards the charges whereof, *Thomas Fisher*, Mercer, gave five hundred Marks. In his seventh year, the Conduit in *Grace-street* was begun to be builded by the Executors of *Sir Thomas Hill*, Grocer, late Mayor of *London*. Also this year, *Hugh Clapton* Mayor of *London*, builded the great Bridge of *Stratford* upon *Avon*; as likewise a fair Chappel toward the South-end of that Town; and near unto the same, a pretty house of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life. He glazed also the Chancel of the Parish-Church in that Town; and made a way of four miles long, three miles from *Alisbury* towards *London*, and one mile beyond *Alisbury*. In his tenth year, *John Tate* Mayor of *London*, builded the Church of *St. Antonies*, with a Free-School, and certain Alms-houses for poor men. In his time his Mother the Lady *Margaret*, Countess of *Richmond*, builded two Colledges in *Cambridge*, one called *Christs Colledge*, the other *St. Johns*; and endowed them with large possessions for the maintenance of learning: *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, founded *Corpus Christi Colledge* in *Oxford*; and *William Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Brazen-nose Colledge*: He also builded at *Litchfield* an Hospital, for a Master, two Priests, and ten poor men; as likewise a Free-School, with a School-Master, and an Usher. *Anne Aveling* gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Cicester*. In his time also, *John Alcock* Bishop of *Ely*, builded *Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge*; and in his two and twentieth year *Tho. Knesworth* Mayor of *London* builded the Conduit at *Bishopsgate* at his own charge; and gave to the Fishmongers certain Tenements; for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them four pounds a year: also to poor people and Prisoners in *Ludgate* something yearly. In his twentieth year, *Sir William Capel* Mayor of *London*, caused all *Hounsdlitch* to be paved over, which till that time had lien very noyously to all travellers that way. In his fourteenth year all the Gardens without *Moor-gate* (which had continued time out of mind) were destroyed; and of them was made a plain Field for

Archers to shoot in. In this Kings time also, *Thomas Savage*, Archbishop of *York*, repaired the Castle of *Camwood*, and the Mannor of *Seroby*, and founded the Chappel at *Maclesfield* in *Cheshire*, where he was born. Also in his time *Stephen Gennings*, Mayor of *London*, founded a Free Gramar-School at *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire*, where he was born; and gave Lands sufficient for a Master and an Usher, leaving the over-sight to the Merchant-Taylors in *London*. This Town of *Wolverhampton*, commonly so called, is originally and rightly called *Wilfrunehampton*, upon this occasion: The Town was anciently called *Hampton*, to which a Noble Woman named *Wilfrune*, a Widow, sometime Wife of *Athelm* Duke of *Northampton*, obtained of King *Ethelred*, to give Lands to the Church there which she had founded; and thereupon the Town took the addition of the said *Wilfrune*. In this Kings time also *John Colet* Dean of *Pauls*, founded *Pauls School* in the Church-yard there.

*Wolverhampton* why so called.

*Pauls School* first founded.

#### Casualties happening in his time.

IN his first year happened the Sicknefs called the Sweating-Sicknefs; which though it continued not long, yet took away many thousands. And in his two and twentieth year the like Sweating-Sicknefs happened again, but, by reason of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

Two Sweating Sicknefs.

In his second year Wheat was sold for three shillings the Quarter, Bay-salt at the like price. In his seventh year Wheat was sold at *London* for twenty pence the bushel, which was counted a great Dearth. In his tenth year Wheat was sold at *London* for six-pence the bushel, Bay-salt for three pence half-peny, *Nantwich* Salt for six-pence, white Herrings nine shillings the barrel, red Herrings three shillings the Cade, red Sprats six-pence the Cade, and *Gascoigne* Wines for six pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth year *Gascoigne* Wine was sold at *London* for forty shillings the Tun, a Quarter of Wheat four shillings, and Bay-salt four pence the Bushel.

The price of Corn and other things in his time.

The two and twentieth of *August*, 1485, the very day that King *Henry* got the Victory of King *Richard*, a great fire was in *Bread-street* in *London*, in which was burnt the Parson of *St. Mildreds*, and one other man in the Parsonage there.

In his tenth year, in digging a new Foundation in the Church of *St. Mary-Hill* in *London*, the body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred seventy five years before, was found whole of skin, and the joynts of her Arms pliable; which Corps was kept above ground four days, without annoyance, and then again buried.

A dead body found whole of skin above a hundred years after it was buried.

In his twelfth year, on *Bartholomew-day*, at the Town of *St. Needs* in *Bedfordshire*, there fell Hail-stones that were measured eighteen Inches about.

Hail stones 18 Inches about.

In his thirteenth year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, suddenly in the night brake out a fire in the Kings Lodgings, being then at his Mannor of *Sheen*; by violence whereof, a great part of the old building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparel, Plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth year, the Town of *Brabam* in *Nor-*

*Nor-*

The Cross in *Cheapside* new builded.

The Conduit in *Grace-street* builded.

*Christs Colledge*, and *Saint Johns* in *Cambridge* founded.

*Corpus Christi Colledge*, and *Brazen-nose* in *Oxford* founded.

*Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge* founded.

*Hounsdlitch* was first paved.



Norfolk was burnt: also this year a great Plague happened, whereof many people died in many places, but specially in London, where there died in that year thirty thousand.

In his twentieth year, Allum which for many years had been sold for six shillings a hundred, rose to five Nobles a hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth year the City of Norwich was well-near consumed with fire. Also in the same year, in July, a Gallery new builded at Richmond, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an hour before, fell suddenly down, yet no man hurt.

The great Tempest which drave King Philip into England, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of Pauls; and in the fall, it fell upon a sign of the black Eagle, which was in Pauls Church-yard, in the place where the School-house now standeth; and battered it, and brake it down. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognostick upon the Imperial House; as indeed it proved: for this King Philip being the Emperours Son, arriving in Spain; sickned soon after; and being but thirty years of age, deceased: upon whose decease, his Wife Queen Jane (out of her tender love to him) fell distracted of her Wits.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married Elizabeth eldest Daughter of King Edward the Fourth, being of the age of nineteen years; whom two years after his Marriage he caused to be Crowned. She lived his Wife eighteen years, and died in Childbed in the Tower of London, the eleventh of February, the very day in which she was born: and is buried at Westminster, in the Magnificent Chappel and rich monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had Issue by her, three Sons and four Daughters: his eldest Son Arthur was born at Winchester, the twentieth day of September, in the second year of his Reign, and died at Ludlow, at fifteen years old and a half: and of this short life some cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth month after conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Maries in Worcester, where in the South-side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son Henry was born at Greenwich in Kent, on the two and twentieth day of June, in the seventh year of his Fathers Reign; and succeeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son Edmund was born in the tenth year of his Fathers Reign, and died at five years of age, at Bishops Husfield, and lies buried at St. Peters in Westminster. His eldest Daughter Margaret was born the nine and twentieth day of November, the fifth year of her Fathers Reign: and at fourteen years of age was married to James the fourth King of Scotland; unto whom she bare three Sons, James the fifth, Arthur and Alexander, and one Daughter; which three last died all of them young; and after the death of her Husband King James (slain at Flodden-field in fight against the English) she was re-married to Archibald Douglass Earl of Angus, in the

Queen Elizabeth died the very day in which she was born.

Born in the eighth month not long liv'd.

Margaret Queen of Scots her Issue.

year 1514, to whom the bare Margaret, espoused to Matthew Earl of Lenox, Father of the Lord Henry, who died at the age of 9 months, and lieth interred in the upper end of the Chancel in the Parish-Church of Stepney near London. Her second Son was Henry Lord Darnley, reputed for Personage the goodliest Gentleman of Europe; who married Mary Queen of Scotland, the Royal Parents of the most Royal Monarch James the first, King of Great Britain. Her third Son was Charles Earl of Lenox, Father to the Lady Arbella. King Henry's second Daughter the Lady Elizabeth, was born in the year 1492, at three years of age died, and was buried at Westminster. His third Daughter the Lady Mary had been promised to Charles King of Castile; but was married to Lewis the twelfth, King of France; who dying three months after, she was then married to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. His fourth Daughter, the Lady Katharine, was born in the year 1503, in the eighteenth year of her Fathers Reign, and died an Infant.

The Lady Arbella's Parentage.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Body lean and spare, yet of great strength; of stature somewhat higher than the common sort; his eyes gray, his hair thin; of a fair complexion, and pleasing countenance: Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the vertue of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reserved: We might say he was Politick, if not rather that he was Wise: for though he used tricks of Cunning sometimes, yet solid Circumspection more. He loved not War, but in case of necessity; always Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was less addicted to bodily pleasures of any kind, than he. Three pleasures he had, but in three cases; one for Safety, another for Honour, and the third for Wealth: in all which he attained his end. His great respect of the Church was seen by his great employment of Church-men: for through the hands of Bishop Morton, Bishop Fox, and his Chaplain Urswick, the greatest part of all his Negotiations passed. He was frugal from his youth, not covetous, till ancient and sickly; and therefore what defect he had in that kind, must be attributed to age and weakness. The City of London was his Paradise; for what good fortune soever befell him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it: His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all matters of importance he would ask their advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their hands. He was no great lover of Women; yet all his great fortune both precedent and subsequent, came by Women; his own Title to the Crown was by a Woman; his Confirmation in the Crown was by a Woman; his transmission of the Crown to his Posterity, was by a Woman: The first by the Lady Margaret, descended from John of Gaunt; the second by the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter of King Edward the Fourth; the third by the Lady Margaret, eldest Daughter of himself King of England, and Married to James the Fourth King of Scotland; by means whereof, as he was



the Prince that joyned the two Roses in one, so he was the Founder of joyning the two Kingdoms in one. And lastly, it may be said of him as was said by one, of *Augustus Caesar*—*Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti sapius audis*: For *Cadwallader* last King of the *Britains*, seven hundred years before had prophesied of him; and of later time King *Henry* the sixth plainly foretold him.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a defluxion also taking into his breast, wasted his Lungs, so that thrice in a year, and specially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Ptfick, which brought him to his end, at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth day of *April*, in the year 1508, when he had lived two and fifty years, reigned three and twenty and eight months: Being dead, and all things necessary for his Funeral prepared, his Corps was brought out of his privy Chamber into the great Chamber, where it rested three days, and every day had there a Dirge and Mass sung by a Prelate Mitred: and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained also three days, and had a like service there; and so three days in the Chappel. Upon *Wednesday* the ninth of *May*, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over ther Corps was a picture of the late King laid on Cushions of Gold: and the Picture was apparelled in the Kings rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the Kings Chaplain and a great number of Prelates set forward, praying; then followed all the Kings Servants in Black; then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every side were carried Torches, to the number of six hundred: and in this order they came from *Richmond* to *St. Georges* field: where there met with it all the Priests and Religious men within the City and without: the Mayor and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all cloathed in Black, met with the Corps at *London-bridge*, and so the Chariot was brought throughout the City, to the Cathedral of *St. Paul*; where the body was taken out, and carried into the Choire, and set under a goodly Hearse of Wax; where after a solemn Mass, was made a Sermon by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*. The next day the Corps in like manner was removed to *Westminster*; Sir *Edward Howard* bearing the Kings Banner. In *Westminster* was a curious Hearse full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corps; and then was the Corps taken out of the Chariot by six Lords, and set under the Hearse, which was double railed. When the Mourners were set, *Garſter* King at Arms, cried, For the soul of the Noble Prince *Henry* the Seventh, late King of this Realm. The next day were three Masses solemnly sung by Bishops; and after the Masses was offered the Kings Banner and Courſer, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm; and at the end of the Mass, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Cloth of Gold and

Bodkin: and when the Choire sang *Libera me*, the Body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Kings Household, brake their Staves, and cast them into the Grave. Then *Garſter* cried with a loud voice, *Vive le Roy Henry le huitieme, Roy d'Angleterre & de France, ſyre d'Irlande*. And thus ended the Funeral.

*Of Men of Note in his time.*

OF Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be seen in the History of this Kings Reign. For men of Letters in his time, of Forreigners were *Sanctus Pagninus*, a great Hebrician; *Leonicenus*, *Gattimaria*, *Cabellus* and *Optatus*, Physitians; *Augustinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber*, *Stapulensis* and *Pighius*, Philosophers; *Petrus Bembus*, and the Famous Clerk *Reuchlin*, who restored again the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Country there lived in his time, *George Rippley* a Carmelite Frier of *Boston*, who wrote divers Treatises in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Necromancer. *John Erghom* born in *York*, a Black-Frier, studious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the Works he wrote, may appear. *Thomas Mallorie* a Welshman, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the Round-Table. *John Rouse* born in *Warwickshire*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatises of Historical Argument: *Thomas Scroop*, surnamed *Bradley*, of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*, entred into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himself to his house, where for twenty years he lived the life of an Anchorite; and after, coming abroad again, was made a Bishop in *Ireland*, and went to *Rhodes* in Ambassage; from whence being returned, he went bare-footed up and down in *Norfolk*, teaching the Ten Commandments, and lived till near a hundred years old. *John Tonneys*, an Augustine Frier in *Norwich*, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other things, printed by *Richard Pinſon*. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriff of *London*, and an Historiographer. *Edmund Dudley*, the same man whom King *Henry* used to take the forfeitures of Penal Statutes; who wrote a Book entituled, *Arbor Reipublicæ*. *John Bockingham* an excellent School-man; and *William Blackney* Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

*Robert Fabian lived at this time.*

*Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.*

In his first year,  
Sir *Hugh Brice* was Mayor:  
*John Tate*, *John Swan*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Sir *Henry Cellet* was Mayor:  
*John Percival*, *Hugh Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
*William Horn* was Mayor:  
*John Fenkel*, *William Remington*, Sheriffs.

In



In his fourth year,  
*Robert Tate* was Mayor :  
*William Isaac, Ralph Tinley*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
*William White* was Mayor :  
*William Capel, John Brook*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
*John Matthew* was Mayor :  
*Henry Cote, or Coot, Robert Revel*, and he dying,  
*Hugh Pemberton*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
*Hugh Clopton* was Mayor :  
*Thomas Wood, William Brown*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
*Sir William Martin* was Mayor :  
*William Purchase, William Walbeck*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
*Ralph Austrey* was Mayor :  
*Robert Fabian, John Winget*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
*Richard Chawrie* was Mayor :  
*Nicholas Alwin, John Warner*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
*Sir Henry Collet* was Mayor :  
*Thomas Kneefworth, Henry Sommer*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
*John Tate* was Mayor :  
*John Shaa, Richard Hedon*, Sheriffs :

In his thirteenth year,  
*William Purchase* was Mayor :  
*Barth. Rede, Thomas Windem, or Windout*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
*Sir John Percival* was Mayor :  
*Thomas Bradbury, Stephen Gennings*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
*Nicholas Aldmine* was Mayor :  
*James Wilford, Thomas or Richard Brond*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
*William Rennington* was Mayor :  
*John Hawes, William Steed*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
*Sir John Shaa* was Mayor :  
*Lawrence Aylmer, Henry Hede*, Sheriffs.

THE



The REIGN of  
**KING HENRY**  
 THE EIGHTH.

An. Dom.  
 1509.



His choice  
 of good  
 Counsellors

He marries  
 the Lady  
 Katharine  
 the Relict  
 of his Bro-  
 ther Arthur.

**K**ING Henry the Seventh being deceased, his only Son Prince Henry, Heir by his Father of the House of Lancaster, and by his Mother of the House of York; by unquestionable right succeeded in the Crown at the age of eighteen years, on the two and twentieth of April, in the year 1509; who having been trained up in the study of good Letters all his Fathers time, he governed at first as a man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book; in so regular and fair a manner, that as of Nero's Government there was said to be *Quinquennium Neronis*; so of this Kings there might as justly be said, *Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps double so long a time, comparable with so much time of any Kings Reign that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to such a degree of change as he did, we shall then have a fit place to shew when we come to the Time of his alteration. King Henry having learned by Books, that the weight of a Kingdom is too heavy to lie upon one mans shoulders, if it be not supported by able Counsellors; made it his first care to make choice of an able Council; to which he called William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England; Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and Treasurer of England, George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Steward of his Household, Charles Somerset Lord Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Lovel, Sir Henry Wyat, Doctor Thomas Ruthal, and Sir Edward Poyning: by advice of these Counsellors, his first Act after the care of his Fathers Funeral, was the care to perform his Fathers Will, in marrying the Lady Katharine of Spain, the Relict of his Brother Prince Arthur; to which perhaps, but in respect of filial piety, he had not the greatest devotion: and for relinquishing whereof, he might (no doubt) more easily have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope, than his Father had done for getting it to be allowed: but obsequiousness to his Fathers desire, and respect to his Council's advice, so far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned till that were performed, that one Coronation might serve them both; and so on the third day of June following, he married the said Lady at the Bishop of Salisburies House in Fleet-street;

where of many great solemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widow, yet to shew she was a Virgin-widow, she was attired all in white, and had the hair of her head hanging down behind at the full length; and then (having made in the Tower four and twenty Knights of the Bath) two days after, being Midsummer-day, he was Crowned at Westminster, together with his Queen, by the hands of William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, with all circumstances of State in such cases usual; and then all the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did him Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King? They all with one voice cried, Yea, Yea.

This done, his next Act was another part of performing his Fathers Will, which was to proclaim pardon for all Offences (Treason, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have restitution made of all goods unjustly taken from any; and because the Instruments of such injustice are always most odious; and nothing gives the people so much contentment, as to see their Persecutors punished: he therefore caused Empson and Dudley, the two chief Actors of the late unjust proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of their inferiour Agents, called Promoters, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derby, Wight, Simpson, and Stockton, to be set on the Pillory in Cornhill, with Papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City with their faces to the Horse tails; with the shame whereof in seven days after they all died in Newgate. Shortly after, a Parliament was called, whercof Sir Thomas Ingleby was chosen Speaker; and therein Empson and Dudley were attainted of High Treason, and after arraigned, Edmund Dudley in the Guildhall, on the seventeenth of July, and Sir Richard Empson at Northampton in October following; and on the seventeenth of August the year following, they were both of them beheaded on the Tower-hill, and their bodies and heads buried, the one at White-Fryers, the other at the Black.

On Midsummer-Eve at night, King Henry came privily into Cheapside, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the same: and this first year King Henry spent in Jousts and Masks, which were almost perpetual, performed with great Magnificence always, and sometimes with great acts of Valour, on the Kings part specially.

In February the same year, Ambassadors came from

He and his  
 Queen  
 Crowned.

Empson and  
 Dudley com-  
 mitted to  
 the Tower.

1510.

Both of  
 them behea-  
 ded.



from the Kings Father-in-law, the King of *Aragon*, requiring aid against the *Moors*, in which service the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, a Knight of the Garter, making suit to be employed, he was sent thither, and with him the Lord *Anthony Gray*, Brother to the Marquess *Dorset*, *Henry Guilford*, *Wolstan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, Esquires of the Kings House, *Sir Robert Constable*, *Sir Roger Hastings*, *Sir Ralph Elderton*, and others; who, on the Monday in the Rogation-week, departed out of *Plymouth-Haven* with four Ships Royal; and on the first of June arrived at the Port of *Cadiz* in *South-Spain*; of whose coming the King of *Aragon* hearing, sent to bid them welcome; but advertising them withal, that he had now by reason of new troubles with *France*, taken truce with the *Moors*, and therefore they might return again to their own Countrey; to whom yet he allowed wages for all his Souldiers. Whereupon the Lord *Darcy* and all his men went aboard their Ships; but *Henry Guilford*, *Wolstan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, desirous to see the Court of *Spain*, went thither, and were honourably entertained. *Henry Guilford*, and *Wolstan Brown* were made Knights by the King; who gave to *Sir Henry Guilford* a Canton of *Granado*; and to *Sir Wolstan Brown* an Eagle of *Sicily* on a Chief, to the augmentation of their Arms: *William Sidney* so excused himself, that he was not made Knight. After this they returned to their Ships, and their Ships into *England*.

Sir Henry Guilford and Sir Wolstan Brown the honors done them in Spain.

During the time that the Lord *Darcy* was in *Spain*, the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheß of *Savoy*, Daughter unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and Governess of *Flanders*, and other the Low-Countreys, pertaining to *Charles* the young Prince of *Castile*, sent to King *Henry* for fifteen hundred Archers to aid her against the Duke of *Gelders*, which the King granted; and thereupon *Sir Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings house, is appointed to go, accompanied with his Son-in-Law the Lord *Clinton*, *Sir Matthew Brown*, *Sir John Digby*, *John Werton*, *Richard Witherill*, and others to the number of fifteen hundred, took shipping at *Sandwich*, and passing over to the said Lady-Regent, did her there great service; for which *John Norton*, *John Fogge*, *John Scot*, and *Thomas Linde* were Knighted; and then with many thanks and rewards returned, not having lost in all the Journey, by War or Sicknes, above an hundred men.

Sir Edward Poynings sent to aid the Dutcheß of Savoy.

In the third year of King *Henry's* Reign, one *Andrew Barton* a *Scottish* Pyrate, was grown so bold, that he robbed *English* men no less than other Nations, till the King sent his Admiral *Sir Edward Howard*, to repress him: who in a fight so wounded the said *Barton* that he died; and then taking two of his Ships, brought the men Prisoners to *London*: and though their offence deserved no less than death, yet the King was so merciful as to pardon them all, provided they departed the Realm within twenty days. The King of *Scots* hearing of the death of *Barton*, and taking of his Ships, sent to King *Henry*, requiring restitution: but King *Henry* answered his Herauld, that he rather looked for thanks for sparing their lives, who so justly had deserved death.

Sir Edward Howard Admiral represseth Andrew Barton a Scottish Pyrate.

In the third year also of King *Henry's* Reign, the *French* King made sharp War against Pope *Julius* the second: whereupon King *Henry* wrote to the *French* King, requiring him to desist from his War against the Pope, being his Friend and Confederate. But when the King of *France* little regarded his request, he then sent him word to deliver him his Inheritance of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, and the Countreys of *Anjou* and *Mayne*; as also his Crown of *France*, or else he would recover it by the Sword. But when the King of *France* was not moved with this Threatning neither; King *Henry* then joyning in League with the Emperour *Maximilian*, with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and with divers other Princes, resolved by advice of his Council to make War on the King of *France*; and to that end made preparation both by Sea and Land.

Anno Reg. 1512.

King Henry makes preparation for War with France.

This year the King kept his Christmas at *Greenwich* in a most Magnificent manner. On New-years-day was presented one of his Jovial Devices, which, only for a Pattern what his Shews at other times were, I think fit to set down at large: In the Hall was made a Castle, garnished with Artillery and Weapons, in a most Warlike fashion; and on the Front of the Castle was written, *la Fortresse Dangerense*: within the Castle were six Ladies cloathed in Russet-Sattin, laid all over with leaves of Gold: on their heads Coyfs and Caps of Gold. After this Castle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it, in came the King with five others, apparelled in Coats, one half of Russet-Satten, with Spangles of fine Gold; the other half of rich Cloth of Gold: on their heads Caps of Russet-Satten, embroidered with works of fine Gold. These six assaulted the Castle, whom the Ladies seeing so lusty and couragious, they were contented to solace with them; and upon further communication, to yield the Castle; and so they came down and Danced a long space: After that, the Ladies led the Knights into the Castle, and then the Castle suddenly vanished out of their sights. On the Twelfth day at night, the King with eleven more were disguised, after the manner of *Italy*, called a Mask; a thing not seen before in *England*. They were apparelled in Graments long and broad, wrought all with Gold, with Visors and Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done these Maskers came in, with six Gentlemen disguised in Silk, bearing Staff-Torches, and desired the Ladies to Dance; and after they had Danced and Communed together, took their leave and departed.

One of King Henry's Jovial Devices.

The five and twentieth of January began the Parliament, of which was Speaker *Sir Robert Sheffield* Knight, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury* shewed the wrong which the King of *France* did to the King of *England*, in withholding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded, that war should be made on the *French* King and his Dominions.

The War with France concluded by Parliament.

At this time King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, having War with the *French* King, wrote to his Son-in-Law King *Henry*, that if he would send over an Army into *Biskey*, & invade *France* on that side; he would aid them with Ordinance, Horses, and



Upon the  
King of  
Spain's pro-  
mise of aid,  
King Henry  
sends a great  
Army to  
him, but is  
deceived.

and all other things necessary : whereupon *Thomas Gray*, Marquess *Dorset*, was appointed to go, and with him the Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brook*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lords *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard Gray*, all Brothers to the Marquess ; Sir *Griffith ap Rice*, Sir *Maurice Barkely*, Sir *William Sands*, the Baron of *Burford*, and Sir *Richard Cornwall* his Brother ; *William Hussy*, *John Melton*, *William Kingstone*, Esquires, and Sir *Henry Willoughby*, with divers others, to the number of ten thousand ; who taking ship at *Southampton* on the sixteenth of *May*, the third of *June* they landed on the Coast of *Biskey* ; whither, within three days after their arrival, came from the King a Marquess and an Earl to welcome them ; but of such necessities as were promised, there came none ; so as the *English* being in some want of victuals, the King of *Navar* offered to supply them, which they accepted, and promised thereupon not to molest his Territories. After the Army had lien thirty days, looking for aid and provision from the King of *Spain*, at last a Bishop came from the King, desiring them to have patience a while, and very shortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time the *English* men, forced to feed upon much Garlick, and to drink of hot Wines, fell into such sickness, that many of them died, at least eighteen hundred persons ; which the Lord Marquess seeing, he sent to the King to know his pleasure ; who sent him answer, that very shortly the Duke of *Alva* should come with a great power, and joyn with him : and indeed the Duke of *Alva* came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyn with him as was promised ; but being come within a days journey, he suddenly turned towards the Realm of *Navarre* ; and entring the same, chased out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of *Spain's* use. This *Spanish* policy pleased not the *English*, who finding nothing but words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of lying so long idle, they fell upon some small Towns in the borders of *Guyen* ; but, for want of Horses, as well for service as draught, were unable to perform any great matter : at which time, being now *October*, the Lord Marquess fell sick, and the Lord *Howard* supplied his place of General. To whom the King of *Spain* once again sent, excusing his present coming, and requiring him, seeing the time of year was now past, that he would be pleased to break up his Army, and disperse his Companies into Towns thereabouts till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his promises. Hereupon the Lord *Howard* and his Company went to *Rendre*, the Lord *Willoughby* to *Gorschange*, and Sir *William Sands*, with many other Captains, to *Fontareby*. King *Henry* in the mean time hearing what the King of *Spain's* intention was, sent his Heralld *Windfor* with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there, for that very shortly he meant to send them a new supply of Forces, under the conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain ; but this message so incensed the Soldiers, that in a great fury they had slain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded presently to return home ; who thereupon was forced to

hire Ships, and in the beginning of *December* they landed in *England* ; being taught by this experience what trult is to be given to *Spanish* promises.

About the same time that the Marquess went into *Spain*, Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, with twenty great ships, made forth towards *Britain* : where letting his men on land, he burned and wasted divers Towns and Villages ; and being threatned by the Lords of *Britain* to be encountred, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights ; as Sir *Edward Brook*, Brother to the Lord *Cobham* ; Sir *Griffith Down*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *John Burdet*, Sir *William Pirton*, Sir *Henry Sherburn*, and Sir *William Bull*. The *Britains* were ten thousand, the *English* but five and twenty hundred ; yet the *Britains*, not contented with this advantage of number, would needs use policy besides : for, by the advice of an old experienced Captain, their General commanded his men, that as soon as the Battels were joyned, they should retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the *English* into some disadvantage : but the Common Souldiers not knowing their Generals purpose, and supposing he had seen some present danger, instead of retiring, took their heels and fled : so giving the *English* by their *Brittish* policy, if not a Victory, at least a safety to return to their Ships. After which the *Britains* sued for Truce, and could not obtain it ; for the *English* Admiral pursued his foraging the Countrey, till fearing there were many *French* Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Isle of *Wight*. King *Henry* in the mean time followed his pleasures, and in *June* kept a solemn Joust at *Greenwich*, where he and Sir *Charles Brandon* took up all comers : and the King shewed himself no less a King at Arms than in Estate.

After this, King *Henry* having prepared men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Government of Sir *Anthony Outbread*, Sir *Edmund Ichingham*, *William Sidney*, and divers other Gentlemen ; appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Isle of *Wight*, there to joyn with the Admiral ; which all together made a Fleet of five and twenty fair ships ; and to *Portsmouth* he went himself to see them ; where he appointed Captains, for one of his chiefeft ships called the *Regent*, Sir *Thomas Knevet* Master of his Horse, and Sir *John Carew* of *Devonshire* ; and to another principal ship called the *Sovereign*, he appointed for Captains Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford* ; and then making them a Banquet, sent them going. The *French* King likewise had prepared a Navy of Nine and thirty ships in the Haven of *Brest*, whereof the chief was a great Carrick, called the *Cordelyer*, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. These two Fleets met at the Bay of *Britain*, and there entred a terrible fight ; the Lord Admiral made with the great ship of *Deep* and chased her ; Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford* being in the *Sovereign*, made with the great Carrick of *Brest*, and laid stem to stem to her ; but, whether by negligence of the Master, or by reason of the smoak from the Ordnance, the *Sovereign* was cast at the stern of the Carrick ; whereat the *French* men shouted

An. Reg. 5  
1514.

Policy to  
self-hurt.

The two  
Fleets of  
the French  
and English  
have a ter-  
rible Fight.



Sir Thomas Knevet in the King's ship called the Regent drowned.

King Henry makes the great Ship called Henry Grace de Dieu.

It is concluded in Parliament, that King Henry in person should invade France.

Edmund de la Pool Earl of Suffolk put to death.

Sir Charles Brandon is created Viscount Lisle.

shouted for joy; which Sir Thomas Knevet seeing, suddenly he caused the Regent in which he was, to make to the Carrick, and to grapple with her a long board; and when they of the Carrick perceived they could not get asunder, they let slip an Anchor, and so with the stream the Ships turned, and the Carrick was on the Weather-side, and the Regent on the Lee-side; at which time a cruel fight passed between these two Ships: But in conclusion the English men entred the Carrick, which when a Gunner saw, he desperately set fire on the Gun-powder (as some say) though others affirmed, that Sir Anthony Outbread following the Regent at the Stern, bowged her on divers places, and set her powder on fire; but howsoever it chanced, the Carrick and the Regent both were consumed by fire. In the Carrick was Sir Piers Morgan, and with him nine hundred men: In the Regent were Sir Thomas Knevet and Sir John Carew, and with them seven hundred men, all drowned and burnt. King Henry to repair the loss of the Regent, caused a great Ship to be made, such a one as had never been seen in England, and named it Henry Grace de Dieu.

Though King Henry had hitherto followed his pleasures, as well agreeing with his youth and constitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time severer studies; for he frequented daily his Council-Table, and no matter of importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with France, which he would not enter into upon his own head, nor yet upon advice of his private Council, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, That himself in person with a Royal Army, should invade France; and towards the charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

On May even this year, Edmund de la Pool Earl of Suffolk was beheaded on the Tower-hill: This was that Earl of Suffolk, whom King Philip Duke of Austria had delivered up into the hands of King Henry the Seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed; but his Son King Henry the Eighth was not bound by that promise, and by him he was; and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir Charles Brandon was created Viscount Lisle.

For all the great preparation for France, King Henry forbore not his course of Revelling, but kept his Christmases at Greenwich, with divers curious devices, in most magnificent manner. In March following, the King's Navy Royal, to the number of two and forty Ships was set forth, under the conduct of Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, accompanied with Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, Sir Woolstan Brown, Sir Edward Ichingham, Sir Anthony Poynings, Sir John Walpole, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Stephen Bull, William Fitz-williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney Esquires, and divers other Gentlemen, who sailing to Britain, came into Bertram-Bay, and there lay at Anchor in sight of the French Navy, whereof one Prior John was Admiral, who keeping himself close in the Haven of Brest; the English Admiral in-

tended to assail him in the Haven; but because his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caused certain Boats to be manned forth, thinking thereby to toul out the French; but when this neither would draw them to come abroad, he then called a Council, where it was determined, that first they should assail Prior John and his Gallies, lying in Blankesable Bay, and after set upon the rest of the French Fleet in the Haven of Brest, and it was further appointed that the Lord Ferrers, Sir Stephen Bull, and others should go on Land, with a convenient number, to assault the Bulwarks, which the French had there made; while the Admiral with Row-Barges, and little Gallies entred into the Bay, that so the French men might at once be assailed both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Council of War, yet the Lord Admiral had a trick by himself, for by the advice of a Spanish Knight called Sir Alphonso Charunt, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little danger; he called to him William Fitz-williams, William Cook, John Colley, and Sir Woolstan Brown, as his most trusty friends, making them privy to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprize with their assistants only; and so confident he was of success, that he wrote to the King to come thither in person, to have the honour of the enterprize himself; but it seems the King had better Fates, at least went not; and thereupon on Saint Mark's day the Admiral put himself in a small Row-Barge; and appointed three other small Row-Ships, and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, therewith on a sudden rowed into the Bay, where Prior John had moored up his Gallies just to the ground; which Gallies, with the Bulwarks on the Land, shot most cruelly, yet the Admiral went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the French men: the Bay was shallow, and the other Ships, by reason of the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the French men perceiving, they entred the Gallies again with Morris-Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return back into his Row-Barge, which by violence of the Tide, was driven down the stream, with a Pike was thrown over-board and drowned; the just issue of his head-strong enterprize; the fore-named Alphonso was also there slain: upon which sorrowful accident, the Lord Ferrers with the rest returned into England. After whose departure Prior John came forth with his Gallies; and coasting over the Borders of Sussex, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admiral, the Lord Thomas Howard, eldest Brother to him that was drowned, Son and Heir of the Earl of Surrey: who so scowred the Seas, that the French were no more to be seen on any Coast of England.

King Henry had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jest, yet with great magnificence; he will not perform them with less, being now in earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: and therefore when it was concluded by Parliament; that he should make a War in France himself in person; he sent before to prepare the way for him, George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury high Steward of his

Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, following his own head-strong device; is drowned.



Household, accompanied with the Lord Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, the Lord Dowckeroey Prior of Saint John's, Sir Robert Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwater, the Lord Hastings, the Lord Cobham, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Thomas Cornwall and others, to the number of eight thousand, who arrived at Callice about the middle of May; after him in the end of May, followed Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Piercy Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Gray Earl of Kent, the Lord Stafford Earl of Wiltshire, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Delaware, Sir Edward Hussy, Sir Edward Dimmock, Sir David Owen, with others to the number of six thousand: These Generals joyning together, issued out of Callice, and on the two and twentieth day of June, fate down before the strong Town of Terwin, which City was strongly fortified; and in it was Governour the Lord Poultreny, who had with him six hundred Horsemen, and five and twenty hundred Almaines, besides the Inhabitants. Here at the very first happened two disasters to the English, one, that the Baron Carew was slain with a shot from the Town; the other, that Sir Nicholas Vaux, and Sir Edward Belknappe coming from Guynes with four and twenty Carts of Provision, were set upon by the Duke of Vendosme, Lieutenant of Picardy, and many of the English slain, and the Provision taken. In this state was the English Camp at Terwin, when King Henry the last day of June came himself to Callice, and on the one and twentieth of July took the field, having in his Army of fighting men not above nine thousand, but with Pioneers and others that attended the Carriages, eleven thousand and three hundred men: His forward was led by Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle, his main Battel by himself, and Sir Henry Guilford carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the siege of Terwin, entring upon the French ground the five and twentieth of July. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that mistook the way, a great Gun called the John Evangelist, was overthrown in a deep pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered; but a few days after, the Master Carpenter taking with him a hundred Labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was set upon by eight hundred French; and the most of his company slain: The Gun was taken by the French, and carried to Bulloigne. In the French Army were to the number of eleven thousand Footmen, and four thousand Horse; whereof were Captains, the Lord de la Palyce, the Lord de Priennes, the Duke de Longuevyle, the Earl of Saint Paul, the Lord of Floringes, the Lord of Clermont, and Richard de la Pool, an English man, Son to John Duke of Suffolk. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and some light skirmishes passed between them, specially one; on a day called The dry Wednesday, for the day was wonderful hot, and the King with his Army stood in order of Battel, from six a clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon: after this, the King removed towards Terwin; and as the Army marched, another of the King's Bombards of Iron, called

the Red Gun, was overthrown in a lane, and there left; which the French understanding, went with a great power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord Berners, Captain of the English Pioneers, prevented them; and though set upon by the French to the number of nine or ten thousand, yet by the valour of the Earl of Essex, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with the bold adventures of Sir William Tyler, and Sir John Sharp, they recovered it, and brought it safe to the Camp. On the fourth of August King Henry came before the City of Terwin, where he strongly fortified himself with Ordnance, and other warlike defences. In which mean time, the Captain of Bulloigne, knowing that many of the Garrison of Callice were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their absence, and do some great exploit upon Callice; and thereupon with a thousand men, came to Newnham Bridge, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward some of his Company going to fetch Booties, and coming so near the Walls of Callice, that they were descried; about sixscore Coopers and other Artificers issued forth, and driving them back, recovered again Newnham Bridge, and took divers of them prisoners; especially when the Gate of Callice, called Bulloigne Gate, was opened, and that Colepeper the under-Marshal, with two hundred Archers issued forth, and joyned with them. The French prisoners were brought to Callice, and there sold in open Market: amongst others, a Cooper of the Town of Callice, bought a Prisoner that dwelt in Bulloigne, and had of the Prisoner for his ransom, a hundred Crowns; when the money was paid, the French man prayed the Cooper to see him safe delivered, and to conduct him out of danger; the Cooper was content, and went himself alone with the French man, till he came beyond the Cawsey, and there would have departed; but the French man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no rescue was nigh, by force took the Cooper prisoner, and carried him to Bulloigne, making him pay two hundred Crowns, before he was delivered.

Whilst King Henry lay thus at the siege of Terwin, on the eleventh of August the Emperor Maximilian was come to Ayre; which King Henry understanding, went and met him between Ayre and the Camp, where with great complements they saluted each other; but their complements were broken off by the extream foul weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperor Maximilian came from Ayre to the King's Camp, wearing a Cross of Saint George, as the King's Souldier; and receiving wages of him for service, an hundred Crowns a day: An honour never done to any King of England before; and yet was no disparagement to the Emperor; for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of Cloth of Gold; that as no Emperor before had ever been Souldier to a King; so no Souldier before was ever lodged in such a Tent. At this time the City of Terwin, being in some distress for want of Victuals; the French King appointed all his Horsemen to the number of eight thousand,

An Army of King Henry's fits down before Terwin.

The King comes thither himself, and has his Army marshalled.

The number of the French Army.

Callice defended by Coopers and other Artificers.

A foolish Souldier well served.

The Emperor Maximilian takes pay of King Henry as his souldier.



land, to see victuals by any means convoyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to Mounſieur De Priennes: but King Henry, by advice of the Emperor Maximilian, had made Bridges to paſs his men over the River, to the other ſide of the Town, where was eaſieſt acceſs; in ſuch ſort, that when the French Convoy came with their Victuals, and thought to have entred the Town, they found the Engliſh Army there ready to reſiſt them; whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them:

The Engliſh defeat the French in a Battel called the Battel of Spurs.

but in concluſion the French were put to flight, and fled ſo faſt, that from thence it was called the Battel of Spurs, for that they uſed more their Spurs in running away, than their Launces in fighting. In this Battel, the Duke of Longuevyle, the Lord of Cleremont, Captain Bayard, and others, to the number of twelve ſcore were taken priſoners, and all brought to the King's preſence; with ſix Standards that were likewiſe taken. After the Battel, the King made Sir John Pechye Banneret, and John Carre Knight, who had both of them done great ſervice in this Encounter. King Henry having obtained this Victory againſt the French Horſemen, and hindered the Town of Terwin from relief of Victuals, and withal plying his Battery more fiercely than before; made the Townſmen ſoon fall to deſire compoſition, and upon condition, that the Souldiers may depart with Horſe and Armour, they yielded up the Town into the King's hands. This was done on the eighteenth of Auguſt, and the Earl of Shrewsbury entred the Town the ſame night, and ſet up the Banner of Saint George in the higheſt place of it, in ſign of Victory; and ſwore all the Townſmen to be true Subjects to the King of England. The four and twentieth of Auguſt, the King himſelf entred the Town, and dined in the Biſhop's Palace, where it was reſolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of Terwin ſhould be raſed, and the Town burnt all but the Cathedral Church and the Palace; all the Ordnance was ſent to Ayre, to be kept there to the King's uſe.

King Henry lays ſiege to Tournay.

After this it was concluded, that the King ſhould lay ſiege to the City of Tournay; whereupon he ſet forward in three Battels; the Earl of Shrewsbury led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor the Battel; and the Lord Chamberlain the Rereward. In this order the King's Army marched forwards towards Tournay; by the way, he went and viſited the young Prince of Caſtile, and the Lady Margaret, Governeſs of the Prince, in the Town of Liſle; where with all Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had ſtayed there three days, he took his leave; and being gone a mile and ſomewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his Camp lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was ſo dark and miſty; by chance at laſt they met with a Viſtualler coming from the Camp, who was their guide, and conducted them to it. By which we may ſee, to what diſtreſs a great Prince might be brought by a little overſight.

On the one and twentieth day of September, the King removed his Camp towards Tournay, and being come within three miles of the

Town, he ſent Garter King of Arms to ſummon the Town; but they, though they had but few men of War amongſt them, yet ſtood upon their Guard; whereupon the King beſieged it on all ſides, and made ſuch fierce batteries upon it, that though it were written on the Gates of the Town, graven in ſtone, *Jamais tu ne as perdu ton Pucelage*; thou haſt never loſt thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to loſe it: and in concluſion they ſent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then ſued for mercy and yielded it up, and paid ten thouſand pounds ſterling beſides for redemption of their liberties: and then Maſter Thomas Woolſey, the King's Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, ſwore them to the King of England; the number of whom was fourſcore thouſand. This done, the King entred into Tournay, and calling into his preſence Edward Guilford, William Fitz-Williams, John Danſie, William Tyler, John Sharp, William Huſſey, John Savage, Chriſtopher Garniſh, and ſome other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the Order of Knight-hood. And then remembering the great entertainment the Prince of Caſtile and the Lady Margaret had given him at Liſle, he would not be behind them in ſuch Courtſie; and thereupon invited them ſolemnly to his City of Tournay, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great triumph: during their abode in Tournay, amongſt other complements of entertainment, there was had a Juſts, where the King and the Lord Liſle answered all comers; after the Juſts, was a ſumptuous Banquet; after the Banquet, the Ladies danced, and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Maſk, all richly apparelled with Bonnets of Gold: and when they had paſſed the time at their pleaſures, the Garments of the Maſkers were caſt off amongſt the Ladies, take them that could. This was King Henry's diſpoſition, that he could not forbear Revelling in the miſt of his Arms; and Ladies muſt be entertained as well as Souldiers. And here Maximilian the Emperor finding the French Forces to be but weak, perſwades King Henry to proceed on and purſue his Victories: but he being young and of a quiet diſpoſition, and conſidering with himſelf that he had not entred the War for any cauſe of his own; but to revenge the injuries done to the Pope: and thinking by this already done, the French ſufficiently leſſon'd to acknowledge their error, and the rather, for that Winter was now drawing on; he reſolved to put this end to the War: and ſo taking his leave of the Emperor; and leaving Sir Edward Poynings Governour of Tournay, he returned to Calice; and from thence into England, and then rode in Poſt to the Queen at Richmond.

Tournay is delivered up to King Henry.

King Henry makes a ſolemn Juſts in Tournay.

Whiſt King Henry was thus buſied in his War with France, the King of Scots, though his Brother-in-law, yet inſtigated by the French King, and taking advantage of King Henry's abſence, aſſembled his people to invade England; but before his whole power could come together, the Lord Humes his Chamberlain, with ſeven or eight thouſand men entred the Borders; but as he was returning with a great booty of Cattel,

The King of Scots invades the Engliſh borders, but is repelled.



Cattel, in a field over-grown with Bloom, called *Mil-field*, he was encountred by Sir *Edward Bulmer*, having with him not above a thousand men; who lying in that field in Ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to flight, with the slaughter of five or six hundred of his company, and four hundred taken Prisoners; the Lord *Humes* himself escaped by flight, but his Banner was taken: and this by the *Scots* was called, *The ill Rode*. In the mean time the whole power of *Scotland* was assembled, no fewer than one hundred thousand men; though *Buchanan* in favour of his Countrey, saith, not the fifth part of that number: and with these King *James* approaching the borders, and coming to *Norham-Castle*, laid siege unto it; which for want of powder, was soon delivered up unto him. But by this time the Earl of *Surrey*, Lieutenant of the North-parts, had assembled an Army of six and twenty thousand men; to whom also soon after his Son the Lord Admiral, with one thousand expert Souldiers, came and joyned: and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their station; and then was informed, that King *James* being removed six miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Floodon*, where it was impossible to come near him but with great disadvantage; for at the foot of the Hill, on the left hand, was a great Marsh-ground full of reeds and water, on the right hand was a River called *Till*, so swift and deep, that it was not passable; on the backside were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no assailing him on that part; the fore-part of his Camp he had fenced with his great Ordinance. Being in such a hold, the Earl of *Surrey* found there was no possibility of a battel, unless he could draw him from the Hill: whereupon he called a Council, by which it was determined to send *Rouge-Croft* Pursuivant at Arms, with a Trumpet to the King of *Scots*, to let him know that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battel, if he would abide it: whereunto the King of *Scots* by his Pursuivant *Ilay* made answer, that at the day prefixed he should find him ready for Battel as he desired; that he would willingly have come to such a Match if he had been at *Edenburgh*; but though he made this answer, yet he would not leave the strong hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill; at last, *Thomas Lord Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small compass, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he should enforce the *Scottish* King to come down out of his strength, or else stop him from receiving of Victuals or any other thing out of *Scotland*. This counsel of the Lord *Howard*, his Father followed; and King *James* perceiving what their meaning was, thought it stood not with his honour to be fore-stalled out of his own Realm; and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other: which the Earl of *Surrey* perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the *Scots*, before they should have leisure

The Battel  
called *Floodon*-field.

The Battel  
called *Floodon*-field.

to fortifie their Camp: and herewith making a short speech for encouragement of his Souldiers, he divided his Army into Battels; the Vantguard was led by the Lord *Howard*, to whom was joyned as a wing, Sir *Edward Howard*; the middle-ward was led by the Earl himself; and the Rere-ward was led by Sir *Edward Stanley*; the Lord *Dacres* with a number of Horse-men, was set apart by himself, to succour where need should be; the Ordinance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought most convenient: and in this order they march forward towards the *Scots*. On the other side King *James* reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the *English* half mad, to venture a Battel upon such disadvantage; and thereupon making a speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themselves so forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battels in this manner: the main Battel he led himself, to which he appointed two Wings; the right led by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford*, and *Montross*; the left by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, together with the Lord *Humes* L. Chamberlain: and so confident they were of Victory, that the King first, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing: for when the Battel being joyned, Sir *Edward Howard* in getting up the Hill, was so assaulted by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest peril to be slain; in comes the Lord *Dacres* with his Horse-men, and trod under foot the *Scottish* Battel of Speers on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this part of the *Scottish* Army being led by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montross*, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battel put to flight. In another part also Sir *Edward Stanley* did the like upon the Battel led by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, putting it to flight with the slaughter also of these two Earls. King *James* notwithstanding, maintained the fight still with great resolution, till Sir *Adam Forman* his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not fainting, though despairing of success, he rushed into the thickest of his enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his death the more honourable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, the King's base Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners (as *Paulus Jovius* saith) amongst whom was Sir *William Scot* Chancellour to the said King, and Sir *George Forman* his Serjeant-Porter; the Lord *Humes* and the Earl of *Huntley* got horses and escaped. Neither was the Battel without blood to the *English*; for there were slain at least a thousand, and (that which in a Defeat was strange) many also taken prisoners; for many in pursuing the *Scots*, went rashly so far, that they knew not which way to return; and by Bands of *Scots* that had not fought that day, were set upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord General called to him certain Lords

How the *English* Army was marshalled.

How the *Scottish* Army was marshalled.

The King of *Scots* slain.



The same  
that had  
married the  
Lady Marg-  
aret, eldest  
Daughter of  
King Henry  
the seventh.

A Vision  
that appear-  
ed to King  
James, de-  
horting him  
from the  
Battel.

Dukes and  
Earls creat-  
ed.

Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir Edward Howard his Son, the Lord Scroop, Sir William Percy, Sir Edward George, and others. This Battel was fought on Friday the ninth of Sept. in the year 1513. called by some *Bramston*, by some *Floddon* field. King James here slain was the same that had married the Lady Margaret, eldest Daughter of King Henry the Seventh, and Sister to the present King Henry; and might have enjoyed many happy days, if he had kept himself firm to his alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate spleen between the two Nations, and propension to France, he ended his life, though honourably, yet miserably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible thing, which (from the mouth of a very credible person who saw it) George Buchanan relates concerning this King; that intending to make a War with England, a certain old man of venerable aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the Chair where the King sat, said, I am sent to thee O King, to give thee warning, that thou proceed not in the War thou art about; for if thou do, it will be thy ruin: and having so said, he pressed through the company, and vanished out of sight; for by no inquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frightened with Phantasms, and no warning could divert his Destiny, which had not been Destiny if it could have been diverted. The day after the Battel, his Body, though disfigured with wounds, was known by the Lord Dacres and others to be his; and thereupon howelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monastery of *Sheen* in *Surrey*, and there interred; but at the dissolution of that House was taken up and thrown into a waste room amongst timber and stone; which John Stow saith, he so saw, and farther relateth, that the servants of Lancelot Young, Glasier to Queen Elizabeth, being at *Sheen*, in new Glasing the Windows, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest; but smelling the sweet perfumes of the Balms, gave it to their Master; who opening the lead, found therein the head of a man, retaining favour, though the moisture were clean dried up, whose hair both of head and beard was red: which afterward he caused to be buried at St. Michael's Church in *Woodstreet*, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this relation of Stow, John Lesley Bishop of *Ross* affirmeth, that it was held for certain, the Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord *Brichard* slain in that Battel; Buchanan saith, of Alexander Elphinston, who in countenance and stature was like the King, and that King James was seen alive the same night at *Kelfo*, whence he passed to *Jerusalem*; and there spent the rest of his days in holy contemplation: but howsoever it was, he was never seen any more in *Scotland*.

King Henry being now returned from *Tourney* into England, and finding the great services done in his absence against the Scots; on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at *Lambeth* he created the Earl of *Surrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of

*Scotland*; Sir Charles Brandon Viscount *Lisle*, he created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Lord Howard high Admiral, he made Earl of *Surrey*; Sir Charles Somerset Lord Herbert his chief Chamberlain Earl of *Worcester*; and shortly after Sir Edward Stanley he made Lord *Monteagle*; and in March following, Master Thomas Woolsey his Almoner, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this man, that he be not a rub afterward in the way of the Story: He was born at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, the Son of a Butcher, sent to *Oxford* by reason of his pregnancy of wit, so soon, that taking there the first degree of Art, he was called the Boy-Bachelour; proceeding in learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, and afterward Schoolmaster of the School there, at which time the Marquess *Dorset* committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his gift, sent for him one Christmas, and bestowed it upon him; whereof Woolsey going to take possession, at his being there, for what misdemeanour is not delivered, he was by Sir Amyas Paulet set by the heels, which afterwards he remembered to Sir James his no small trouble, for he made him attend his pleasure five or six years; all which time he lay in the *Middle-Temple*, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the street very sumptuously, setting the Cardinal's Arms upon it, to appease him. After this disgrace he went over-Sea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir John Naphant Treasurer of *Callice*, and by him was preferred to be King Henry the Seventh's Chaplain: and now being by this means in the King's eye, he so diligently carried himself, that he soon got into the King's heart. One time it happened, the King had occasion to send a Messenger to the Emperor *Maximilian*, about a business that required haste; for which employment no man was thought more fit than Woolsey; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bade him make all speed he could: Woolsey departed from the King at *Richmond* about noon, and by the next morning was got to *Dover*, and from thence by noon that day was come to *Callice*, and by night was with the Emperor; to whom declaring his Message; and having a present dispatch, he rode that night back to *Callice*, and the night following came to the Court at *Richmond*. The next morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haste; to whom Woolsey answered, that he had been with the Emperor, and had dispatched the business, and for proof shewed the Emperor's lines: the King wondered much at his speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special matter he had forgotten: whereto Woolsey answered, May it please your Grace, I met him yesterday upon the way, but that business I had dispatched before, taking the boldness so to do without commission, as knowing it to be of special consequence; for which boldness I humbly intreat your Graces Pardon. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and soon after made

Thomas Woolsey his patronage, education, and rising.



made him his Almoner. In this state King Henry the Eighth found him, with whom also he grew into such favour, that he made him of his Council; and having won *Tourney*, made him Bishop of that City; and returning into *England*, the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* falling void by the death of Doctor *Smith*, made him Bishop of that Diocese. And thus far the Story hath now brought him; but soon after he was raised higher; for Doctor *Bambridge* Archbishop of *York* dying, he was translated from *Lincoln* to that See: and that he might not be inferior to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legat *a Latere*; and after by the King was made Lord Chancellor of *England*: and being come to his height of Dignity, he so carried himself in Expences of Household, in number of Retinue, and in all circumstances of State, that no Subject before or since hath in any degree come near him: and if we may say it, he was the first debaucher of King Henry; for to the end he might have the managing of all matters himself, he perswaded the King that he should not need trouble himself with frequenting the Council-Table as he did, but take his pleasure, and leave those things to his Council, whereof himself would always give him true information. This was plausible Counsel; and no marvel if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the mouth of so great a Prelate.

The fields  
about *Islington*,  
*Hogsdon*,  
and *Shorditch*  
laid open.

In this fifth year of the King, the Citizens of *London* finding themselves grieved with the Inclosures of the common fields about *Islington*, *Hogsdon*, and *Shorditch*, and other places adjoyning, went one morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereat though the King's Council were at first offended, yet the Mayor and City shewed them such reasons, that they rested satisfied, and the Fields were never since hedged.

The Pope  
gives King  
Henry the  
Title of *Chri-*  
*stianissimo*.

On the nineteenth of *May* this year, Pope *Julius* the Second sent to King Henry a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of *France*, transferred, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the Title of *Christianissimo* from him upon King Henry, which with great solemnity was published the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*; but this Solemnity must not pass without Revelling, Masques, and Jufts; wherein the King and the Duke of *Suffolk* were Defendants against all comers; who having the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Lord of *Clermont* to be spectators, spread the fame of their Chivalry into Foreign Nations.

And now the great love, that had been long between King Henry and the *Flemings*, began to abate upon this occasion; King Henry the Seventh had concluded a match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*: but, by reason of her young years, and for want of assurance of Joynture, the match was deferred during his time; but now King Henry the Eighth seeing his Sister of convenient years, began to call upon it, and signifie so much to the Council of *Flanders*; but they, whether having other ends, or out of *Spanish* delays, put him off with excuses, and at last sent him word plainly, they could do nothing in it that

year. The King of *France* had soon Intelligence how much King Henry distasted these *Spanish* dealings, and meant to make some good use of it, for the ends he began to propose to himself; which were to get the Lady *Mary* for himself, and thereby procure Peace with *England*, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpose he got the new Pope *Leo* the Tenth to be his Mediator, and both of them sent Ambassadors to King Henry, the Pope to perswade him to have Peace with *France*, the French King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*: upon whose Ambassages, King Henry partly to satisfy the Pope, and partly to advance his Sister, did not unwillingly hearken to the motions; but while this was in working, *Prior John* (who knew nothing of these intentions) began again to play his pranks; and coming with his Gallies on the Coast of *Sussex*, burnt *Bright-helmsted*, and took away the Goods he found in the Village: whereupon the Lord Admiral sent Sir *John Walslop* to Sea, with divers Ships, and eight hundred men, who for one Village that *Prior John* burnt in *England*, burnt one and twenty Villages and Towns in *France*, to the great honour of himself, and his Countrey.

And now King Henry by advice of his Council, and specially of *Woolsey* Bishop of *Lincoln*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Sister the Lady *Mary*, with the French King; but yet it stuck a while upon some differences, King Henry demanding *Bul-loign*, and the King of *France*, *Tourney*: in conclusion these demands were waved, and the principal conditions were; first concerning the Ladies Joynture; that she should have two and thirty thousand Crowns of yearly revenues if she survived the King; and then concerning this Peace, that the French King should pay yearly to King Henry, for five years, one hundred thousand Crowns, and the Peace to continue between them during their lives, and a year after, and bound reciprocally to assist each other with Ten thousand foot, if the War were by Land; with six thousand, if by Sea. All things thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King Henry and his Queen: and on the second of *October* taking shipping, was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Monteagle*, Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, Sir *John Pechye*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyne*, Sir *John Carre*, and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not past half way over the Sea, their Ships by tempest were dispersed, and the Lady with some jeopardy landed at *Bullen*, where Sir *Christopher Garnish* was fain to stand in the water, and take her in his arms, and so set her on shore; and there the Duke of *Vendosme*, with a Cardinal, and many other great States received her. From *Bullen* the eighth of *October* she came to *Abbeyule*, where the Dauphin received her: on the morrow being *Saint Dennis* day, she came to *Saint Dennis*, where the marriage between the King of *France* and her was solemnized (though some write it had been solemnized before at *Abbeyule*.) The fifth of *November* she was Crowned Queen of *France*, at which time the Dauphin held the

A Peace is  
concluded  
with *France*;  
and the King  
of *France*  
marries the  
Lady *Mary*,  
King Henry's  
younger  
sister.

1515.

she is  
Crowned  
Queen of  
*France*.

Crown



Crown over her head, as being too massie for her to wear; and the day following she was received into *Paris* in most magnificent manner. In honour of whose marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* proclaimed a solemn Jufts to be proclaimed, which should be kept in *Paris* the seventh of November. Upon report of this Proclamation in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Giles Capel*, *Thomas Cheiney*, and others, obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, but specially the Duke of *Suffolk*, whose glory the *Dauphin* so much envied, that he got a *Dutch* man, the tallest and strongest man in all the Court of *France*, secretly as another person to encounter him, with a purpose to have the Duke foiled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour: for he foiled the *Dutch* man in such sort, that when they came to the Barriers, the Duke by main strength took him about the neck, and so pommeled him about the head, that he made the Blood issue out at his nose: many other Princes and Lords did bravely; and after three days the Jufts ended.

King *Henry* was not long behind to solemnize it in *England* also; for at *Greenwich* the Christmas following, on New-years night, and Twelfth-night, he presented such strange and magnificent devices, as had seldom been seen; and the third of *February* following, he held a solemn Jufts, where he and the Marquess *Dorset* answered all comers, at which time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the ground one that encountred him, both man and horse.

At this time preparation was making for King *Henry* in person to go to *Calice*; there to meet with the *French* King and Queen, but death hindered the design; for before the next Spring, the first of *January* the *French* King died at the City of *Paris*, fourscore and two days after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for an old man to marry a young Lady. King *Henry* hearing of the *French* King's death, sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Richard Winkesfield*, and Doctor *West*, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the Marriage. Whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who obtaining her good will to be her Husband, (which was no hard matter, that had been her first Love) wrote to the King her Brother for his consent; whereat the King seemed to stick a while, but at last consented; so as he brought her into *England* unmarried, and then married at his return; but the Duke for more surety married her secretly in *Paris*, and after having received her Dower, Apparel, and Jewels, came with her to *Calice*, and there openly married her with great solemnity. At their coming into *England*, King *Henry* to shew his contentment with the marriage, in the company of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, all richly apparelled; held a new kind of Jufts, and running courses on Horseback in manner Volant, as fast as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

This year the King being at his Manour of *Oking*; *Woolsey* Archbishop of *York* came and shewed him Letters that he was elected Cardinal; for which Dignity he disabled himself, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, finding *Woolsey*, being now Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellourship, than he could well suffer, resigned up the Seal, which the King presently gave to *Woolsey*. About this time, Cardinal *Campejus* was sent by Pope *Leo* to King *Henry*, to sollicite him to a War against the *Turk*, with whom Cardinal *Woolsey* was joyned in Commission; who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow-Cardinal, sent store of red Cloth to *Calice* to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinal *Woolsey* caused the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Blackheath*; where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates; and there in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, shifted himself into his Cardinal Robes. Eight Mules he had laden with necessaries; but *Woolsey* not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the shame of pride; for in *Cheapside* his Mules by some mischance overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the ground, whose lids flying open, shewed the world what treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shooes, broken meat, Marrow-bones, and Crusts of Bread; exposing him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinal went jogging on afore with his Crosses, guilt Axe and Mace, unto *Paul's* Church; and by the way had an Oration made him by Sir *Thomas More*, in the name of the City; and then waited on with many Bishops; was conducted to *Bath* place, where he was lodged: for his own particular, he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*: but the errand he came about, which was to have aid by money for a War against the *Turk*, he could not obtain, for it was well known to be but a device to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

In his seventh year, King *Henry* kept his Christmas at his Manour of *Eltham*, where on Twelfth-night, according to his custom, was a stately mask of Knights and Ladies, with solemn Dancing, and a most magnificent Banquet.

It was now the eighth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the new League between him and the *French* King was proclaimed in the City of *London*: and this year *Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, eldest Sister to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Dowglas* Earl of *Angus*; by reason of dissention amongst the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her Husband to fly into *England*, and to seek succour at her Brother's hands; who assigned to her the Castle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* to reside in; where she was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court, and thereupon

A Jufts proclaimed in *Paris* by the *Dauphin*.

Where *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* won great honour.

The King of *France* 82 days after his marriage dies.

An. Reg. 7. 1516.

The Duke of *Suffolk* sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of *France*, marries her.

A new kind of Jufts used by King *Henry*.

*Woolsey* is made a Cardinal and Lord Chancellor.

An. Reg. 7.

An. Reg. 8. 1517.

*Margaret* Queen of *Scots*, King *Henry's* Sister, comes into *England*.



upon the third of May, Queen Margaret riding on a white Palfrey (which the Queen of England had sent her) behind Sir Thomas Parre, came through London to Baynard's Castle, and from thence went to Greenwich: but her Husband the Earl of Angus, was secretly before departed into Scotland; which when King Henry heard, he only said it was done like a Scot. And now in honour of his Sister's coming, King Henry the nine and twentieth of May, appointed two solemn days of Juits; where the King, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex, and Nicholas Carew Esquire, took upon them to answer all comers; amongst others, the King and Sir William Kingston ran together, which Sir William, though a strong and valourous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the ground: all the rest was performed with no less valour than magnificence. This year died the King of Aragon, Father to the Queen of England; for whom was kept a solemn Obsequy in the Cathedral Church of Paul's; and Queen Margaret, after she had been a year in England, returned into Scotland.

Twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons sent to build a Castle at Tourney.

Cardinal Woolsey erects divers new Courts.

In this year were sent twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of Tourney in France, to build a Castle there, to keep the City in awe. And now the Cardinal being weary of hearing so many Causes himself, as were daily brought before him; ordained by the King's Commission (after the pattern of Moses) divers under-Courts to hear Complaints of Suitors: whereof one was kept in Whitehall, another before the King's Almoner, Doctor Stokestry, a third in the Lord Treasurer's lodging near the Star-Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolls in the afternoon: these Courts for a time were much frequented; but at last the people perceiving that much delay was used in them, and that sentence given by them bound no man by Law, they thereupon grew weary of them, and resorted to the common Law. By occasion of this Government of the Cardinal, who under colour of Justice, did what he pleased: many great men withdrew themselves from the Court, as first the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, who went and lived in their Diocesses; then the Duke of Norfolk, and at length the Duke of Suffolk, being run deep into the King's debt, by reason of his many employments into France, and his great House-keeping since his marriage with the King's Sister, hoping the King would have forgiven it, and would no doubt have done it, but that the Cardinal opposed it, to the end the Duke should be the more at his command.

In October this year, Matthew Bishop of Sion, commonly called the Cardinal of the Swizzers, came into England from the Emperour Maximilian; by whose solliciting, and Cardinal Woolsey's perswasion, the King lent the Emperour a great sum of money; for Woolsey being angry with the King of France for detaining the Revenues of his Bishoprick of Tourney, perswaded King Henry, that the best way to abate the French King's power, was to furnish the Emperour with money, the better to maintain War against him: and what Woolsey said, was in those days to King Henry an Oracle.

This year the King kept his Christmases at his Manour of Greenwich, where on Twelfth-night according to his custom, rare devices with great magnificence were presented; after which time the King exercised himself much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good sport to him; for one time following his Hawk, and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, so that if one Edmund Mody a footman had not leapt into the water, and lift up his head which was fast in the clay, he had been drowned.

King Henry in great danger by a fall in Hawking.

In this year also there happened in the City of London, an Insurrection against strangers, specially of Artificers, complaining that strangers were permitted to resort hither with their Wares, and to exercise handy-crafts, to the great hinderance and impoverishing the King's own Subjects; and not only so, but that they were born out in many great Insolencies and wrongs they offered to the English, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in London, called Williamson, had bought two Pigeons in Cheapside, and was about to pay for them, when a French man took them out of his hand, saying, They were no meat for a Carpenter: Well (said Williamson) I have bought them, and I will have them; Nay (said the French man) I will have them for my Lord Ambassador; hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the French Ambassador, who so aggravated the matter to the Mayor, that the Carpenter was sent to prison, and when Sir John Baker sued to the Ambassador for him, he answered, By the Body of God, the English Knave was worthy to lose his life for denying any thing to a French man; and other answer he could have none. Many like and worse insolencies were offered by strangers, which one John Lincoln a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Doctor Beale, Preacher on Easter Tuesday at the Spittle, to read it openly in the Pulpit, which so stirred up many, that strangers could hardly pass the streets, but were stricken, and sometimes beaten down. At last, one evening many Prentices, and others assembling, rifled some strangers houses, and much mischief was like to be done: but by the care of the Mayor and Aldermen, and by the industry of Robert Brook Recorder, and Sir Thomas More that had been under-Sheriff of London, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the disturbers were sent to prison, whereof Lincoln and twelve other were hanged, four hundred more in their shirts, bound in ropes, and halters about their necks, (and thereupon called the black Waggon) were brought to Westminster, where the King himself sate that day; and when the Cardinal had charged them with the greatness of their offence; they all cried, Mercy, Mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinal, pardoned them all; which clemency purchased the King no small love amongst the people.

An Insurrection in London against strangers; especially Artificers.

How pacified.

In his ninth year, in June, King Henry had many Ambassadors at his Court; for whose entertainment he prepared a costly Juits; himself and twelve more against the Duke of Suffolk and other twelve. The King had on his head a Ladies sleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps

An. Reg. 9. 1518.



perhaps something else of the Ladies in his heart, which made him perform his courses with the applause of all beholders. This year, by reason of a sweating sickness *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned; and the year following, *Trinity* Term was held one day at *Oxford*, and then adjourned again to *Westminster*.

About this time Cardinal *Woolsey* obtained of Pope *Leo* authority to dispense with all offences against the Spiritual Laws; by virtue whereof he set up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legat*, in the which he proved Testaments, and heard Causes; to the great hindrance of all the Bishops of the Realm; and to the debauching of Priests and Religious persons, who relying upon his greatness, took such a liberty of licentiousness to themselves, that none were more disorderly than those that were in Orders: and supposing perhaps, they might lawfully commit such sins themselves, as they forgave to others. And indeed the Cardinal's carriage exceeded all bounds of moderation; for when he said Mass, he made Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine, with a say taken, and to hold the Bason at the Lavatory: and when the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, writing a Letter to him, subscribed, Your Brother *William* of *Canterbury*, he took it in great dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

Cardinal *Woolsey* makes Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine, and to hold the Bason at the Lavatory.

An. Reg. 10.  
1519.

A Treaty between the Kings of France and England to have *Tourney* delivered back, and upon what conditions.

It was now the tenth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the King of *France*, longing much to have *Tourney* restored to him, by great gifts and greater promises won the Cardinal *Woolsey*, to move the King in it; who upon his persuasions, was contented to be treated withall about it: to which the King of *France* sent the Lord *Bonquet* High Admiral of *France*, and the Bishop of *Paris*, who in their attendance, having above fourscore Gentlemen, and with their servants and all, above twelve hundred, arrived in *England*, and on Munday the seven and twentieth of *September*, were met at *Blackheath* by the Earl of *Surrey*, High Admiral of *England*, attended likewise with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodged at Merchant-Tailors Hall: The last of *September*, the Ambassadors went to the King at *Greenwich*, where after long communication, an agreement was at last concluded under pretence of a Marriage to be had between the Dauphin of *France* and the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*; that in name of her Marriage money, *Tourney* should be delivered to the *French* King, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Castle he had made in that City, six hundred thousand Crowns in twelve years, but fifty thousand Crowns yearly: and if the Marriage should chance not to take effect, then that *Tourney* should be again restored to the King of *England*; for performance of which Articles, Hostages should be delivered: namely, Mounſieur de *Memorancie*, Mounſieur de *Monpesac*, Mounſieur de *Moy*, and Mounſieur *Morret*; and moreover, the *French* King should pay to the Cardinal of *England* a thousand Marks yearly, in recompence of his Revenues, received before of his Bishoprick of *Tourney*: All things thus concluded, the Cardinal made to the Ambassadors a solemn

Banquet, and after presented them with a stately Mummery. The eighth of *October*, the King feasted them at *Greenwich*, and at night presented a stately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare devices and great magnificence: The next day, Sir *Thomas Exmew* Mayor of *London* feasted them at Goldsmiths-Hall, and then delivering their four Hostages, they took their leave. At whose departure the King gave to the Admiral of *France*, a garnish of gilt Vessel, a pair of covered Basons gilt, twelve great gilt Bowls, four pair of great gilt Pots, a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great Pearls; and to some other he gave Plate, to some other Chains of Gold, to some rich Apparel: to the great commendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earl of *Worcester*, Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord of *St. Johns*, Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, Sir *John Pecby*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*, as Ambassadors from the King of *England*, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others, to the number of above four hundred, passed over to *Callice*, and from thence went to *Paris*; where, after Royal entertainment by the King, with divers Masks and stately shews, they took their leaves and rode to *Tourney* to see the City delivered to the *French* men, on the eighth of *February*, to the great grief of the *English* Garrison. After the *English* Ambassadors were returned, King *Henry* to cheer up the four *French* Hostages left here for performance of Covenants, on the seventh of *May*, presented a solemn and stately Mask, wherein himself, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *French* Queen were Actors: and on the eighth of *March* following, was a solemn Juſts holden, and with great magnificence performed.

In the eleventh year of King *Henry's* Reign died the Emperor *Maximilian*, for whom the King caused a solemn Obsequy to be kept in *Pauls* Church. After whose death the *French* King and the King of *Spain* endeavoured by sundry plots each of them to get the Empire; but in conclusion, *Charles* King of *Castile* (afterwards called *Charles* the Fifth) was elected Emperor; for joy whereof a solemn Mass was sung at *Pauls*, the seventh of *July*, at which were present the Cardinal *Campejus*, the Cardinal of *York*, the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, with the Ambassadors of *Spain*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Scotland*: And this year the King kept Saint *George's* Feast at *Windsor*, with great solemnity.

At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in *France*, after the manner of that Countrey, carried themselves so familiarly with the King, that the Lords of his Council thought it a disparagement to him; and thereupon with his leave first obtained, they banished them the Court: and in their places brought in more stayed and graver men: namely Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Feringham*, Sir *Richard Weston*, and Sir *William Kingston*.

In the Summer of this year, the Queen, lying at her Mannor of *Havering* in *Essex*, desired the King to bring thither the four Hostages of *France*, to whom she made a Royal Banquet, and in *September* following, the King lying at his Mannor of *New-hall* in *Essex*, otherwise called

An. Reg. 11.  
1520.

The Emperor *Maximilian* dieth, *Charles* King of *Castile* is elected in his place, called *Charles* the Fifth.

Young Gentlemen after the *French* fashion, being over-familiar with the King, are banished the Court.



A Mask of  
all Lords.

Beaulieu, where he had newly built a stately Mansion, invited the Queen and the French Hostages thither, where after a sumptuous Banquet, he presented them with an extraordinary Mask; for the Maskers were the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Essex, the Marquess Dorset, the Lord Aburgaveny, Sir Richard Winkesfeld, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kingston, the youngest of whom was fifty years old at least, that the Ladies might see what force they had to make age young again.

An enter-  
view agreed  
upon be-  
tween the  
two Kings  
of France  
and England.

At this time the French King was very desirous to see the King of England, with whom he had entred into such a League of Alliance, and to that end made means to the Cardinal, that there might be an interview between them at some convenient place: to which the Cardinal, not so much to satisfy the French King, as to shew his own greatness in France, easily condescended; and thereupon perswaded King Henry, how necessary it was, that such an interview should be: and then were sent to Guynes, under the rule of Sir Edward Belknappe, some say three thousand, but Godwin saith eleven hundred; whereof three hundred Masons, six hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glaziers, and other Artificers, who spent two months erecting the Building builded on the Plain before the Castle of Guynes, a most stately Palace of Timber, curiously garnished without and within: whither both the Kings in June next following, agreeing to come, and to answer all comers at the Tilt, Tournies, and Barriers; whereof Proclamation was made in the Court of England by Orleance King of Arms of France, and in the Court of France by Clarentius King of Arms of England: whilst these things were preparing on Candlemas-Even, as the King and Queen were come from Even-song at their Manour of Greenwich; suddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entred into the Queens Chamber four Gentlemen, who brought with them a Waggon, in which sate a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King, that the four Gentlemen, there present, were come for the Love of their Ladies, to answer all comers at the Tilts on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on Shrove-Tuesday next ensuing, where they all behaved themselves with great valour, to the great delight of the King and Queen.

The Emperor  
Charles  
comes into  
England.

By this time King Henry was ready for his Journey into France, and so removing from his Mannor of Greenwich, on Friday the five and twentieth of May, he with his Queen arrived at Canterbury, where he meant to keep his Whitsuntide. At which time the Emperor Charles, returning out of Spain, arrived on the Coast of Kent, where by the Vice-Admiral of England, Sir William Fitz-williams; he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinal in great state. After which the King himself rode to Dover, to welcom him; and on Whitsunday early in the morning conducted him to Canterbury, where they spent all the Whitsuntide in great joy and solace. The chief cause that moved the Emperor at this time to come on land, was to have dissuaded the King from any interview with the French King, but

when he saw him so forward in that journey, he then only endeavoured to perswade him, that he should put no trust in the French King's words, and with great gifts and promises, prevailed with the Cardinal to join with him in this perswasion. The last of May the Emperor took his leave, and the same day the King made sail from Dover and landed at Calice, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of June the King and Queen removed from Calice, to his Princely Lodging beside the Town of Guynes, the most Royal Building that ever was seen; likewise Francis the French King had his lodging prepared close to the Town of Ard, in a strange but most magnificent fashion. Both Kings had given power and authority to the Cardinal to affirm and confirm, bind or unbind, whatsoever should be in difference between them; no less an honour to the Cardinal than a confidence in the Kings. On Thursday the seventh of June, the Kings met in the Vale of Audren so magnificently attired, both themselves and all their followers, that from thence it was called the Camp of Cloth of Gold. Here they spent that day in loving complements, and at night departed, the one to Guynes, the other to Ard. On Saturday the ninth of June, were set up in a place within the English pale two Trees of honour, with stately rooms and stages for the Queens, and thither the two Kings came, most Royally accompanied; where in most magnificent manner they performed acts of valour, both on foot and horseback; and after them all the great Lords both of France and England did the like: this solemnity of Jufts and Masks was continued to the four and twentieth day of June; at which time the Kings and Queens took leave of each other: the French King and Queen removed to Ard, the King and Queen of England to Calice, where he remained till the tenth of July, and then riding toward Graveling, was by the way met by the Emperor, and by him conducted thither, and there in most Royal manner entertained; whereof when the French King heard, he began from that day forward to have King Henry in a kind of Jealousie, as though to love him and the Emperor both were inconsistent, and could not stand together. On Wednesday the eleventh of July, the Emperor, and his Aunt the Lady Margaret Dutchess of Savoy, came with the King of England to the Town of Calice, and there continued with Feasting, Dancing, and Masking, till the fourteenth of July. In which time, all the Articles of the League of Tripartito, between the Emperor and the Kings of England and France were reviewed; to which the King of France had so fully condescended, that he had sent Mounseur de Roche to the Emperor with Letters of credence; that in the word of a Prince he would inviolably observe and keep them all: all which notwithstanding, he dispensed with his Conscience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday July 14. the Emperor took his leave and went to Graveling; the King with his Queen returned into England.

The two  
Kings meet  
in to magni-  
ficent a  
manner, that  
the place  
was called  
the Camp of  
Cloth of  
Gold.

The King of  
France is  
jealous of  
King Henry's  
kindness to  
the Emperor

Articles of  
League be-  
tween the  
Emperor  
and the two  
Kings of  
England and  
France broken by the  
King of  
France.

It was now the twelfth year of King Henry's Reign, when being returned from Calice, he kept his Christmas at Greenwich with great magnificence;



nificence ; and on Twelfth-day he and the Earl of Devonshire maintained a solemn Jufts against all comers.

The Cardinal had long born a grudge against the Duke of Buckingham, for speaking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for revenge. It is said that the Duke once holding the Bafon to the King ; the Cardinal when the King had done, prefently dipped his hands in the fame water ; which the Duke difdaining, fhed the water in his Shooes ; with which the Cardinal incensed, threatned him that he would fit upon his skirts. The Duke, to fhew that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court richly apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, what he meant by that ftrange fafhion ? he answered readily, that it was done by way of prevention, for now the Cardinal fhould not fit upon his skirts. But this Jelt did the Duke no good, for the Earl of Surrey Lord Admiral, who had married the Duke's Daughter, the Cardinal had caufed to be fent Deputy into Ireland, and the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke's fpecial friend, he had caufed upon certain fuggested crimes to be imprifoned ; fo as the Duke having his friends fequeftred from him, he lay now open to accufations, and accufations fhall not be wanting ; for the Duke having fome time before put from him in difpleafure one Charles Knevet, that had been his Surveyor, and inward with him ; him the Cardinal gets to him, to fee what he could get out of him againft the Duke. And whether it was out of defire of revenge, or out of hope of reward, or that the matter was fo indeed, this Knevet confefed to the Cardinal, that this Duke had, once fully determined to make away the King ; being brought into a hope to be King himfelf by a vain Prophefie, which one Nicholas Hopkins ( a Monk of an Houfe of the Charter Order, befides Bristow, called Henton ) fometimes his Confeflor, had opened to him ; and as for the Cardinal, that he had often heard the Duke fwear, he would punifh him foundly for his manifold mis-doings. And now had the Cardinal matter enough for Accufation, which he fo aggravated to the King, that the King bade him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the Tower by Sir Henry Morney Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of April, and fhortly after in Guildhall before Sir John Brugge, then Lord Mayor, was indicted of divers points of high Treafon ; the fubftance whereof was, That in the fecond year of the King's Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compaffed the King's death at London and at Thornbery in Gloceftershire ; and that in the fixth year of the King's Reign, he went in perfon to the Priory of Henton, and there had conference with the forefaid Nicholas Hopkins, who told him he fhould be King ; and that he had often faid to the Lord Aburgaveny, who had married his Daughter, that if King Henry died without iffue, he would look to have the Crown himfelf. Upon thefe points he was arraigned in Weftminfter-Hall, before the Duke of Norfolk, fitting then as High Steward of England,

the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquifs Dorfet, the Earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Effex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford and Darby ; the Lord of St. Johns de la Ware, Fitz-water, Willoughby, Brook, Cobham, Herbert, and Morley. The Duke pleaded for himfelf till he fweat again, but all bootied not ; for by thefe Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and fo on Friday the feventeenth of May, was led by John Keyme, and John Skevington Sheriffs of London to the Scaffold on Tower-hill, and there beheaded. The

Augustine Friars took his body and head, and buried them. This Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham was the laft Hereditary High-Contable of England, ( the greateft place in the Kingdom ) whose power extended to reftrain fome actions of the King. He was alfo Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton : He married Eleanor the Daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland, and had iffue Henry Lord Stafford ( Father to Henry Lord Stafford late living ) and three Daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, Katharine married to Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmorland, and Mary married to George Nevil Lord of Aburgaveny.

The Duke of Buckingham is beheaded. His Honour and Ifsue.

In this mean while, a new War was begun between the Emperor and the King of France ; for compofing whereof, the Cardinal of York was fent attended with the Earls of Worcester, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of Saint Johns, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Herbert, the Bifhop of Durham, the Bifhop of Ely, the Primate of Armagh, Sir Thomas Bullen, Sir John Pechy, Sir John Hufsey, Sir Richard Winkefield, Sir Henry Guilford, and many other Knights, Gentlemen, and Docters. On the twelfth of July he arrived at Callice, whither came to him the Chancellor of France, and the Count de Palice attended with four hundred Horfe, as Ambassadors from the French King ; and from the Emperor the like, with Comiffions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were alfo Ambassadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal moved to have the Pope to be a party alfo in their League, but they wanting Comiffion, Letters were prefently fent to Rome about it, and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinal went to Bruges, to fpeak with the Emperor, with whom having ftayed thirteen days, after moft Royal Entertainment, he returned back to Callice ; and then fell prefently to the Treaty of Peace with the French Comiffioners, but was colder in the matter than he was before, as having had his edge taken off by fome dealings with the Emperor, fo as nothing was concluded ; but that the Fifhermen of both the Princes might freely Fifh on the Seas without difturbance, till the end of February following ; whereof he fent advertisement to both the Princes ; to the Emperor by the Lord of Saint Johns, and Sir Thomas Bullen ; to the French King by the Earl of Worcester, and the Bifhop of Ely. During all which time of the Cardinal's ftay in Callice, all Writs and Patents were there by him fealed, and no Sheriff could be chofen for lack of his prefence, having the Great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in perfon. Before he returned, he made a

The Cardinal is fent to make a Peace between the Emperor and the King of France, but deals not fair in it.

The Cardinal carries the Great Seal over with him, and the inconveniences by it.



new League with the Emperor, and intimated to the French King, that he doubted the King of England would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereat, though the King of France were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of England's Friend as much as ever: only he inveighed against the Cardinal, as a man of no truth, and withdrew many Pensions which he had before given to some English. Presently upon this, was *Tourney* besieged by the Lord *Hugh de Moncada* a Spaniard; and though the French King sent great Forces to succour it; yet it was rendred up to the Emperor, the last of November, in the thirteenth year of King Henry's Reign.

The Cardinal seeks to be Pope, but too late.

Doctor Pace the Cardinal's Agent, falls mad and dieth.

This year Pope *Leo* died the first of December, suspected to be poysoned by *Barnaby Malespina* his Chamberlain, whose Office was always to give him drink. After whose death, Doctor *Pace* was sent to Rome, to make friends in the behalf of the Cardinal of York, who was brought into a hope through the King's favour to be elected Pope: but that hope was soon quailed; for before Doctor *Pace* could get to Rome, *Adrian* the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doctor *Pace* was a very Learned and Religious man, yet through crosses in his employment fell mad, and died; in whose place of employment succeeded Doctor *Steven Gardiner*.

An. Reg. 13. 1522.

King Henry for writing a Book against Luther, hath the Title given him to be Defender of the Faith.

On the second of February, King Henry being then at *Greenwich*, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be Defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him for writing a Book against *Luther*, as it was given out; but thought to be written by Sir *Thomas Moor*, or by *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*: of which Book (saith *Holinshed*) I will only say thus much, that King Henry in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his foam against *Luther*, to rase out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law. Which Book *Luther* answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

In this mean time, many displeasures grew between the two Kings of England and France, specially two: one, that French men seized upon English Ships as they passed: for remedy whereof, one *Christopher Cee*, an expert Sea-man, was sent with six Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of Albany was returned into Scotland, contrary to that which was covenanted by the League; which though the King of France denied to be done with his privity, yet King Henry knew the Duke of Albany had Commission from the French King to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Musters made in England, and a note taken of what substance all men were.

This year died the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poyning* Knight of the Garter, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Edward Pelknappe*, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poysoned at a Banquet made at *Ard*, when the two Kings met last.

At this time *Owen Dowglas* Bishop of Dun-

kel fled out of Scotland into England, because the Duke of Albany, being come thither, had taken upon him the whole Government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon *Clarentaux* the Herald was sent into Scotland, to command the Duke of Albany to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herald was commanded to defie him. Thereupon the French King seized all English mens goods in *Bordeaux*, and imprisoned their persons; and retained not only the money to be paid for the restitution of *Tourney*, but also withheld the French Queens Dower: whereof, when King Henry understood, he called the French Ambassador residing in England, to give account thereof; who though he gave the best reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house; and the French Hostages remaining here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of *Tourney*, were restrained of their liberty, and committed to the custody of the Lord of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Andrew Windsor*, and Sir *Thomas Nevile*; each of them to keep one; and withall, all French men in London were committed to prison, and put to their Fines; and all Scotch men much more. There were then also sent to Sea under the conduct of Sir *William Fitz-williams* Vice-Admiral, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards Scotland; who set fire on many Scottish Ships in the Haven, and at length took many prisoners and returned.

Upon differences between the Kings of England and France, the French Ambassador is commanded to keep his house.

King Henry hearing, that the Emperor would come to *Calice*, so to pass into England, as he went into Spain; appointed the Lord *Marquess Dorset*, to go to *Calice*, there to receive him, and the Cardinal to receive him at *Dover*. The Cardinal taking his journey thither on the tenth of May, rode through London, accompanied with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and an hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of May being Sunday, the Marquess *Dorset* with the Bishop of *Chichester*, the Lord *de la Ware*, and divers others, at the water of *Graveling*, received the Emperor, and with all honour brought him to *Calice*, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord *Berners*, Lieutenant of the Town. On Monday he took Shipping at *Calice*, and landed at *Dover*; where the Cardinal with three hundred Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen received him, and in great state brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being *Ascension-Even*, the King came to *Dover*, and there with great joy and gladness the Emperor and he met. On Friday in the afternoon they departed from *Dover*, and came that night to *Canterbury*, and from thence next day to *Greenwich*; where the Queen received her Nephew with all the joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperor's presence, Royal Justs and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and ten Aids, kept the place against the Duke of *Sussex*, the Marquess *Dorset*, and other ten Aids, on their part. On Friday the sixth of June, the Emperor and the King with all their Companies went to London, where the City

The Emperor comes into England, and with what state he is received.



City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperor was lodged at the *Black-fryers*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On Whitsunday the King and the Emperor rode to the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, where the Cardinal sung Mass, and had his Traverse and his Cup-board. Before Mass, two Barons gave him water, and after the Gospel, two Earls, and at the last Lavatory two Dukes, which pride the *Spaniards* much disdained. After many Feastings in other places, at last they rode to *Windsor*, where they stayed a whole week; and there, on *Corpus Christi* day, the Emperor wore the Mantle of the Garter, and sate in his own Stall. On the same day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them. On the morrow after, they came to *Winchester*; before whose coming thither there was come to *Hampton*, the Earl of *Surrey* Admiral of England, with all the King's Navy, and with him the Lord *Fitz-water*, the Baron *Curson*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Ferningham*, Francis *Brian*, Sir *William Barentine*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, Sir *Edward Donne*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Anthony Poyus*, Sir *Henry Sherbourn*, and the Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, Sir *Edmund Bray*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Sir *William Pirton*, *John Cornwallis*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *William Sidney*, *Anthony Brown*, *Giles Hussy*, *Thomas More*, *John Russel*, *Edward Bray*, *Henry Owen*, *George Cobham*, *Thomas Oldhall*, *Thomas Lovel*, *Robert Ichingham*, *Anthony Knevet*, Sir *John Tremaille*, Sir *William Skevington* Master of the Ordnance, and *John Fabian* Serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a design was moved, though now noised only that it was but to scour the Seas for the safe conducting of the Emperor. For the Earl of *Surrey*, having wafted the Emperor over to the Coast of *Biskay*, upon his return made to the Coast of *Britain*; and there landing seven thousand of his men, marched to the Town of *Morleys*, and by assault took it: having won this Town, the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen and made them Knights; as Sir *Francis Brian*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Thomas Moor*, Sir *Giles Hussy*, Sir *John Russel*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *George Cobham*, Sir *John Cornwallis*, Sir *Edward Ridgley*, and some others; and after the Earl had lain a while on the Coast of *Britain*, he was commanded home by the King's Letters: who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a place called the *Cow*, under the Isle of *Wight*, and then went on land, leaving divers of his Ships under the Governance of the Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*.

In this mean time divers exploits were achieved between them of the Garrison in the Marches of *Callice*, and the *French* men of *Bulloign*, where the *French* commonly had the worst: but being of no great moment, may well be passed over without relating. Likewise at the same time the Lord *Ross*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against *Scotland*, burnt the Town of

*Kelfie*, and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of stone, with all their Bulwarks.

King *Henry* intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in *France*, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*, he sent over to *Callice*; whither the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battels; the first was led by Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, the middleward by himself and his Brother the Lord *Edmund Howard*, the Rereward by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Winkefield*, both of them Knights of the Garter: and Sir *Edmund Guilford* was Captain of the Horsemen. In this Order the Earl entred the *French* ground the second of *September*, and took his Journey towards *Hedring*. By the way there came to him a great power of *Burgognians*, sent by the Lady *Margaret*, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Countrey, through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of *Selloys*, the Town of *Brunbrige*, *Sengerk*, *Botington*, and *Manstier*, with divers others. On the 16 of *September*, they came before the Castle of *Hedring*, and laid siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having not battering Ordnance, which by reason of the foul weather, he could not bring with him, after eleven days he raised his siege; and passing from thence to *Dortens*, burnt the Town, and rased the Castle, as also the Town of *Dortier*, and then the year being far spent, came back to *Callice* the sixteenth of *October*.

At this time the Duke of *Albany* being established Governour of *Scotland*, raised an Army of fourscore thousand men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the only report of his great Army would fright the *English*; but yet this stayed not the Lord *Marques Dorset*, Warden of the East and middle Marches, to enter into *Tividale*, and so forward ten Miles into *Galloway*, burning all Towns and Villages on every side as he passed. All that night he tarried within the *Scottish* ground, and the next day being Good-Friday, withdrew back into *England*, with a Head of four thousand Cattel; having burned *Grimsley*, *Mowhouse*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Ackforth*, *Crowling*, and many other Towns and Villages.

In King *Henry's* fourteenth year, on the fifteenth of *April* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Blackfryers*, whither the King came, and there sat down in his Royal Seat; at his feet on the right side sate the Cardinal of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behind stood Doctor *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the causes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he said) for remedying of mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Foreign Vouchers, and corrupt Trials; and for making new Laws for the good of the Commonwealth; whereof notwithstanding, no one word was spoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to chuse their Speaker, they chose Sir *Thomas More*, who at first disabling himself, at last made two Petiti-

The Earl of  
Surrey wins  
many towns  
in France.

The Earl of  
Surrey Ad-  
miral, sur-  
prised Mor-  
leys in France

An. Reg. 14.  
1523.

A Parliament  
holden at  
Blackfryers.



The Speaker  
makes two  
Petitions to  
the King.

ons to the King; one for himself, that if he should be sent by the Commons to the King on a Message, and mistake their intent, he might then with the King's pleasure resort again to the Commons, to know their meaning. The other, for the House of Commons, that if in communication and reasoning, any man should speak more largely than of duty he ought to do, yet all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred of Record. Which Petitions were granted, and then the Parliament began; where at first a Subsidy was demanded, but as there was much ado in the House of Commons about it, so there was no less amongst the Clergy in the Convocation House; for Richard Bishop of Winchester and John Bishop of Rochester were much against it, but most of all, one Rowland Philips, Vicar of Croydon, and a Canon of Pauls; but the Cardinal taking him aside, dealt so with him, that he took him off, so as he came no more to the House; and then the Bell-weather (as one saith) giving over his hold, the rest soon yielded; and so was granted the half of all their spiritual yearly Revenues, to be paid in five years following. The Clergy being thus brought on, on the nine and twentieth of April, the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, to work them also; and there, shewing the great charges the King was necessarily to be at in his present Wars, demanded the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised of the fifth part of every man's Goods and Lands, which was four shillings of every pound. This demand was enforced the day after by the Speaker Sir Thomas More; but the Burgeses were all against it, shewing that it was not possible to have it gathered in money; for that men of Lands had not the fifth part thereof in Coyn. And further alledged, that there be not many Parishes in England, one with another, able to spare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Towns; and seeing there were not above thirteen thousand Parishes in the Kingdom, (at this day there are but 9285) how could such a sum be raised? Hereupon certain of the House were sent to move the Cardinal, to be a means to the King to accept of a lesser sum; but the Cardinal answered, he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his mouth with a pair of Pincers, than make to the King any such motion. Whereupon the Cardinal came again into the House, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand; to which it was answered, that the Order of that House was to hear, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinal was gone, the Commons, after long debating the matter, at last agreed of two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence, and under forty shillings of every head of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in two years: when this was told to the Cardinal, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty pound Land and upward, by the motion of Sir John Hussy, a Knight of Lincolnshire, were charged with twelve pence more in the pound, to be paid in three years.

How many  
Parishes in  
the King-  
dom.

The Cardinal to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to four shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinal for it; saying withal, that ere it were long he would look to things himself, without any Substitute. Which speech of the King's, though it danted the Cardinal for a while, yet he soon recovered his spirits, and was as peremptory afterward as he had been before. After this the Parliament was Prorogued till the tenth of June; during which Prorogation, the Common people said to the Burgeses. We hear say, you will grant four shillings of the pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home; with many like threatnings. At this time, the Cardinal, by his power Legantine, dissolved his Convocation at Pauls, convoked by the Archbishop of Canterbury, calling him and all the Clergy to the Convocation at Westminster: which was never seen before in England, saith Hall. The one and thirtieth of July, the Parliament was adjourned to Westminster; and there continuing till the thirteenth of August, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved.

The Cardinal  
makes a  
false report  
to the House  
of Commons.

The Parlia-  
ment dissolv-  
ed at nine a  
Clock at  
night.

About this time the Bishop of Durham died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinal; who resigned the Bishoprick of Bath to Doctor John Clerk, Master of the Rolls; and Sir Henry Marney, that was Vice-Chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seal, and shortly after was created Lord Marney: Also during this Parliament, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Bastard-Son to King Edward the Fourth, at Bridewel, was created Vicount Lisle, in the right of his Wife, who was Wife before to Edmund Dudley beheaded.

Sir Henry  
Marney crea-  
ted Lord  
Marney.  
Sir Arthur  
Plantagenet  
baste Son of  
King Edward  
the Fourth  
is created  
Vicount  
Lisle.

The fifteenth of June, in the fifteenth year of the King's Reign, Christian King of Denmark with his Queen, driven out of his own Country, came into England, and was lodged at Bath-Place; who, after he had been feasted by the King, and by the City of London, and received great gifts of both, returned again into Flanders, where he remained as a banished man: Some years after, King Henry sent Doctor Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Sir John Baker Knight, into Denmark, to perswade the people to receive him again into his Kingdom; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

An. Reg. 15.  
1524.

About this time the Earl of Kildare, having recovered again the favour of the Cardinal, was sent Deputy into Ireland, as he had been before, where he reduced the wild Irish to indifferent conformity. All this while had England Wars both with the French and with the Scots. In Scotland the Marquess of Dorset threw down the Castles of Wederborne, of Nesgate, of Blackater, of Mackwalls, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. In France the Lord Sands, Treasurer of Callice, with twelve hundred men went before Bulloigne, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Countrey, returned back to Callice, with the loss

The Earl of  
Kildare doth  
good service  
in Ireland.

The Mar-  
quess Dorset  
in Scotland.

The Lord  
Sands in  
France.



Sir William Fitzwilliams with 700 beat six thousand French.

The Duke of Suffolk sent with an Army into France.

How marshalled.

loss only of a dozen men. King Henry being advertised that the Duke of Albany was providing of Forces in France, with which to return into Scotland, sent forth his Vice-Admiral Sir William Fitzwilliams, with divers great Ships to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of Treport; where with seven hundred men, he beat six thousand French that sought to impeach his landing, took their Bulwarks and much Ordnance in them, burned the Suburbs of the Town of Treport, and all in five hours, and then returned.

All this while King Henry had play'd with the French, but now he seems to be in earnest, and therefore sends over the Duke of Suffolk with an Army, the four and twentieth of August; attended with the Lord Montacute and his Brother Sir Arthur Pool, the Lord Herbert, Son to the Earl of Worcester, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Murney, the Lord Sands, the Lord Barkley, the Lord Powis, and the Baron Curson, Sir Richard Winkefield, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir John Vere, Sir Edward Nevil, Sir William Kingstone, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Andrew Windfore, Sir Robert Winkefield, Sir Anthony Winkefield, Sir Edward Guilford, Sir Edward Greville, Sir Edward Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Everard Digby, Sir Adrian Fokew, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir William Courtney, Sir William Sidney, Sir Henry Owen, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were six hundred Demi-lances, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on foot, and five thousand Bill-men. Also seventeen hundred taken out of the Garrisons of Hammes, Guisnes, and Callice, in all ten thousand and five hundred, besides two thousand six hundred Labourers and Pioneers. With this Army the Duke of Suffolk took the field, his Vantguard was led by the Lord Sands; the Captain of the right Wing was Sir William Kingston, and of the left Sir Everard Digby: the Captain of all the Horsemen was Sir Edward Guilford, Marshal of Callice; the Duke himself led the Battel, and Sir Richard Winkefield the Rereward. The Duke's enterprise was the winning of Bell Castle, which the Lord Sands and the Lord Ferrers assaulted, and had it yielded to them, and then Sir William Skevington was placed Captain in it. At this time the Duke of Bourbon, high Constable of France, began to have his mind alienated from the King of France, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of Suffolk sent Sir John Russel (afterward created Duke of Bedford) to him, who passing in disguised Apparel, so prevailed with him, that he professed to take part with the Emperor, and the King of England, who having ten thousand Almaines in his pay, it was thought fit (for encouragement of the English) to proclaim in the Army the access of so powerful an assistant: And thereupon the Duke of Suffolk removed to Ard, and so forward into Picardy. At Cordes between Terwin and St. Omers, there came to him the Lord of Isenstein, and with him of Spaniards, Almaines, and others, three thousand footmen, and five hundred Horse. With these Forces, the Duke marching on, took first the rich Town of Anchor,

then the Castle of Bounguard, and then by assault the Town of Bray, though two thousand good men of War were in it: After this, the Towns of Cappe and Roy, Libome and Davenker. And then came before the Town of Mount-Dedier, in which were a thousand foot and five hundred horse; yet upon Sir William Skevington's Batteries, was yielded to him. From hence he removed to Roy, where he rested a while with his whole Army: and there on Allkolland-day, in the chief Church of Roy, made Knights, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Powis, Oliver Manners, Arthur Pool, Richard Sands, Robert Jerningham, Robert Salisbury, Edward Benningfield, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, William Storton, Walter Mantel, George Warram, and Edward Seymor (that was after Duke of Somerset.) The day after, the Army removed to a place called Neele, from thence to Veane, and then to Beauford, where the Duke made John Dudley, and Robert Utreight Knights; and from thence on the eighth of November, to a place called Mount Saint Martin; here the Welshmen began to murmur, that they might not return home, the Winter being so far spent; but there was to the number of a thousand persons, under the leading of Sir John Wallope, who having no wages but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by some Kreekers, and these had more desire to stay, than the Welshmen had to be gone; for the great gains they made by the spoils of so many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of November the Duke removed to a place within two miles of Bogan Castle, defended by great Marishes, that lay before it, but the Frost being at that time so great, that many lost their Fingers and Toes with cold, and some died; Sir Edward Guilford acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Marishes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordnance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then and go on, which he resolutely did, and had the Castle presently delivered up to him. In this mean time, the King hearing in what state the Army stood, had prepared six thousand men to be sent to the Duke for a relief, under the leading of the Lord Montjoy; but before they could be put in order to pass the Sea, the Duke, partly by extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was constrained to break up his Army, and return to Callice.

In this mean time, the Scots knowing that the strength of England was gone into France, took boldness to invade the Marches; but then the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer and High Admiral of England, with six thousand men, being sent against them, took divers of their Castles and Holds; and at Redworth skirmishing with a great Garrison of Scots, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Castle. And now the French King finding that the Scots did not work any great trouble to the English, whereby to keep them from molesting of France, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of Albany's presence, whom they accounted their Governour, he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to transport him into Scotland; but when the Duke of Albany heard;

He wins many towns.

A great Frost.



heard, that Sir William Fitz-williams was sent with a great Fleet to stop his passage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Brest*, and gave it out that he would not go into *Scotland* that year; which being told to the King of England, he commanded that his Ships also should be laid up in Havens till the next Spring. And now see the cunning of the *Scot*; for when he saw the King's Ships discharged, he then boldly took Shipping himself, and sailed into *Scotland*; whither being come he presently levied a great Army, and approached the *English* Borders; but when he heard the Earl of *Surrey* was coming against him with a mighty power, he then sent a Herald to him, promising of his Honour, to give him Battel; and if he took him prisoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earl answered, that he would not fail to abide his Battel; but if he took him prisoner, the quarter he would give him, should be to cut off his head, and send it for a present to his Master the King of England. At this time the Earl of *Surrey* being at *Alnewick*, came the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle*, and *Darcy*, with many Knights, Gentlemen, and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thousand: and from the Court came the Master of the Horse, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and others. The last of *October*, the Duke of *Albany* sent two or three thousand men over the water to besiege the Castle of *Warke*; who by battery of their Ordnance won the outermost Ward, called the *Barnekens*; and continuing their battery, won the second Ward, but then Sir *William Lisle*, that was Captain of the Castle, issuing forth with those few he had left, drove the *French* men from the place, and slew of them to the number of three hundred; a memorable service, and for which the Earl of *Surrey* afterwards gave him great thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his Enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commission was only to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after, the Queen of *Scots*, Mother to the King, sent to her Brother the King of *England*, for an abstinence from War, till a further communication might be had; which being granted, the *English* Army brake up, and the Earl of *Surrey* returned to the Court.

And now for a while we must be content to hear of petty Occurrences, because greater did not happen; which if it make us like the Story the worse, it may make us like the times the better; seeing they are ever the best times that afford least matter to be talked of: but this time will last but a while; for shortly we shall come to hear Occurrences, that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never scarce been seen, and will hardly be believed, when they are heard; a Marriage dissolved after twenty years consummation; Houses built in Piety, under pretence of Piety demolished; a King made a Captive; a Pope held a Prisoner; Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church it self shaken, that it hath stood in distraction ever since.

At this time the Emperor *Charles* sent to the

King of *England* two Mules trapped in Crimson Velvet, richly embroidered; also eleven goodly Jennets trapped with Russet Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of strange Timber, and work richly garnished; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he sent two Mules richly trapped, and high Chairs after the *Spanish* fashion: which Presents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

Presents sent to the King and Queen by the Emperor.

At this time in the month of *October* the Cardinal sent out Commissions, that every man, being worth forty pounds, should pay the whole Subsidy before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: which fine new word, he thought, would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better than any words he could devise.

The Cardinal requires the Subsidy to be paid by Anticipation.

In this year the King sent the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Hussy* Knight, and Doctor *Lee* his Almoner, to *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of *Noremberg*, to his great contentment.

In this year, through Books of Prognostications, foreshewing much hurt to come by waters and floods, many persons with-drew themselves to high grounds, for fear of drowning; specially one *Bolton*, Prior of Saint *Bartholomews* in *Smithfield*, builded him an House upon *Harrow* on the Hill, and thither went and made provision for two months. These great waters should have fallen in *February*, but no such thing happening, the Astronomers excused themselves, by saying, that in the computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred years.

A great Inundation threatened by Prognostication, but mistaken.

In this mean time, many enterprises were attempted, between the *English* men of *Callice* and *Guysnes*, and the *French* men of *Bulloign* and the Frontiers of *Picardy*; and still Sir *William Fitz-williams* Captain of *Guysnes*, Sir *Robert Ferningham*, Captain of *Newnham* Bridge, Sir *John Wallope*, and Sir *John Gage*, were the men that did the *French* most hurt.

This year, the first of *September*, was Doctor *Thomas Hannibal* Master of the Rolls received into *London*, by Earls, Bishops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambassador from Pope *Clement*, who brought with him a Rose of Gold for a Present to the King: and on the day of the Nativity of our Lady, after a solemn Mass sung by the Cardinal of *Tork*, the said Present was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with Branches, Leaves, and Flowers resembling Roses.

A Present sent to the King from the Pope.

About the beginning of Winter, the Adventurers called *Kreekers* being not above two hundred, and of them five and twenty Horsemen, made an attempt to fetch some booty from a Village not far from *Muttrell*; whereof the Earl of *Dammartin* having notice, he set upon them with a far greater number, and slew most of them; and this was the end of the *Kreekers*, as brave men as ever served any Prince.

The Adventurers called Kreekers, all destroyed.

In *December* this year, there came to *London* divers Ambassadors out of *Scotland*, about a Peace to be had; and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of *Scots*, and the

A policy of the Duke of Albany.

The Earl of Surrey his service against the Scots.



the Lady Mary Daughter to the King of England.

At this time the Lord Leonard Gray, and the Lord John Gray, Brothers to the Lord Marques Dorset, Sir George Cobham, Son to the Lord Cobham, William Cary, Sir John Dudley, Thomas Wyat, Francis Points, Francis Sidney, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Edward Seymour, Oliver Manners, Percival Hart, Sebastian Newdigate, and Thomas Calen, Esquires of the King's Household, made a challenge of Arms against the Feast of Christmas, which was proclaimed by Windsor the Herald, and performed at the time appointed, very nobly, as Tilts, Turneys, Barriers, and the assault of a Castle erected for that purpose, in the Tilt-yard at Greenwich, where the King held his Christmas that year with great state and magnificence.

1525. About this time, John Jokin Steward of the Household to the French King's Mother, came into England, and was received in secret manner, into the house of one Doctor Lark, a Prebendary of Saint Stephens; who oftentimes talked with the Cardinal about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of England and France: of whose often Meetings, Monsieur de Prate the Emperour's Ambassadour grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of January, Monsieur Brynion, President of Roan, came to London as Ambassadour from the French King, and was lodged with the said John Jokin; which small things should not be related, but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

On Sunday the fifth of March, were received into London Monsieur de Bever, Lord of Campher, Admiral of Flanders; Monsieur John de la Coose President of Malines, and Master John de la Gache, as Ambassadours from the Lady Margaret, in the Name of the Emperour, who required three things: First, They demanded the Lady Mary, the King's only Daughter, to be presently delivered, and she to be named Empress, and as Governess take possession of all the Low-Countries. Secondly, That all such sums of money as the King should give with her in Marriage, should be paid incontinently. Thirdly, That the King of England should pass the Sea in person, and make War in France the next Summer. The first two Demands were not agreed to for certain causes. And as to the third, the King said he would take time to advise. On Thursday the ninth of March, a Gentleman came in Post from the Lady Margaret, with Letters signifying, That whereas the King of France had lien long at the siege of Pavia, he had now been forced to raise his siege, and was himself taken prisoner by the Imperialists; for joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in London, and on the twentieth of March, being Sunday, the King himself came to Pauls, and there heard a solemn Mass. But for all this shew of joy, it was thought, if the King of France had not now been taken prisoner, that the King of England would have joyned in amity with him, as being angry with the Flemings for Inhabiting his Coyn in Flanders, which caused much money to be conveyed out of England thither. The King of France being taken prisoner, was after some time conveyed

into Spain, and at last brought to Madrid, where he fell so sick, that the Physicians had little hope of his life, unless the Emperour would be pleased speedily to visit him; Upon whose visitation he recovered his health, though not presently his strength. In which time many propositions were made for his delivery, but the Emperour would accept of none, without restitution of the Dutchy of Burgoigne. At last, the French King weary of Imprisonment, and longing for liberty, was content to agree to any Conditions; the chief whereof were, That the French King by a certain day should be set at liberty, and within six weeks after should resign to the Emperour the Dutchy of Burgoigne, with all Members pertaining to it; and at the same instant should put into the Emperour's hands the Dauphin of France, and with him either the Duke of Orleans his second Son, or else twelve principal Lords of France, whom the Emperour should name; and that there should be between them a League, and perpetual Confederation for defence of their Estates. Of whose attonement when King Henry heard, as before he had expressed gladness that he was taken prisoner, so now he sent Sir Thomas Cheiney to him, to express his joy for being set at liberty; so sudden is the interchange of love and hate amongst great Princes. The French King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady Isabel, Daughter to Emmanuel King of Portugal, and had with her in Dower Eleven hundred thousand Duckets; though three years before, being at Windsor, he had covenanted to take to Wife the Lady Mary King Henry's Daughter.

At this time Cardinal Woolsey obtained License of the King to erect a Colledge at Oxford, and another at Ipswich; and towards the charge of them got leave also to suppress certain small Monasteries, to the number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those Houses, to the maintenance of those two Colledges: a pernicious President, and that which made the King a way afterward to make a general suppression of all Religious Houses: though indeed there be great difference between converting of Monasteries into Colledges, and utter subverting them.

In March King Henry sent Cuthbert Tunstal Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Winkefield Chancellour of the Dutchy of Lancaster, into Spain, to confer with the Emperour about matters of great importance, and particularly about War to be made in France; and yet were these two Princes at this time in League: but he that shall observe the carriage of these two Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace, shall find it a strange Riddle of *Ragion di Stato*, and their Leagues to have been but meer Complements, where the scale was turned with the least grain of a Circumstance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept: for while one gave the occasion, and the other took it, though they were both Accessaries, yet neither was Principal; and where there

Upon delivery of the Dutchy of Burgoigne to the Emperour, he is set at liberty.

The Cardinal suppresseth forty Monasteries, towards the erecting of two Colledges.

The King of France is taken prisoner.



is not a principal, the Oath remains inviolate. And upon those hinges did the friendship of these Princes turn, as at this time the Emperor, though not long before he had parted with the King of England in the greatest kindness that could be, yet gave not the English Ambassadors so kind entertainment now, as he had formerly done; but for what cause was not apparent unless upon some sinister report made to him, by Mounſieur de Prate; who having been his Leigier with the King of England, was without taking leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperor before the English Ambassadors came.

The Cardinal seeks to raise money by a Commission: which the people oppose, and the King disclaims.

But howsoever King Henry being determined to make War in France himself in person, his Council fell into consideration how the charge of the War should be maintained; which care the Cardinal takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commissioners in all Shires, to sit and draw the people to pay the sixth part of every man's substance, in Plate or Money: but the people opposed it, alledging, that it was against the Law of the Realm, for any man to be charged with such payments, unless by Parliament: and as the Cardinal continued to press it, so the people continued to deny it; and when some for denying it were committed to prison, the Commons in many Countries made great Assemblies for their defence: the report whereof at last came to the King, who thereupon came to Westminster and protested openly, that it was done without his knowledge, and that it was never his meaning, to ask any thing of his Subjects but according to Law; and therefore desired to know by whose Authority it was done. Here the Cardinal excused himself and said, that it was the opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Council, that he might lawfully demand any sum, so it were done by Commission, and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take advantage of a distinction to draw money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave warning for doing any such thing hereafter: and signified so much by his Letters into all the Shires of England: giving also a general Pardon to all that had offered to rise upon it; which though he did of his own free grace, yet the Cardinal to win a good opinion in the Commons gave out, that it was by his means the King granted the Pardon.

An Reg. 17. 1525. Dukes and Earls created.

King Henry's seventeenth year, was honoured with advancing of many in honour; for on the eighteenth of June at his Palace of Bridewell, the King's Son (which he had by Elizabeth Blunt Daughter to Sir John Blunt Knight) called Henry Fitz-Roy, was created first Earl of Nottingham, and after on the same day, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Henry Courtney Earl of Devonshire was created Marquess of Exeter, the Lord Brandon Son to the Duke of Suffolk and the French Queen (a Child of two years old) was created Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Manors, Lord Ross was created Earl of Rutland, Sir Henry Clifford was created Earl of Cumberland, Sir Robert Ratcliffe Lord Fitz-water was created Vicount Fitz-water, and Sir Thomas Bullen Treasurer of the King's Household was created Vicount Rochford.

At this time the French King's Mother, as then Regent of France, procured by her Ambassadors, at first a Truce, and afterward a Peace with England, which was proclaimed in London, the eighth of September. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of England should receive at certain days twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which in sterling money amounted to the sum of four hundred thousand pound; whereof fifty was to be paid in hand. Sir William Fitz-williams, and Doctor Taylour, was sent to the Lady Regent, to take her corporal Oath, and likewise King Henry the four and twentieth of April, at Greenwich, in presence of the Ambassadors of France, Rome, and Venice, took his corporal Oath, to observe the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the French King, during his life, and one year after.

A Peace between England and France, for which a great sum of money paid to King Henry.

In this Winter was a great mortality in London, so as the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Christmasts at Eltham, with a small number, and was therefore called the still Christmasts. At which time, the Cardinal coming to the Court, took order for altering the state of the King's House: many Officers and other servants were discharged, and put to their pensions, in which number were four-score and four Yeomen of the Guard: who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but six pence the day without check, and commanded to go into their Countries.

The still Christmasts by reason of the sickness.

On Shrove-Tuesday this year, a solemn Juſts was held at Greenwich, the King and eleven other on the one part, the Marquess of Exeter, and eleven other of the other part.

In his nineteenth year, King Henry kept a solemn Christmasts at Greenwich, with Revels, Masks, Disguisings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of December and third of January were solemn Juſts holden, when at night the King and fifteen other with him, came to Bridewell, and there putting on masking Apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinal's place, where were at supper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the Dancing was made a great Banquet. This Christmasts was a Play at Grayes-Inne, made by one Master Roe a Serjeant at Law; the effect whereof was, that Lord Governancè was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose evil order Lady Publick Weal was put from Governance. This the Cardinal took to be meant by him, and thereupon sent the said Master Roe to the Fleet, though the Play were made long before the Cardinal had any authority: by which we may see how inseparable a companion suspicion is to a guilty conscience.

An Reg. 19. 1528.

The King visits the Cardinal in a Mask.

The fourteenth of January came to the Court Don Hugo de Mendoza, a Grandee of Spain, as Ambassador from the Emperor to the King, with a large Commission, to make King Henry Judge; how just the conditions were, which the Emperor required of the King of France: and about this negotiation tarried two years in England: so desirous the Emperor was to continue good correspondence with the King of England.

King Henry made arbitrator between the Emperor and the King of France.

On Shrove-Tuesday the King and the Marquess of Exeter with others, in most sumptuous attire



The first exception taken to the lawfulness of the Kings marriage.

attire came to the Tilt, and ran so many courses, till two hundred fourscore and six Spears were broken; and then disarming themselves, went into the Queens Chamber, where a sumptuous Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the last of the Queens preparing: for hitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulness of her marriage, but now came over Ambassadors from the King of France, requiring to have the King's Daughter, the Lady Mary, to be given in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, second Son to their Master the French King; wherein they that were the suitors for it, were the hinderers of it: for amongst them was the President of Paris, who made a doubt whether the marriage between King Henry and the Lady Katharine of Spain, having been his Brother's Wife, were lawful or no. But howsoever the French Ambassadors at Greenwich on Sunday the fifth of May, in the Name of their Master the French King, took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them during their lives. And shortly after were sent Sir Thomas Bullen, Viscount Rochford, and Sir Anthony Brown Knight, as Ambassadors to the King of France, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

Rome sacked by the Imperials, and the Pope and Cardinals coopt up as prisoners.

Causes of King Henry's breaking League with the Emperour.

But enough of small Occurrences; and indeed there will be Occurrences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard: for now the Duke of Bourbon General of the Emperour's Army in Italy, was slain by a shot from the Walls of Rome, as he was passing by; upon whose death the Army entered and sacked the City, made the Pope flee to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and there cooped him up; abused the Cardinals, and put them to grievous ransomes, spared neither Sacred Places, nor Religious Persons, but committed all manner of barbarous and inhumane Cruelty. These Insolencies of the Emperour's Army committed against the Pope; together with the hard Conditions the Emperour had imposed upon the King of France for setting him at liberty; and the Emperour's breach of promise in not marrying the Lady Mary King Henry's Daughter, were the apparent causes of King Henry's breaking League with the Emperour Charles: But a more enforcing, though concealed cause, perhaps, was the growing greatness of the Emperour, by his conquests in Italy and other places; enough to breed a jealousy in all neighbouring Princes; and indeed, King Henry had some cause to think the Emperour's spirits were grown higher with his Victories; seeing where before he was wont always to write Letters to King Henry with his own hand, and subscribe them, Your Son and faithful Friend; now after his Victories in Italy, he caused his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only Charles. And yet a more pressing cause, though not avowed, might be the Cardinals spleen against the Emperour, for denying him the Bishoprick of Toledo in Spain. But whichsoever of these was the predominant cause, all of them together made a cause sufficient for King Henry to fall off from amity with the Emperour; and his falling off from the Emperour, cause sufficient to fall in with

the King of France: and thereupon the two Kings send their several Heralds to the Emperour; King Henry, Clarentius; the French King, his Herald Guyen, to expostulate their grievances with the Emperour; and he refusing to return a satisfactory Answer, to despise him as their Enemy. The Emperour heard the Heralds with great temper, and answered Clarentius very mildly; That he knew his Masters grievance was grounded upon mis-information, wherein he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more than to continue his Friend; but Guyen he answered roughly, bidding him tell his Master, that he had broken his Faith in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his liberty; and with these answers dismissed them: only Guyen not thinking it fit to deliver his Answer, being in such terms, by word of mouth, obtained to have it sent in writing. The Heralds being returned home, and delivering the Answers, the King of France was so incensed to be charged with breach of Faith, that soon after he sent another defiance to the Emperour, telling him in plain terms, That he lyed in his throat; and thereupon challenged him to the Combat, requiring him to appoint the field, and himself would the Weapons. The Emperour accepted the Challenge; but other Occurrences intervening, hindered the performance.

The King of France gives the Emperour the lye, and challengeth him to a Combat.

The Cardinal goeth into France with a train of 1200 Horse.

In this mean time, the Cardinal was appointed to go Ambassador to the King of France, carrying with him Twelve-score thousand pounds, to be employed by the French King, and other the Confederates, in a War against the Emperour, who the eleventh of July took shipping at Dover, and landed that day at Callice; with whom was Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of London, the Lord Sands Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of Derby, Sir Henry Guilford, Sir Thomas More, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of Twelve hundred Horse. At Amyens he was received by the French King himself, and by his Mother, and by all the chief Peers of France; By whom it was agreed, That Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperour; which if refused; then the French King should marry the Lady Mary, King Henry's Daughter, and they both to be Enemies to the Emperour. These things concluded, the Cardinal returned; and on the last of September came to the King at Richmond. In October following, there came Ambassadors from the French King, to take King Henry's Oath for observing the League with the King of France: and on Sunday the tenth of November, King Henry at Greenwich received the Order of Saint Michael by the hands of the Lord Annas de Memorancie, great Master of the King's Household, and Monsieur Humeries: as likewise the same day at Paris the French King received the Order of the Garter by the hands of the Lord Lisle, Doctor Taylor Master of the Rolls, Sir Nicholas Carew Master of the King's Horse, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas Wriothesly Knight, otherwise called Garter King of Arms, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Collar, and other Habilliments of the Order.



Upon King Henry's defiance of the Emperour in the French King's quarrel, English Merchants their Ships and Goods were attached in Spain and in the Low-Countries, as likewise all Spanish and Flemish Merchants were attached here; which being very detrimental to both Nations, at last, by mediation of Hugo de Mendoza, the Emperour's Ambassadour Legier, a reconciliation was made, and free traffick between the Nations was revived.

In his twentieth year, on the two and twentieth of February, Sir Piers Butler of Ireland was created Earl of Ossory. And now King Henry began to be troubled in mind about his marriage with Queen Katharine; but whether his trouble of mind grew for scruple of Conscience, or from desire of change, was by many men doubted; some thought he had set his affection upon the Lady Ann Bullen, whom afterward he married; and to make way for that marriage, moved this Scruple, that he might be divorced: but this is not likely; for he married not the said Lady till above three years after this doubt had been moved; and three years was a long time to have affection be delayed, which commonly is impatient of delay: If King Henry's own protestation may be taken, it was very scruple of Conscience that troubled his mind: But then by what means this scruple came first into his head, is another doubt; some thought it was first moved by his Confessor Doctor Longland, telling him, that the Marriage with the Relict of his Brother could not be lawful: but neither is this likely; for Doctor Longland was not like to tell him so, who knew the Marriage had been made by dispensation from the Pope, an Authority in that time beyond exception: some thought it was a plot of Woolsey's, thereby to make variance between King Henry and the Emperour, with whom he was at variance himself, and for spleen to the Nephew, be revenged upon the Aunt; but neither is this likely, or else the Cardinal was much deceived in his plot; for though the Emperour laboured Milan and some other Universities, to forbear giving Sentence against the Marriage, yet he continued amity with King Henry as much afterward as before. If we will believe the King himself, it was the President of Paris, coming Ambassadour from the King of France, that first moved it, upon a Proposition of Marriage between the Lady Mary, King Henry's Daughter, and the Duke of Orleans, second Son to the French King: but by what means soever this scruple had beginning, King Henry's desire was now it should have an ending; and that the matter might be debated with indifferency, he allowed the Queen to make choice of what Council she thought best; who thereupon chose William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas West Bishop of Ely, Doctors of the Law; John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish Bishop of St. Asaph, Doctors of Divinity, with many other: In the mean time he sent to all the Universities in Italy and France, to have their opinions, but specially to the Court of Rome, desiring the Pope to send his Legate to hear the Cause, who thereupon sent Cardinal Campejus, and joined Cardinal Woolsey in Commission

with him. The place appointed for the Cardinals to sit and to hear the Cause, was at the Black-friers; where in the great Hall preparation was made of Seats, and all things necessary for such a Session. Among other Officers of the Court, Stephen Gardiner (afterward Bishop of Winchester) sate as chief Scribe. The Court being set, the Judges commanded silence whilst their Commission was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call the King by the name of K. Henry of England, come into the Court; who answered, Here: Then called he the Queen, by the name of Katharine Q. of England, come into the Court. The Queen, though present, yet answered not; but rising from her seat, went to the place where the King sate, and kneeling down, said in effect; Sir, I humbly desire you to take pity upon me, for I am a poor Woman and a stranger, and I have here no indifferent Council, where all are your Subjects; and less assurance of friendship, when they all depend upon your favour: I have been your Wife these twenty years, and have born you divers Children; if you can charge me with dishonesty or undutifulness, I am content to depart from you to my shame; but if you cannot, I then desire you to do me justice, and to spare me until I may know what counsel my friends in Spain will give me; but if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled. And having so said, she rose up; and making a low courtesie, departed. The King being advertised, that she was going out of the House, commanded the Crier to call her again; who thereupon called her, saying, Katharine Queen of England, come into the Court: Which her Gentlemen-usher, Master Griffith, hearing, told her, Madam, you are called. Well (said she) it makes no matter, I will not tarry, go your way. And thus she departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himself. The Queen being gone, the King said, I confess she hath been to me the most dutiful and loving Wife that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this scruple of my Conscience, I would not leave her for any Woman living; and having now referred the Judgment of the Cause to these Commissioners, I should be most glad they could find the Marriage between us to be in such sort lawful, that with obedience to the Law of God we might continue together: for I take God to witness, there is nothing I more desire. This said, the King rose, and the Court was adjourned to another day: for notwithstanding the Queen's Appeal (from which she would by no means be drawn) the Cardinals continued their Session weekly, and heard all of both sides. The point that was chiefly stood on, was, Whether Prince Arthur had ever had carnal knowledge of her, or no: The Kings Council alledged, he had, and proved it; first, by Prince Arthur's speech the next morning after his Marriage, That he had been that night in the midst of Spain: And then by the words of the last Dispensation, *Vel forsan cognitam*: The Queen's Advocates alledged the contrary; appealing to the King's own Conscience, whom the Queen charged that he knew to be a Virgin when he married her (though to say the

King Henry is cited to the Court, and appears. The Queen is cited, and appears: but making her protestation, departs, and appeals to the Pope.

King Henry justifieth his Queen's dutifulness.

The chief point of difference was, whether Prince Arthur had ever carnal knowledge of her.

The Queen is allowed her Council to debate the lawfulness of her marriage. The Pope sends his Legate to hear the Cause.



the truth, it were strange Prince *Arthur* and she having lien five months together, and he no less than almost 16 years old.) But whilst arguments were thus argued on both sides, and no certainty could appear, the King sent the two Cardinals to the Queen, lying then in *Bridewell*, to perswade her, she should submit her self to the King's pleasure, and not to stand so peremptorily to her Appeal. The Cardinals coming to her, found her at work amongst her Maids, with her skain of white thread about her neck: who having heard their Message, answered, That in all other things she would willingly submit her self to the King's will, but in this, which concerned her honesty, and the legitimacy of her Children, she durst not, but would rely upon the wisdom and piety of both their Fathers, who (she knew) would never have assented to the marriage, if there had been the least scruple of unlawfulness in it; and other answer she would not give. Upon their return to the King, when he perceived she could not be removed from her opinion, he commanded the Court to go on; so that at last it came to judgment, which every man expected should be the next day. At which day the King came thither (but in so secret a manner, that he might hear, and not be seen) where the King's Council at the Bar calling for Judgment, Cardinal *Campejus*, as being chief Commissioner, stood up and said; I find the case very doubtful, and the party defendant standing to her Appeal; I will therefore give no Judgment till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourn the Court for this time, according to the Order of the Court of *Rome*, which hears no Causes judicially from the last of *July* till the fourth of *October*; at which portraction of time, King *Henry* was not a little angry; and the Duke of *Suffolk* being present, in a great rage said, It was never merry in *England* since we had Cardinals amongst us. Soon after this, the Cardinal took his leave of the King, and returned to *Rome*. He was indeed commanded so to do by the Pope; who would else most willingly have gratified King *Henry*, that had bestowed upon him the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*. Whilst these things were enacted, Cardinal *Woolsey* had an inkling of the King's affection to *Anne Bullen*, Daughter of the Vicount *Rochford*; and that the Divorce once passed, he meant to marry her; which Match, because for many reasons he misliked, one perhaps, because she was a *Lutheran*; he sent privily to the Pope, that by no means he should give sentence for the Divorce, till he had framed the King's mind another way: for his desire was, that the King should marry the Dutcheß of *Alanson*, the French King's Sister. This packing of *Woolsey* was not so closely carried, but that it soon came to the King's knowledge; and the King finding him a rub in his way, whom he expected to have expedited his proceeding, began to think it necessary to remove him, and to take him off from that greatness which had made him so presuming; and indeed he made short work with him: for soon after, he sent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to him for the Seal, which yet he would not deliver to them, till they brought him a Warrant under the King's own

hand. When the Seal was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker then of the Parliament (the first Layman that bore that Office in any memory) and in his room was chosen Speaker *Thomas Audley* Attorney of the Dutchy. *Woolsey* now removed from his Chancellorship, was in the Parliament then holden, charged with points of Treason: but that charge was so clearly taken off by his servant *Thomas Crommel*, who was then of the House, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great commendation of *Crommel*, both for abilities in himself, and faithfulness to his Master.

After this, the King being informed, that all those things which the Cardinal had done by his power Legantine, were within the case of *Præmunire*; he caused his Attorney *Christopher Hales* to sue out a *Præmunire* against him; and thereupon the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were sent unto him, to let him know, the King's pleasure was, he should go to *Asher*, a House near to *Hampton-Court*, belonging to his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and there to reside: whereupon the Cardinal, having first delivered up all his Moveables to the King's use (the greatest store, and richest, that was ever known of any Subject,) went presently to *Putney* by water and from thence rode to *Asher*, where he and his Family continued three or four weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-clothes, or Dishes to eat their Meat in, or Money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of *Carlisle*. After this, his matter for the *Præmunire* being called upon in the King's Bench, his two Attorneys confessed the Action, and thereupon had Judgment to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the King's Protection; but the King of his clemency sent him a sufficient Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, with Plate and Stuff convenient for his Dignity. His Bishoprick of *Duresme* was given to Doctor *Tunstal*, Bishop of *London*; his Abbey of *Saint Albans* to the Prior of *Normich*; and the Bishoprick of *London* to Doctor *Stokesley*, Ambassador then beyond the Seas.

In this mean while, *Margaret* Dutcheß of *Savoy*, Aunt to the Emperour, and the Lady *Loyis* Dutcheß of *Angolessine*, Mother to the French King, met at *Cambray* to treat of a Peace between the Emperour, the Pope, and the King's of *England* and *France*, where were present Doctor *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, Commissioners for the King of *England*; after long debating, through the diligence of the said Ladies, a Peace was concluded; and was therefore called, The Womans Peace; and was indeed as fickle as Women, for it was soon broken, and neither of the Princes trusted the other e're the more for it.

King *Henry* before this time had been wholly ruled by the Cardinal and by the Clergy; but now, growing sensible of that error, he called his High Court of Parliament, in which the Commons complained sharply of their grievances against the Clergy, especially in six things.

The first, for that they exacted unreasonable sums of money, as due Fees, for the probate of mens last Wills and Testaments; insomuch, that Sir *Henry Guilford*

*Woolsey* is in a *Præmunire*; and is confined to *Asher*.

The Commons in Parliament complain against the Clergy, and wherein.

The Queen continues in her Appeal.

Cardinal *Campejus* adjourns the Court.

*Woolsey* seeks to cross the King about his marrying the Lady *Anne Bullen*, and why.

*Woolsey* hath the Great Seal taken from him: and is charged with Treason, but acquitted.



Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the King's House, declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir William Compton, payed for the Probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand Mark.

The second, The extream exaction which spiritual men used in taking of Corps or Mortuaries.

The third, That spiritual men became Farmers of great Granges and Farms, to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Graziers.

The fourth, because many Abbots, Priors, and other spiritual men, kept Tan houses, and bought and sold Wool, Cloth, and other Wares, as temporal Merchants.

The fifth, Because such Clergy-men as had the best Livings, would take the uttermost of their right, and yet live in the Court, or in Noble-mens or in Bishops houses, where they spent nothing.

The sixth, Because divers ignorant men amongst them held ten or twelve Benefices to themselves severally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great Scholars at small pension.

These things before this time might not be touched, because the Bishops were Chancellours, and had all the rule about the King; but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to these complaints: whereupon the Burgeses drew up their Bills; one of the Probate of Testaments; another for Mortuaries; and the third for Non-residence, Pluralities, and taking of Farms by spiritual men. The Bill of Mortuaries passed first the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords: When two days after, was sent up the Bill of Probate of Testaments, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the Bishops, much frowned, but specially John Fisher Bishop of Rochester; who rose up and said, My Lords, you see what Bills come daily from the Commons House, and all is to the destruction of the Church: For God's sake, consider what a Realm Bohemia was; and when the Church went down, then fell the Glory of that Kingdom: Now with our Commons is nothing but down with the Church; and all this, me seemeth, is for lack of Faith only. When these words were reported to the House of Commons, they took the matter very hainously; and thereupon sent their Speaker Thomas Audeley, with thirty of the House to the King, complaining what a dishonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to say, That they which were elected for the wisest men of all Shires, should be charged to lack Faith, which was all one as to fly, they were infidels and no Christians; so as what Acts or Laws soever they made, should be taken as Laws made by Paynims and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men. And therefore humbly besought His Majesty to call the said Bishop of Rochester before him, to give an account of the words he had spoken. Whereupon within few days after, the King sent for the Bishop, and acquainted him with the Commons complaint against him; who excused himself, by saying he meant the doings of the Bohemians was for lack of Faith, and not the doings of the House of Commons: Of which excuse, the King sent

word to the House by Sir William Fitz-Williams Treasurer of his Household; but it pleased the Commons nothing at all. After divers meetings between the Lords and the Commons about the Bills of Probate of Testaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own Laws and Constitutions; and the Spirituality defended them by Prescription and Usage: To whom a Gentleman of Grays-Inn made this answer, The usage hath ever been of Thieves to rob on Shooters-bill; is it therefore lawful? Whilst these Bills were in debate, an Act was passed, which released to the King all such sums of Money as he had borrowed at the Loan, in the fifteenth year of his Reign: Which Bill at first was much opposed; but the most part of the House being the King's Servants, it was at last assented to: Which once known in the Countrey abroad, made much murmuring, and the Parliament to be ill spoken of; for every man counted it a sure debt; so as some made their Wills of the money, and some turned it over in satisfaction to their Creditors. To qualifie which grievance, the King granted a general Pardon for all offences (certain excepted) and was a means also to have the three Bills passed; one for a Probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by spiritual persons, though this last with some qualifying.

During this Parliament, the King created Vicount Rochford, Earl of Wiltshire; the Vicount Fitz-water, Earl of Essex; and the Lord Hastings, Earl of Huntington.

By this time the Lords of the Upper House had drawn certain Articles against the Cardinal, and sent them down to the House of Commons, the chief whereof were these.

First, That without the Kings assent he hath procured himself to be made a Legate, by reason whereof he took away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

Secondly, That in all his Writings which he wrote to Rome, or to any Forreign Prince, he wrote Ego & Rex meus, I and my King; so preferring himself before the King.

Thirdly, That without the King's assent, he carried the Great Seal of England with him into Flanders.

Fourthly, That having the French Pox, he presumed to come and breath upon the King.

Fifthly, That he caused the Cardinals Hat to be put upon the King's Coin.

Sixthly, That he would not suffer the King's Clerk of the Market to sit at Saint Albans.

Seventhly, That he had sent infinite store of Treasure to Rome for purchasing of his Dignity.

These Articles were read in the House, and if not otherwise proved, yet confessed afterward under the Cardinal's own hand, which added to the former Præmunire; all his Lands and Goods were seized on to the King's use.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to Greenwich, and there kept his Christmas with his Queen Katharine, in great state: for though this matter of making void the marriage between them, was hotly pursued by the King; yet abstaining only from her Bed, he

Prescription not enough to make a thing lawful.

Earls created.

Articles drawn by the Parliament against the Cardinal.

An inconsiderate speech of Fisher Bishop of Rochester.

And how he excused it.

con-



conversed with her still, and they kept Court together, in as loving manner as they had done before. And now King Henry understanding that the Pope and the Emperor were to meet at *Bologna*, he sent Ambassadors thither, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Doctor *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, and Doctor *Lee*, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperor, the opinions of divers learned men in the matter of his Marriage; who all agree that it was against the Law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to do him Justice, and shewing to the Emperor, that the King moved this matter for discharge of his Conscience only, and to no other end. To which the Pope answered, That when he came to *Rome*, he would hear the matter disputed, and do the King right. The Emperor answered, That he would in no case be against the Law of God, and if this Marriage were judged such by the Court of *Rome*, he would rest contented: with these Answers the Ambassadors returned.

An. Reg. 12.  
1531.

The Island of Malta given by the Emperor to the Master of Saint Johns of Jerusalem.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King Henry's Reign, when the Emperor gave to the Master of St. Johns of Jerusalem the Island of *Malta*, in supplying of the Island of *Rhodes*, which the *Turk* sometime before had won from that Order.

In this year the New Testament having been Translated into *English*, by *Tindal*, *Joy*, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it, were sharply punished by command of the Bishops, and Sir *Thomas More* then Lord Chancellor; but none was more violent in the matter than the Bishop of *London*, who caused all the Books to be brought into *Pauls Church-yard*, and there burned.

An Act made that no more Annats should be paid to Rome.

Nor no Appeals to the Pope.

King Henry having heard by good information, that when *Campejus* was sent Legate into *England*, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce; but was afterward upon change of the Pope's mind, commanded to burn it; saw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keep it afoot for his own ends; neither to displease the Emperor by granting it, nor King Henry by not granting it, but promising expedition to keep him in expectance; yet using delays to keep him in dependance: and therefore resolved now to take such a course, that he should not need to care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon caused a Proclamation to be published, That no person of what estate or condition soever, should purchase, or attempt to purchase from the Court of *Rome*, any thing prejudicial to the Jurisdiction or Prerogative of this his Realm, upon pain of imprisonment, and other punishments at his Grace's pleasure: and shortly after an Act was made, That Bishops should pay no more Annats, or money for Bulls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Bishops, since the fourth year of King Henry the Seventh, an hundred and threescore thousand pounds, besides what had been paid for Pardons and other Dispensations: Another Act was also then made, That no person should appeal for any Cause out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Arch-

bishop, and from the Archbishop to the King; and all Causes of the King to be tryed in the upper House of the Convocation.

At this time the Cardinal lying still at *Asher*, and his Adversaries doubting lest lying so near the King, he might one time or other get access to the King's presence, and come again into favour; they used means to have him sent further off, and thereupon the King appointed him to go to his Diocese of *York*, and not to come Southward without special License; whereupon in Lent he made great preparation for his Journey, and having in his Train to the number of an hundred and threescore persons, by easie Journeys came to *Peterborow*, and there kept his Easter; the week after he went to *Stamford*, then to *Newark*, and so to *Southwell*, where he continued most part of all that Summer: and then rode to *Scroby*, where he stayed till *Michaelmas*, and then came to *Carwood-Castle*, within seven miles of *York*, where he kept a plentiful house for all comers; and repaired the Castle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At last, he determined to be installed at *York*, the next Monday after *Allhollan-day*; against

The Cardinal is commanded to his Diocese of York.

which time great preparation was made, and the Cardinal sent to the King, to lend him the Miter and Pall, which he used to wear at any great Solemnity. At which presumption the King marvelled not a little; saying to those that were about him, What a thing is this that pride should thus reign in a man that is quite underfoot? but before the day of Instalment came, he was arrested in this manner; Sir *Walter Walsh* one of the King's Privy-Chamber was sent down to the Earl of *Northumberland*, with whom he was joyned in Commission to arrest the Cardinal; whereupon they go together to *Carwood*, where the Cardinal lay: and being entred into the house, it was told the Cardinal, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was come, and in the Hall; Then (quoth the Cardinal) I am sorry we have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheer. With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complemental manner, as if they had come but only to visit him; but being come into the Chamber, the Earl with a soft voice, laying his hand upon the Cardinal's arm, said, My Lord, I arrest you of high Treason: The Cardinal somewhat astonied; asked to see his Commission; which the Earl denying to shew; Then (saith the Cardinal) I will not obey your arrest: At that instant Master *Walsh* came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal; who asked him, if he were joyned in Commission with the Earl; who answered, He was: Well then, said the Cardinal, I trow you are one of the King's Privy-Chamber, your name is *Walsh*: I am content to yield to you, but not to my Lord of *Northumberland*; unless I see his Commission: the meaneft of the King's Privy-Chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm, by the King's Commandment, without any Commission. Then the Earl took the Cardinal's Keys from him, and put him in custody of his Gentlemen: some few days after he was conveyed from *Carwood* to *Pomfret*, and after to *Sheffield Park*, where he had kind entertainment, and staid with the Earl

He prepares to be installed, and sends to the King for his rich Miter and Pall.

He is arrested by Sir Walter Walsh one of the King's Privy Chamber.



of *Shrewsbury* and his Lady eighteen days, till at last sitting one day at dinner, his colour was observed to change; and being asked how he did? Not well (saith he) I have something suddenly at my stomach as cold as a Whetstone, which I know is wind; I desire to have something from the Apothecary to break wind: which was brought; and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it, and thereupon broke wind indeed; but whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foul play used, he fell soon after into such a looseness, that the night following he had above fifty stools: yet the next day he rode to *Nottingham*, and the day after to *Leicester-Abbey*; being so sick by the way, that he was ready to fall off his Mule: Coming to the Abbey Gates, the Abbot with all the Covent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his Chamber, and went to bed; where growing sicker and sicker, the next morning Master *Kingston* Lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did? I do but tarry (saith he) the pleasure of God, to render up my poor Soul into his hands: for this is my case, I have a Flux with a continual Fever; the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight days, either excoriation of the Entrails will ensue, or Frenzy, or else present death; and the best of them is death; and (as I suppose) this is the eighth day. Sir (saith Master *Kingston*) you are afraid of that you have no cause; for I assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good cheer, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did: No, no, (Master *Kingston*) said the Cardinal, I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs: But it is a just reward for my study to do him service, not regarding the service of God to do him pleasure: And having so said, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost; which made some about him remember, how he had said before, that at eight of the clock they should lose their Master. Being dead, he was buried in the Abbey of *Leicester*. This man held at once the Bishoprick of *York*, *Winchester*, and *Durham*, the Dignities of Lord Cardinal Legat and Chancellour of *England*, the Abbey of *Saint Albans*, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices in *Commendam*: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishoprick of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*; which having been given by *Henry the Seventh* to strangers that lived out of the Realm, they suffered *Woolsey* to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The Retinue of this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand persons daily in his household, of whom many Knights and some Lords; all which Greatness, as it came by the King's favour, so by the withdrawing of his favour it was overthrown: So true is that saying of *Solomon*, *The King's favour is as dew upon the grass; but his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a messenger of death*. After this, the King removed from *Hampton-Court* to *Greenwich*,

where with his Queen *Katharine* he kept a solemn Christmas, and on the Twelfth-night he sat in state in the Hall, where were divers Interludes, costly Masks, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Mannor of *Westminster*, which before was called *York-Place*; for the Cardinal had made a Feoffment of it to the King, which the Chapter of *York* confirmed; and then it was no more called *York-Place*, but the King's Mannor of *Westminster*, now *White-Hall*.

About this time was a Call of Eleven Serjeants at Law; namely, *Thomas Audeley*, *Walter Luke*, *John Bawdewine*, *John Hynde*, *Christopher Jenny*, *John Densel*, *Edward Mervyne*, *Edmund Knightly*, *Roger Chomley*, *Edward Montague*, and *Robert York*; who kept their Feast at *Ely-house* five days together; where on the last day the King and Queen dined: which *John Densel* of *Densel* in the County of *Cornwal*, was of *Lincolns-Inn*, and died the third day of *January*, Anno Christi 1535, and lieth buried within the Church of *St. Giles* in the Fields, in *Middlesex*; leaving by *Mary* his Widow, the Daughter of Sir *Lucas* in *Warwickshire*, Knight, two Daughters and Co-heirs, *Anne* the eldest, married unto Sir *William Hollis* of *Haughton*, in the County of *Nottingham*, Knight, Grandfather unto *John Hollis*, Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased, and *Alice* the other Daughter married unto Master *Reskimer*.

At this time the whole Clergy of *England* was charged by the King's learned Council, to be in a pramunire, for supporting and maintaining the Cardinal's Legantine power: and were thereupon called by Process into the Kings Bench to answer; but before their day of Appearance came, they in their Convocation concluded an humble submission in writing, and offered the King an hundred thousand pound to have their Pardon by Parliament; which offer, after some labour, was accepted, and their Pardon promised. In which submission the Clergy called the King Supreme Head of the Church. This Pardon was signed with the King's hand, and sent to the Lords, who assented to it; and then sent to the Lower House: but here, divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unless themselves also might be included in it; who (they said) having had something to do with the Cardinal, might be brought into the same case as the Clergy were. Hereupon their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with a convenient number of the House, was sent to the King about it: To whom the King made answer, That he was their Sovereign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his Mercy; and seeing they went about to restrain him of his liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergy, which he might do by his Great Seal without them; and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it. With this Answer the Speaker and Commons returned, much grieved and discontented; and some said that *Thomas Cromwel*, who was newly come into the King's favour, had disclosed the secrets of the House, which made the King give this displeasing answer. But soon after the King, of his own accord, caused their Pardon also to be drawn, and signed it; which easily passed both Houses, with great commendation

*White-Hall* given by the Cardinal to the King.

The King first called the Supreme Head of the Church.

The King's wisdom in granting his Pardon.

He falls sick.

And dies.

His many Honours, and great Retinue.



dation of the Kings judgment, to deny it at first, when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of grace.

In this Parliament-time, on the 30 of March, Sir *Tho. More* Lord Chancellour, with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that though in the matter of the Kings Divorce, he might sufficiently rest upon the judgment of learned men in his own Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, yet to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he had sent into *France*, *Italy*, the Popes Dominions, and the *Venetians*, to have their opinions; and then causing them to be read, Sir *Bryan Take* took out of a Box certain Writings sealed, which were the determination of the Universities of *Orleans*, of *Paris*, of *Anjou*, of *Burges*, of *Bolonia*, of *Padua*, and of *Tholouse*: all which were peremptory in these two Points; That the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relict of his Brother; and then being against the Law of God, that it is not in the power of the Pope to dispense with it: and now (said they) you may know, that the King hath not sought this Divorce for his pleasure, but for the discharge of his Conscience: and this said, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these determinations, was so far from rejoicing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the loss of so good a wife; yet conversed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her bed. But being willing the Queen should know these determinations, in Whitsun-week after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her thereupon to recall her Appeal, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords; which she utterly refused, using her usual answer, That she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of *Rome*, but of no other. After Whitsuntide the King and Queen removed to *Windsor*, and there continued till the 14 of July, on which day the King removed to *Woodstock*, and left the Queen at *Windsor*, where she remained a while, and after removed to *Easthamsted*, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to perswade her to be conformable to the Law of God; which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleasure was, she should be at either of these three places, his Manour of *Oking*, or of *Easthamsted*, or the Monastery of *Bisham*, and there to continue without further molesting him with her suits.

The Pope cannot dispense against the Law of God.

Notwithstanding the determinations of Universities, yet the Queen stands still to her Appeal.

The Queen is confined.

And now *Cranmer* is to play his part. It chanced, that Dr. *Stephens*, Dr. *Fox*, and he met at *Waltham* one day at Dinner; where falling into discourse about the case then in agitation, of the Kings Marriage with Queen *Katharine*, the other Doctors thought the Marriage might be proved unlawfull by the Civil Law: but (said *Cranmer*) it may better be proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard matter to do it. Which words of his being made known to the King, *Cranmer* is sent for, and commanded to set his Reasons down in writing: which having done, and shewed them to the King, he was asked whether he would stand to that which he had written; who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself, if his Majesty pleased: Marry (said the King) and to the Pope you shall go; and thereupon sent him to the Court of *Rome*,

*Cranmer* is sent to *Rome* to prove the Kings marriage unlawfull.

and with him *Tho. Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, Dr. *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, Dr. *Lee* the Kings Almoner, and others: who coming to *Bolonia* where the Pope was, had a day of Audience appointed, but was hindered by a ridiculous accident; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kiss his Toe, as the manner is, a Dog of the Earls by chance in the room, ran and caught the Popes foot in his mouth, and made it for that time unfit to kiss. After this, when *Cranmer* had made his Proposition, he was told it should be answered when the Pope came to *Rome*: so the Ambassadors were dismissed, and *Cranmer* went to the Emperours Court, where in private Conference he satisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most learned at that time about the Emperour, and brought him to be of his opinion. *Cranmer* returning home, and giving the King this satisfaction, the Kings Marriage with Queen *Katharine* was soon after dissolved by Parliament; and the Bishop of *Canterbury*, accompanied with Dr. *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishops of *Bath* and *Lincoln*, and other learned men, rode to *Dunstable* where Queen *Katharine* then lay; where being cited to appear, and making default fifteen days together, for lack of appearance, she was divorced from the King, and the Marriage declared to be void and of none effect; and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princess Dowager: after which time, the King never saw her more.

At this time, being the four and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s reign, Sir *Thomas More*, after long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to *Tho. Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament, which Parliament, begun at the *Black-fryers*, was adjourned to *Westminster*, and there at nine a clock at night dissolved, and was therefore called the Black Parliament. This *Tho. Audeley* was first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancellour; in whose room of Speaker, *Humphrey Wingfield* of *Grays-Inne* was chosen. On the first of September this year, the King being at *Windsor*, created *Anne Bullen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, giving her a 1000 pounds land a year: and then being desirous to talk with the King of *France* in person, on the 10 of October, taking the said Lady with him, & divers Lords, as the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Essex*, *Derby*, *Rutland*, *Sussex* and *Huntington*, with divers Vicounts, Barons, and Knights, he sailed over to *Callice*; and on the 20 of October met with the King of *France* at *Bulloign*, with whom he stayed four days: in which time, to do him honour, the King of *France* honoured the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* with the Order of Saint *Michael*: and then both Kings went to *Callice*, where the French King stayed certain days; in which time to do the King of *France* honor, King *Henry* honored two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter: and then after great magnificence in revelling and feasting, on the 20 of October the French King departed from *Callice*, and King *Henry* returned into *England*; where on the 14 of November following, he married secretly the Lady *Anne Bullen*, which marriage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived

The Queen is by Parliament divorced.

Sir Thomas More delivers up the great Seal, and *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament is made Lord Chancellour. The Lady *Anne Bullen* is created Marchioness of *Pembroke*.

King Henry with the King of France at *Callice*.

He marries the Lady *Anne Bullen*.



Cranmer  
is made  
Arch-  
bishop of  
Canterbu-  
ry.

The Or-  
der of  
Knight-  
hood im-  
posed up-  
on all  
men of  
forty  
pound  
lands.  
Cromwell  
is taken  
into the  
Kings  
Service.  
Queen  
Anne Bul-  
len is  
Crown-  
ed.

she was with child; at which time *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died: *Thomas Cranmer* was elected Archbishop in his room.

After that the King perceived his new Wife to be with child, he caused all Officers necessary to be appointed to her; and so on Easter-eve she went to her Closet openly as Queen, and then the King appointed her Coronation to be kept on Whitunday following, and Writings were sent to all Sheriffs, to certify the names of men of forty pounds to receive the Order of Knight-hood, or else to make fine: the Assessment of which fine was appointed to *Thomas Cromwell*, Matter of the Jewel-house, and of the Kings Council; a man newly come into the Kings Favour, by whose industry great sums of money were by such fines gathered. In the beginning of May, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all men who claimed to do any service at the Coronation, by way of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put in their claim three weeks after Easter in the Star-Chamber, before *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, for that time high Steward of *England*, the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners. Two days before the Coronation were made Knights of the *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *William Windsor*, Sir *Francis Weston*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Hurlson*, Sir *Thomas Poynings*, Sir *Henry Savil*, Sir *George Fitzwilliams*, Sir *John Tindal*, and Sir *Thomas Jeremy*. On Whitunday the Coronation was kept in as great state and pomp for all circumstances as ever any was, and the day after a solemn Jufts were holden.

In May this year Pope *Clement* sent a Messenger to King *Henry*, requiring him personally to appear at the general Council, which he had appointed to be kept the year following: but when his Commission was shewed, there was neither time nor place specified for keeping of this said Council; and so with an uncertain answer to an uncertain demand, the Messenger departed.

Anno  
Reg. 25.  
1534.

The  
Queen is  
delivered  
of a  
Daughter  
named  
*Elizabeth*.

The  
judgment  
of God  
upon an  
unhal-  
lowed  
Oath.

It was now the five and twentieth year of the Kings Reign, when on Midsummer-day, *Mary* the French Queen, and then wife to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, died, and was buried at *St. Edmundsbury*; and on the seventh of September following, between three and four a clock in the afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter that was named *Elizabeth*: the Godfather at the Christning was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Godmothers the old Dutcheß of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness of *Dorset* widow; and at the Confirmation the Lady Marchioness of *Exeter*: the Christning was performed with exceeding great state, and great gifts were given by the Gossips.

This year one *Pavier* the Town-Clerk of *London* hanged himself, whom *Hollinshead* saith, he heard once swear a great Oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in *English*, rather than he would live to see that day, he would cut his own throat: which I therefore relate, that the judgment of God may be seen upon such unhallowed Oaths.

A little before this time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the Holy Maid of *Kent*, came to be dis-

covered; whose abettors were *Richard Master* a Priest, Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Ed. Bocking* D. of Divinity, a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Rich. Deering* a Monk, *Edw. Thwyats* Gent. *Henry Gold* Parson of *Aldermay*, *Hugh Rich* a Fryar Observant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Gentlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances; in which she would deliver many strange things, and amongst others, said, that by Revelation from God and his Saints, she was informed, that if King *Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of *England* one month after. And here we may see how credulous oftentimes great Scholars are in believing Impostures, when *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* were thought to give credit to this Counterfeit: so that we need not wonder at *St. Austin*, who though he gave credit to many lying miracles, yet they were such as had more probability in them than this, which consisted in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the Maid and her Abettors was confessed; and thereupon she and most of them were condemned, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged.

In this mean time the Scots had been troublesome, and made inroads upon the Borders; till at last, Commissioners being sent to treat of agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of May this year was openly Proclaimed.

About this time, at the suit of the Lady *Katharine* Dowager, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which cursed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come nearer: and because it was known that the Lady Dowager had procured this Curse to be sent, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to her, lying then at *Bugden* besides *Huntington*, to discharge a great part of her household-servants; yet leaving her a convenient number like a Princess.

It was now the six and twentieth year of King *Henry's* reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the succession in the Crown upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, first all the Lords, Knights, and Burgeses were sworn; and after Commissioners were sent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Popes Authority to be utterly abolished. But Doctor *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More* Knight, and Doctor *Wilson* Parson of *Saint Thomas Apostles* in *London*, expressly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oaths; of whom Doctor *Wilson* recanted, but the other two, persisting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two, Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, as reputed a man both of great learning and good life. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Callice*, but before it could come into *England* his head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both learned and very wise, but so given to a vein of merry jesting and merry scoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very time of his death; as when he was carried to the

The Holy  
Maid of  
Kent her  
Impos-  
ture dis-  
covered,  
and she  
hanged.

1535.

The  
Popes  
Authori-  
ty in Eng-  
land abo-  
lished by  
Parlia-  
ment.  
*Fisher* Bi-  
shop of  
*Rochester*  
and Sir  
*Thomas*  
*More* be-  
headed:  
and why.



Sir Thomas  
More gi-  
ven to je-  
sting at his  
execution.

the Tower, being demanded his upper Garment, (meaning his Gown) You shall have it, said he, and gave them his Cap; saying, it was the uppermost Garment he had: also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; I forgive thee, (said he) but I promise thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my head, my neck is so short: and when he was to lay his head down upon the Block, having a great gray beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the Block, lest you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was no jesting matter, for he used to wear a Shirt of hair next his skin for a perpetual Penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Mass; which he forbore not to do, even when he was Lord Chancellor of England, as one time the Duke of Norfolk coming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him: One, which shews his great integrity, and the small reckoning he made of riches, that having passed through so many great Employments, and born so many great Offices, yet in all his time he never purchased above One hundred pounds land a year, nor left any great stock of Money behind him, when he died. The other, which shews his filial piety, that being Lord Chancellor of England, at the same time that his Father was a Judge of the Kings Bench, he would always at his going to Westminster, go first to the Kings Bench, and ask his Father blessing, before he went to sit in the Chancery.

The Lord  
Dacres ar-  
raigned of  
high  
Treason.

The ninth of July this year the Lord Dacres of the North was arraigned at Westminster of high Treason, before the Duke of Norfolk, as high Steward of England; his Indictment being read, he so answered every part and matter therein contained, that by his Peers he was found Not guilty; a rare thing to stop a current that ran with such violence. The one and twentieth of September, Doctor Taylour Master of the Rolls was discharged of that Office: and the nineteenth of October following Thomas Cromwell was sworn in his place.

Cromwell  
is made  
Master of  
the Rolls.

This year the King of the Scots was installed Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord Erskin; and Stephen Gardiner, who after the Cardinals death, was made Bishop of Winchester, was sent Ambassadour Leiger into France, where he remained three years. Also in January of this year, Katharine Princess Dowager fell into her last Sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperours Ambassadour Leiger, desiring her to be of good comfort: but she finding her death to approach, caused only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King; commending to him her Daughter and his, and beseeching him to be a good Father to her: and then desiring him further, to have some consideration of her Servants, on the eighth of January, at Kimbolton, she departed this life, and was buried at Peterborough. A Woman of so vertuous a life, and of so great obsequiousness to her Husband, that from her onely merit is grown a reputation to all Spanish wives.

Queen  
Katharine  
Dowager  
dies at  
Kimbolton.

Also the nine and twentieth of January this year, Queen Anne was delivered of a Child before her time, which was born dead.

Queen  
Anne is de-  
livered of  
a Child  
before  
time, and  
born  
dead.

And now King Henry began to fall into those great Disorders, which have been the blemish of his life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our best Princes. For first in October this year, he sent Doctor Lee and others to visit the Abbeyes, Priories, and Nunneries in England, who set at liberty all those Religious persons that would forsake their habit, and all that were under the age of four and twenty years; and in December following a Survey was taken of all Chantries, and the names of such as had the gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of February, an Act was made, which gave the King all Religious Houses, with all their Lands and Goods, that were of the value of three hundred Marks a year and under: the number of which Houses was three hundred seventy and six; the value of their Lands yearly, above two and thirty thousand pounds, their moveable goods one hundred thousand, the Religious persons put out of the same houses above ten thousand. This year William Tindall was burnt at a Town in Flanders between Brussels and Mechlin, called Villefort, for translating into English the New Testament, and divers parts of the Old; who having been long imprisoned, was upon the Lord Cromwell's writing for his Deliverance, in all haste brought to the fire and burnt.

All Reli-  
gious  
Houses of  
a certain  
value gi-  
ven by  
Parlia-  
ment to  
the King.

William  
Tindall  
burnt in  
Flanders  
for trans-  
lating into  
English  
the New  
Testa-  
ment.

It was now the eight and twentieth year of King Henry's Reign, when on Monday there were solemn Jufts holden at Greenwich, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to Westminster; whose sudden departure strook great amazement into many, but to the Queen especially, and not without cause: for the next day the Lord Rochford, her Brother, and Henry Norris were brought to the Tower of London, prisoners; whither also the same day at five a clock in the afternoon was brought Queen Anne her self by Sir Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, and Sir William Kingstone Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Tower-gate fell on her knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was innocent of that whereof she was accused. On the fifteenth of May she was arraigned in the Tower before the Duke of Norfolk, sitting as High Steward of England. When her Indictment was read, she made unto it so wise and discreet answers, that she seemed fully to clear her self of all matters laid to her charge: but being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of Suffolk was chief, she was by them found guilty, and had Judgment pronounced by the Duke of Norfolk. Immediately the Lord Rochford her Brother was likewise arraigned and condemned: who on the seventeenth of May, together with Henry Norris, Mark Smeton, William Brierton, and Francis Weston, all of the Kings Privy-Chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower-hill. Queen Anne her self on the nineteenth of May, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the Sword of Callice by

1537.

Queen  
Anne is  
commir-  
ted to the  
Tower.

She is be-  
headed.



Her Parentage.

Her Religion and Alms-deeds.

Her Innocency.

the Hangman of that Town; her body with the head was buried in the Quire of the Chappel there. This Queen Anne was the Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earls Father was the Son of Sir *William Bullen*, whose Wife was *Margaret* the second Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Butler* Earl of *Ormond*; and the said Sir *William* was the Son of Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who lieth buried in Saint *Leonards* Church in the *Jewry*, whose Wife was *Anne* eldest Daughter and Co-heir to *Thomas Lord Hoo* and *Hastings*, and his descent was out of the House of the *Bullens* in the County of *Norfolk*: Thus much for her Parentage. For her Religion, she was an earnest Professor, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: in Alms-deeds so liberal, that in nine months space, it is said she distributed among the poor to the value of fifteen thousand pounds. Now for the Crimes for which she died, (Adultery and Incest,) proofs of her guiltiness there are none recorded; of her innocency many. First, her own clearing of all objections at the time of her Arraignment: then *Cromwell's* writing to the King, after full examination of the matter, that many things have been objected, but none confessed, only some Circumstances had been acknowledged by *Mark Smeton*: (and what was *Mark Smeton*, but a mean fellow, one that, upon promise of life, would say any thing? and having said something, which they took hold of, he was soon after executed, lest he should retract it.) Lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied it to the death; even *Henry Norris*, whom the King specially favoured, and promised him pardon if he would but confess it. It was a poor proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming one morning into her Chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her Bed, to say something in her ear; yet this was taken hold of for a proof: and it need be no marvel, if we consider the many Adversaries she had, as being a Protestant, and perhaps in that respect, the King himself not greatly her friend: (for though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that Nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an Oak, than Authority is able of the least surmise to make a certainty? But howsoever it was that her death was contrived, certain it is, that it cast upon King *Henry* a dishonourable Imputation; inasmuch that where the Protestant Princes of *Germany* had resolved to chuse him for head of their League, after they heard of this Queens death in such a manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the honour: and it is memorable what conceit Queen *Anne* her self had of her Death; for at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the Kings Privy-Chamber to her, and said unto him, Commend me to the King, and tell him, he is constant in his course of advancing me; for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me a Marquis, from a Marquis a Queen; and now that he had left no higher degree of worldly honour for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Immediately after her death, in the week before Whitsuntide, the King married *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen: and on Tuesday in Whitsun-week her Brother Sir *Edmund Seymour* was created Vicount *Beauchamp*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford* was made Lord *Hungerford*.

The eighth of June the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, without the Kings assent, had affianced the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, Daughter to the Queen of *Scots*, and Niece to the King: for which he was attainted of Treason, and an Act was made for like Offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and she long time remained there a Prisoner; yet afterward was set at liberty, and married *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, who by him had *Henry* Father of *James* the first King of *Great Britain*.

In the time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at *Pauls* Church in *London*; where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a Book of Religion, intituled, Articles devised by the Kings Highness: in which Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments, namely, Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holidays were abrogated, specially those that fell in Harvest-time.

The two and twentieth of July, *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset* (base Son of King *Henry* by *Elizabeth Blunt*) died at *St. James*, and was buried at *Thetstone* in *Norfolk*.

The nine and twentieth of June the King held a great Jufts and Triumph at *Westminster*, but a disastrous Sea-fight was on the water, where one *Gates* a Gentleman was drowned in his Harness, and by the breaking of a Gun two Mariners were fore maimed. In July following, *Thomas Cromwell*, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolls, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal: and the nineteenth of July the Lord *Fitz-Warren* was created Earl of *Bath*; and the day after, the said *Cromwell* was made Lord *Cromwell*, and on the eighteenth of July, Vicar General under the King over the Spirituality; who sate divers times in the Convocation-House, amongst the Bishops, as Head over them. And now was the state of Religion in *England* come to a strange pass, because always in passing, and had no consistence: for at first, the Authority of the Pope was excluded in some cases only, a while after in all; but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few points only: a while after, in many more; that the Fable of *Proteus* might no longer be a Fable, when the Religion in *England* might be his true Moral. And indeed, it could be no otherwise; the distance between the two Religions being not possible to be passed *per saltum*, but must be done by degrees, which degrees may be observed in the progress of the story. For where at first it was permitted only to read the Bible in *English*, now it came to be permitted to pray in *English*; for now in September the Lord *Cromwell* set forth Injunctions, to have the Lords Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the

The King Marries the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

Articles devised by the Kings Highness.

*Cromwell* is made Lord Keeper. The Lord *Fitz-Warren* is created Earl of *Bath*. *Cromwell* is made Lord *Cromwell*: and Vicar General over the Spirituality.

Religion altered in *England* by degrees.



An Insurre-  
ction in  
Lincoln-  
shire for  
Innovation of Re-  
ligion.  
The King  
goes in  
person,  
and sup-  
presseth it.

Another  
Insurre-  
ction in  
the North:  
for sup-  
pressing  
whereof  
the Earl  
of Shrews-  
bury raised  
an Army;  
and ha-  
ving done  
it without  
Commis-  
sion, was  
glad to ask  
the King  
pardon.

A miracle  
of the sud-  
den swell-  
ing of the  
River Dun.

Sir Ralph  
Evers his  
valiant  
carriage.

Another  
Insurre-  
ction.

the ten Commandments, and all Articles of the Christian Faith translated into English, and to be taught by all Parsons and Curates to their Parishioners: which Innovation so stirred up the People, that in *Lincolnshire* they assembled to the number of twenty thousand, against whom the King himself went in person, who winning by perswasion their chief Leaders, brought the rest upon pardon to submit themselves: but when he had himself done the work of Mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, with Sir *Francis Brian*, and Sir *John Russel*, to do the work of Justice, who caused *Nicholas Melton*, and a Monk naming himself *Captain Cobler*, and thirteen other (Ring-leaders of the Sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there arose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an Holy Pilgrimage, where on one side of their Ensigns, they had Christ hanging on the Cross, on the other side, the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for maintenance of the Faith of Christ, and deliverance of the Holy Church now oppressed: but these were opposed by *George Earl of Shrewsbury*, who having rais'd an army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whether in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for pardon, and Commission to proceed: at which time a rumor being raised amongst his Soldiers, that the Earl so well liked the Rebels Cause, that what shew soever he made, yet when it should come to the tryal, he would not stick to join with them, and take their Parts; to remove this opinion out of their minds, he caused all his Soldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplain give him an Oath; by which he swore in their hearing, to be true to the Crown, and never to be assisting to any Rebels. To his aid were sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, with the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland*; who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond *Doncaster*, in the way towards *Tork*, attempted first to have pacified them without blood-shed; but when no perswasions would serve, it was resolved of both sides to come to Battel: but see here the great goodness of God; for the night before the day appointed for Battel, it happened that a little Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon a small rain grew to such a height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse; so as the Armies having time to consider, and considering perhaps this miracle as sent of God, they came to agreement, and upon pardon disbanded and returned to their houses; but in the mean time they had besieged the Castle of *Scarborough*, where the resolute carriage of *Sir Ralph Evers* is memorable, who held the Castle by only his own Servants and Tenants, and that, when for twenty days together he had no other sustenance but Bread and Water. But all Commotions were not yet appeased; for at this very time there was another great Army assembled out of *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, and the North-parts of *Lanca-*

*shire*, marching Southwards: but by the diligence of the Earl of *Darby*, to whom also the Earl of *Suffex* was sent, they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots of *Wally*, *Sauly*, and others, apprehended and hanged. But neither is there yet an end of And yet  
Commotions; for now in *February*, *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Tho. Tilby*, with others to the number of twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged *Carlile*; but by the power of the City were first beaten back, and then were encountered by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caused seventy four of them by Martial Law to be hanged on the Walls of *Carlile*. But neither was And yet  
there yet an end of Commotions; for now in another.  
*Settrington*, *Pickering*, *Leigh*, and *Scarborough*, began a new Rebellion, by procurement of *Francis Bigot*; who had a great power, and meant to have taken *Hull*: but by the industry of *Sir Ralph Ellerker*, and the Mayor of the Town, threescore of the Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to flight, and glad to be quiet. But neither yet was there an end of Commotions; for in the latter end of this eight and twentieth year, the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Huffey*, *Sir Robert Constable*, *Sir John Bulmer*, and his Wife, *Sir Thomas Piercy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Sir Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest* Esquire, and others began to conspire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: but this, as being but the sag-end of the Commotion, was soon suppressed; the Lord *Darcy* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, the Lord *Huffey* at *Lincoln*, *Sir Robert Constable* was hanged in chains at *Hull*, *Sir John Bulmers* Paramour was burnt in *Smithfield*, and most of the other were executed at *Tyburn*. *Tanta molis erat*, so great a matter it was, to make the Realm be quiet, in so great innovations of Religion.

This year on Saint *George's* Feast, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of *October*, which is Saint *Edwards* even, at *Hampton-Court*, the Queen was delivered of a Son, (but with so hard a labour that she was fain to be rip'd.) The child was named *Edward*, whose Godfathers at the Christning were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Godmother was his Sister the Lady *Mary*: At his Bishoping, his Godfather was the Duke of *Suffolk*. On the eighteenth of *October* he was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Chester*. But the Birth of his Son brought not so much joy to the King, as the Death of his Queen brought him sorrow; for within two days after she died, and was buried at *Windsor*, and so much was the Kings grief for her death, that he continued a Widower two years after.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable dissolution befel the Family of the *Geraldines*, or *Fitz-Garrets*, (Earls of *Kildare* in *Ireland*) about this time. For *Gerald Fitz-Garret*, who had been ten years Deputy in *Ireland*, upon complaint for some fault, was sent for over into *England*, where not making a satisfying answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming over, had, with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own Son, a young man of not above twenty years of age, but yet ripe of under-

Queen  
*Jane* is de-  
livered of  
a Child,  
(named  
*Edward*)  
but dieth.

The mis-  
erable dis-  
solution of  
the Family  
of the  
*Geraldines*  
or *Fitz-  
Garrets* in  
*Ireland*.



understanding, and fit for the place. This young Lord hearing that his Father was committed Prisoner at the Tower, and soon after, as the rumour increased, that he was put to death; in rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms: and having five Uncles in the Country (men of great estimation) drew them (though some of them unwillingly) to take his part. Amongst other outrages he committed, the Archbishop of *Dublin* was slain in his presence. The Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very grief died; the Son and his Uncles, upon the Kings sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for over into England, those of his Uncles, that against their wills had been drawn into the action, had good hopes of their lives, till entering the Ship of passage, which was called the *Com*, they then presently despaired, because of a Prophecy, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried into England in the belly of a *Com*, and never after return: and indeed it fell out true, for through the malice of their adversaries, (exasperating the King against them, and saying, there would never be quietness in *Ireland*, as long as any of the *Geraldines* were left alive) they were all put to death: one only Son of the Family remained, a youth of thirteen years of age, who though at that time sick of the Small pox, yet made shift to save himself by flight, fled first into *France*, and frightened from thence, afterward into *Flanders*, and driven from thence, at last into *Italy*, where protected by *Reginald Pool*, at that time made Cardinal by Pope *Julius* the third, he was afterward, by his means, restored to his Dignity and his Patrimony.

Edward Seymour  
Vicount Beauchamp  
is made Earl of Hartford.  
Sir William Fitz-Williams  
Lord Admiral is created Earl of Southampton.

Frier Forrest hanged by the middle, and with all burnt; by which a Prophecy fulfilled.

All Images put down.

This year Edward Seymour, Vicount Beauchamp, the Queens Brother, was created Earl of Hartford, and Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Admiral, was created Earl of Southampton, Master Paulet was made Vice-Treasurer, Sir John Russel was made Controller of the Kings House, and divers Gentlemen were made Knights.

In February divers Roods were taken down by the Kings commandment, as the Rood of *Baxeley*, called the Rood of Grace, which was made with vices to move the eyes and lips; also the Rood called *St. Saviour* at *Bermondsey* Abbey in *Southwark*, and divers others. In May a Frier Observant, called Frier Forrest, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself, yet privately perswaded others, that the King was not Supreme head of the Church, was thereupon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented to it: but this answer served not his turn from being condemned; and on a pair of Gallows prepared for him, in *Smithfield*, he was hanged by the middle & arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a fire wherewith he was consumed. A little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of *Wales*, which the *Welsh* men had in great reverence, called *Darvel Gatheran*, of which went a Prophecy, that this Image should set a whole Forest on fire, which was thought to take effect, in setting this Frier Forrest on fire, and consuming him to nothing.

In September, by the special motion of the L. Cromwell, all the notable Images, unto which were made any special Pilgrimages & offerings,

were taken down and burnt; as the Images of *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Worcester*, the Lady of *Wilsdon*, with many other; and forthwith by means of the said Cromwell, all the orders of the Friars and Nuns, with their Cloysters and Houses, were suppressed and put down: also the Shrines of counterfeit Saints; amongst others, the Shrine of *Tho. Becket* in the Priory of Christ-Church was taken to the Kings use, and his Bones, Scull, and all which was there found, with a piece broken out by the wound of his head, were all burnt in the same Church by command of the Lord Cromwell: and the one and twentieth of October, the Church of *Tho. Becket* in London, called the Hospital of *St. Thomas of Acres*, was suppressed: the sixteenth of Novem. the *Black-fryers* in London were suppressed, the next day the *White-fryers*, the *Gray-fryers*, and the Monks of the *Charterhouse*, and so all the other immediately after: only three Abbots resisted, the Abbot of *Colchester*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and the Abbot of *Glastenbury*, who therefore were all taken & executed. The four and twentieth of November the Bishop of *Rocheſter* preached at *Pauls-Cross*, and there shewed the blood of *Hales*, affirming it to be no blood, but honey clarified and coloured with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council. The number of Monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty five, besides fourscore and ten Colledges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chanceries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seventy four. But now to make amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King instituted certain new Bishopricks, as at *Westminster*, *Oxford*, *Peterborough*, *Bristol*, *Chester*, and *Gloceſter*; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

All Orders of Friars & Nunneries suppressed by Cromwell.

The number of Monasteries suppressed.

In lieu of the suppressed Monasteries the King erected six new Bishopricks.

Divers Lords and Knights executed, and why.

The third of Novem. Henry Courtney Marques of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Devonshire*, Henry Pool Lord Montacute, Sir Nicholas Carew of *Bedington* Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir Edward Nevill brother to the L. *Abergenny*, were sent to the Tower, being accused by Sir Geoffry Pool the Lord Montacutes Brother of high Treason: they were indicted for devising to promote and advance one *Reinald Pool* to the Crown, and put down King Henry. This Pool was a near Kinsman of the Kings (being the Son of the Lady Margaret Countess of *Salisbury*, Daughter and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*) He had been brought up by the King in learning, and made Dean of *Exeter*; but being sent after to learn experience by travel, he grew so great a friend of the Popes, that he became an enemy to King Henry, and for his enmity to the King, was by Pope *Julius* the third made Cardinal. For this mans cause the Lords aforesaid being condemned, were all executed; the Lord Marques, the Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevill, beheaded on the Tower-Hill, the ninth of January, Sir Nicholas Carew, the third of March; two Priests condemned with them were hanged at *Tiburn*; Sir Geoffry Pool, though condemned also, yet had his pardon.

Cardinal Pool his Parentage and Education.

About this time one *Nicholson*, alias *Lambert*, being accused for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him: whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Kings Palace



lace at *Westminster*, for the King to sit: and when the Bishops had urged their Arguments and could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honour of converting an Heretick, when the Bishops could not do it, and withall promised him pardon if he would recant; but all would not do: *Nicholson* remained obstinate, the King mist his Honour, the Delinquent mist his pardon, and shortly after was drawn to *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

About this time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by instigation of Cardinal *Pool*, had earnestly moved divers great Princes to invade *England*; he, as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earnestly to provide for defence; and to that end rode himself to the Sea-coasts to see them fortified, and in needful places Bulwarks to be erected. He caused his Navy to be rigged, and to be in readiness at any short warning: He caused Musters to be taken in all Shires, and lists of all able men in every County, in *London* specially; where Sir *William Forman*, the then Mayor, certified the number of fifteen thousand, not that there were no more, but that so many were ready prepared; and these on the eighth of *May*, the King himself saw Mustered in *St. James's Park*; where the Citizens strove in such sort to exceed each other in bravery of Arms, and forwardness of Service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not men of the Gown, but all profest Souldiers; which they performed to their great cost, but greater commendation.

It was now the one and thirtieth year of King *Henry's* Reign, and the nine and fortieth of his age; when having continued a Widower two years, he began to think of marrying again; and he needed not to be a Suitor for a Wife, for he was sued unto to take one. The Emperour solicited him to marry the Dutches of *Milan*; but to marry her he must first obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was resolved rather to have no Wife, than to have any more to do with the Pope. Then the Duke of *Cleve* made suit unto him to marry the Lady *Anne* his Sister, and he was a Protestant Prince; and so, though differing in Points of Doctrine, yet in the main point of excluding the Pope, both of one mind. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord *Cromwell* specially: and indeed it concerned him more than any other, that the King should take a Protestant Wife, seeing his Actions had been such, as none but a Protestant-Queen would ever like; and if the Queen should not like them, the King, though done by his leave, would not like them long. Hereupon such means were used, that Ambassadors came from the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the Match; and then the 11 of *December* the Lady her self in great state was brought to *Callice*, and then over to *Dover*; and being come to *Rocheſter*, the King secretly came to see her: afterward she was conducted to *London*, met by the way in several places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of *January* she was received into *London* by Sir *William Hollys* Knight, then Lord Mayor, with Orations, Pageants, and all Complements of State, the greatest that ever had been seen. On Twelfth-day the Marriage was solemnized: the Archbishop of *Canterbury* did the Office, the

Earl of *Overſtein* a German Lord gave her. In *April* following the Lord *Cromwell*, as though he had won the Kings heart for ever by making this Match, was made Earl of *Essex*: for in *March* before, *Henry Bouchier* Earl of *Essex*, and the ancientest Earl of *England*, had broke his neck, by seeking to break a young Horse, leaving only one Daughter; and she dying without Issue, the Earldom came to the Family of *Devereux*, which yet enjoyed not the honour, till afterward in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and then made, but not restored.

The ninth of *March*, the King created Sir *Earls* *William Paulet*, Treasurer of his House, Lord *Saint-John*; Sir *John Ruſſel*, Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſel*; and shortly after Sir *William Par* was created Lord *Par*. The eight and twentieth of *April* began a Parliament at *Westminster*, in the which *Margaret Counteſs* of *Salisbury*, *Gertrude* Wife to the Marquess of *Exeter*, *Reynold Pool* Cardinal, Brother to the Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Adrian Foſkew*, *Thomas Dingley* Knight of *Saint Johns*, and divers others were attainted of high Treason; of whom *Foſkew* and *Dingley* the tenth of *July* were beheaded, the Counteſs of *Salisbury* two years after: and in this Parliament the Act of the Six Articles was established, and Sir *Nicholas Hare* was restored to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

It was now five months after the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*: and though the King, at the first sight of the Lady, did not like her Person; yet, whether as respecting the honour of Ladies, he would not disgrace her at the first meeting; or whether he meant to try how time might work him to a better liking; or indeed, that he would not give distaste to the German Princes at that time, for some ends he had a working, he dissembled the matter, and all things went on in a shew of contentment on all hands. But for all these shews, the crafty Bishop of *London*, *Steven Gardiner*, finding how the world went with the Kings affection towards his Queen, and for her sake with *Cromwell*, to neither of whom he was greatly affected (not to the Queen, as misliking her Religion; not to *Cromwell*, as envying his greatness;) he so wrought upon the Kings inclination, what by suggesting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord *Cromwell*, the ninth of *July*, sitting in the Council-Chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the same month was attainted by Parliament, and never came to his Answer; by a Law which (as some reported) he himself had caused to be made; and the eight and twentieth of *July* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, for Crimes (as appears in Record) of Heresie and Treason. This Lord *Cromwell* was born at *Putney*, a Village in *Surrey* near the *Thames*-side, Son to a *Smith*, after whose decease his Mother was married to a Sheer-man. For the pregnancy of his Wit he was first entertained by Cardinal *Woolſey*, and by him employed in many great Affairs. The Cardinal falling, the King took him into his service; and finding his great Abilities, first advanced him for his worth, and then for his pleasure overthrew him. But the greatest part of *Stephen Gardiner's* practice had been done before;

The Lord *Cromwell* is made Earl of *Essex*. How the Earldom of *Essex* came to the Family of *Devereux*.

The Lord *Cromwell* is committed to the Tower.

Is beheaded.

His Parents and education.

Anno Reg. 31. 1540.

The King inclines to marry again.

And by the commendation of *Cromwell* marries the Lady *Anne* Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*.

Sir *William Hollys* Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*.



The Kings marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleve is by Parliament judg'd unlawful.

fore: for at Midsummer before, the King caused the Queen to remove to *Richmond*, as for her health and pleasure; and in the time of her absence, on the sixth of *July*, sent certain Lords to the Lower House of Parliament, who there declared certain causes, for which the Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne of Cleve* was not to be counted lawful; and so carried the matter, that the Convocation clearly determined, the King might marry any other, and so might she. Being thus Divorced, it was further Enacted, she should no more be called Queen, but the Lady *Anne of Cleve*. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expressly delivered; some say a precontract of the said Lady with a Lord of *Germany* was pretended: but it seems to have been from some womanish defect in her body; as she spared not to affirm, that she had never been carnally known by the King in all the time of their lying together: and as it is said, when her Ladies one time said unto her, that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly; she should answer, they might look long enough, unless saying, How dost thou sweet heart? Good morrow sweet heart, and such like words, could make a great belly; for (said she) more than this there never passed between the King and me. However it was, she willingly submitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in *England*, well respected of the King, and dying sixteen years after, in the fourth year of Queen *Mary*, was buried at *Westminster*.

Leonard Gray beheaded, and why.

Thomas Fines Lord Dacres hanged at Tyburn, and why.

About this time *Leonard Gray*, Deputy of *Ireland*, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, for suffering his nephew *Gerald Fitz-Garret* to escape, who had been declared an enemy unto the State: and then also was *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres*, a young man of four and twenty years of age, hanged at *Tyburn*, for killing a mean person upon a sudden affray; also the fourth of *August*, *Thomas Epson* a Monk of *Westminster*, for denying to take his Oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks Garment plucked from his back, the last that was seen in such habit in *England* till Queen *Maries* dayes.

1541.

King Henry marries the Lady Katharine Howard.

Sir Edmund Knevet is adjudged to lose his right hand, and the solemn manner of doing it.

The sixth of *July*, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King *Henry* had been divorced from the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, and now the eighth of *August* following, the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Daughter to the Lord *Edward Howard*, was shewed openly as Queen at *Hampton-Court*.

On the tenth of *June* the year following, Sir *Edmund Knevet* of *Norfolk*, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-cloth, for striking one Master *Cleer* of *Norfolk*, within the Tennis-Court of the Kings House; being found guilty, he had judgment to lose his right hand, and to forfeit all his Lands and Goods: whereupon there was called to do execution, first the Serjeant Surgeon, with his Instruments pertaining to his Office, then the Serjeant of the Wood-yard, with a mallet, and a block to lay the hand upon, then the Kings Master Cook with a knife to cut off the hand, then the Serjeant of the Larder to set the knife right on the joint, then the Serjeant Ferrier with searing Irons to sear the veins, then the Serjeant of the Poultry

with a Cock, which Cock should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife; then the Yeoman of the Chandry with Sear-cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire to heat the Irons, a chafer of water to cool the ends of the Irons, and two forms for all Officers to set their stuff on; then the Serjeant of the Cellar with Wine, Ale, and Beer; then the Serjeant of the Ewry, with Bason, Ewre and Towels. All things being thus prepared, Sir *William Pickering* Knight Marshal, was commanded to bring in his prisoner, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, to whom the Chief Justice declared his offence, which the said *Knevet* confessed, and humbly submitted himself to the Kings mercy; only he desired, that the King would spare his right hand, and take his left, because (said he) if my right hand be spared, I may live to do the King good service: of whose submission, and reason of his suit, when the King was informed, he granted him to lose neither of his hands, and pardoned him also of his Lands and Goods.

Is pardoned, and why.

The Summer of his three and thirtieth year, King *Henry*, with his Queen *Katharine*, made a progress into the North parts, and returning at *Alhallontide* to *Hampton-Court*, he was there informed of the Queens dissolute life, first before her marriage, with one *Francis Deerham*, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, whom employed afterward in *Ireland*, she had lately again at *Pomfret* received into her Service; and now since her marriage with one *Tho. Colepepper*, of the Kings Privy-Chamber: whereupon the thirteenth of *November*, Sir *Thomas Wriothesly* Knight, Secretary to the King, was sent to the Queen at *Hampton-Court*, to charge her with these Crimes, and discharging her household, to cause her to be conveyed to *Sion*, there to remain, till the Kings pleasure should be further known. The Delinquents being examined, *Deerham* confessed, that before the Kings marriage with the Lady *Katharine*, there had been a pre-contract between himself and her; but when he once understood of the Kings liking towards her, he then waved and concealed it for her preferment. So the first of *December* these Gentlemen being arraigned at the *Guildhall*, they confessed the Indictment, and had Judgment to dye, as in cases of Treason: the tenth of *December*, they were drawn from the tower to *Tyburn*, where *Colepepper* was beheaded, and *Deerham* was hanged and dismembered: *Colepeppers* body was buried in *Sepulchres* Church in *London*, but both their heads were set on *London-bridge*. The two and twentieth of *December*, there were arraigned at the Kings-Bench, the Lord *William Howard* and the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, *Katharine Tilney* and *Alice Wrethwold* Gentlewomen, *Joan Bulmer* Wife to *Anthony Bulmer* Gentleman, *Anne Howard* Wife to *Henry Howard* Esquire, and Brother to the Queen, with divers others, who were all condemned for misprision of Treason, for concealing the Queens misdemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remain in perpetual prison. The sixteenth of *January*, the Parliament began at *Westminster*, where the Lords and Commons Petitioned the King, that he would not vex himself with the Queens offence, and that both she and the Lady *Rochford* might be attainted by Parliament; and

1542.

King Henry is informed of the dissolute life of Queen Katharine with Deerham and Colepepper.

Colepepper is beheaded, and Deerham hanged.

Queen Katharine is beheaded.



and that to avoid protracting of time, he would give his Royal assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the end of the Parliament. Also that *Deerham* and *Colepepper*, having been attainted before by the Common Law, might be attainted likewise by Parliament. All which was assented to by the King; and after, on the thirtieth of *February*, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the Green within the *Tower*, where they confessed their offences, and died penitently. Yet something to take off the offences of this Queen; it is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, her last Confessor, that as for the act for which she was condemned, she took God and his Holy Angels to witness, upon her souls salvation, that she died guiltless.

King Henry is proclaimed King of Ireland. Before this, on the three and twentieth of *January*, King Henry was proclaimed King of *Ireland*, whereas before this time, the Kings of *England* were only entituled Lords of *Ireland*: and this title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in *Ireland*, before Sir *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, the Kings Deputy there.

Arthur Plantagenet Vicount Lisle dieth of joy. About this time *Arthur Plantagenet* Vicount *Lisle*, base Son to King *Edward* the fourth, having been imprison'd upon suspicion of a practice for betraying of *Callice* to the *French*, whilst he was the Kings Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the Fact: and thereupon the King, to make him some reparation for his disgrace, sent him a Ring, and a very gracious message, by Sir *Thomas Wriothesley* his Secretary; whereat the said Vicount took so great joy, that the night following, of that very joy he died: so deadly a thing is any passion, even joy it self, if it be extreme. After his death Sir *John Dudley*, his wives son, was created Vicount *Lisle*. This Sir *John Dudley* was Son to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded in the first year of this Kings Reign, and was made Vicount *Lisle* in right of his Mother.

Sir John Dudley, Son to Edmund Dudley beheaded, is made Vicount Lisle. During this Parliament, one *George Ferrers* Gentleman, servant to the King, and Burgefs for the Town of *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*, in going to the Parliament-House, was arrested in *London* by a Process out of the Kings Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as surety for one *Welden*, at the suit of one *White*: which Arrest being signified to Sir *Thomas Moyle* Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgeffes there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called *Saint-John*, should be sent to the Counter in *Breadstreet*, (whither the said *Ferrers* was carried) and there demand to have him delivered. But the Officers of the Counter not only refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such language, that they fell at last to an affray; at which time the Sheriffs coming, they also took their Officers part; so as the Serjeant was fain to return without the Prisoner: which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgeffes, they took the matter in so ill part, that they would sit no more without their Burgeffs: and thereupon rising up, repaired to the upper House, where the whole Case was declared by the Speaker, before Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellour, and the Lords and

Judges there assembled; who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons it self: whereupon returning to their places again, upon new debate of the Case, they took order that their Serjeant should once more repair to the Sheriffs of *London*, and demand the prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellour offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it; being of a clear opinion, that all commandments from the neather House were to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, only by shewing his Mace, which is his Warrant. But before the Serjeants return into *London*, the Sheriffs better advised became more mild, and upon the second demand delivered the Prisoner without any denial: but then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clerks of the Counter, to appear personally the next morning before the House of Commons: where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel. Sir *Roger Cholmley* Recorder of *London* offered to speak in the cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the parties themselves. In conclusion, the Sheriffs and *White* who had caused the Arrest, were committed to the *Tower*; the Officer that did the Arrest, with four other Officers, to *Newgate*; but after two or three days, upon the humble suit of the Mayor, were set at liberty: and because the said *Ferrers*, being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by priviledge of Parliament, was not by Law to be brought again into execution, and so the Creditor without remedy for his Debt against him as his principal debtor, therefore after long debate, by the space of nine or ten days together, they at last resolved to make an Act of purpose, to revive the execution of the said debt against *Welden* who was principal debtor, and to discharge *Ferrers* that was but surety: wherein notwithstanding the House was divided, and the Act passed but by fourteen voices. The King being advertised of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellour and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower House, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: first commending their wisdom, in maintaining the priviledges of their House, (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alledged, that he being the head of the Parliament, and attending in his own person upon the business thereof, ought in reason, to have priviledge for himself and all his Servants attending upon him; so as if the said *Ferrers* had been no Burgeffs, but only his servant, yet in that respect, he was to have the priviledge as well as any other. For I understand (said he) that you, not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your Cooks and Horse-keepers, enjoy the same priviledge; insomuch, as my Lord Chancellour here present hath informed us, that whilst he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the *Temple* was arrested in *London*, and in execution upon a Statute of the Staple; and for so much as the said Cook during

The Commands of the Parliament to be executed by their Serjeant without any Writ, by shewing only his Mace.

King Henry will maintain the Priviledges of Parliament.



all the Parliament served the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by Privilege of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court (as our learned Council informeth us) is so great, that all Acts and Proceffes coming out of any other Court, must for a time cease and give place to it. And touching the party himself, though for his presumption he was worthy to have lost his debt, yet I commend your equity, that have restored him to his debt against him that was the principal. When the King had said this, Sir *Edward Montacute*, Lord Chief Justice, rose up and confirmed by many reasons all that the King had said, as likewise did all the other Lords, none speaking any thing to the contrary.

1543.

It was now the four and thirtieth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when in *May* he took a loan of money of all such as were valued at fifty pounds and upwards in the Subsidy-Book. The Lord Privy-Seal, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *Thomas Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesley* were Commissioners for the loan in *London*, who so handled the matter, that of some chief Citizens they obtained a thousand marks imprest to the Kings use: for which Privy-Seals were delivered to repay it again within two years.

The Scots enter the English Borders: against whom the King sends an Army, and repels them.

The Scots frightened with a conceit.

At this time were many complaints made by the *English* against the *Scots*, partly for receiving and maintaining divers *English* Rebels, fled into *Scotland*, and partly for invading the *English* Borders: but still when the King of *England* was preparing to oppose them, the *Scottish* King would send Ambassadors to treat of reconciliation; till at last, after many delusory pranks of the *Scots*, the King of *England*, no longer enduring such abuses, sent the Duke of *Norfolk* his Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hartford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, the Lords of the North parts, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of the Kings House, with others to the number of twenty thousand men; who on the one and twentieth of *October* entred *Scotland*, where staying but eight days only, he burnt above eighteen Towns, Abbeys, and Castles, and then, without having Battel offered, for want of victuals returned to *Barwick*. As soon as he returned, comes abroad the King of *Scots*; raiseth a power of fifteen thousand men, and using great threatnings what he would do, invaded the West Borders: but the edge of his threatening was soon taken off; for the Bastard *Dacres*, with *Jack of Musgrave*, setting upon them with only an hundred Light Horse, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* with three hundred, put them to flight; upon a conceit, that the Duke of *Norfolk* with all his Army had been come into those parts: where were taken prisoners of the *Scots*, the Earls of *Cassil* and *Glencarn*, the Lord *Maxwell* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lord *Somerwel*, the Lord *Oliphant*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliver Sincleer*, the Kings Minion, *John Ross* Lord of *Gray*, *Roger Erskin* Son to the Lord *Erskin*, *Car* Lord of *Gredon*, the Lord *Maxwells* two Brothers, *John Lesley* Bastard-Son to the Earl of *Roths*, *George Hume* Lord of *Hemetton*, with divers other men of account, to the number of above two hundred, and more than eight hun-

dred of meaner calling: so as some one *English* man, and some women also, had three or four prisoners in their hands. At which overthrow the King of *Scots* took such grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behind him one only Daughter. And here King *Henry* began to apprehend a greater matter than the Victory; for he and his Council conceived, that his Daughter would be a fit match for his Son Prince *Edward*, thereby to make a perpetual union of the two Kingdoms: and to this purpose they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken prisoners, who exceeding glad of the proposition, and promising to further it by all the possible means they could, were thereupon set at liberty, and suffered to return home. Coming into *Scotland*, and acquainting the Earl of *Arran* with the motion, who was chosen Governour of the young Queen, and of the Realm; the matter with great liking was entertained, and in Parliament of the three Estates in *Scotland*, the Marriage was confirmed, and a Peace between the two Realms for ten years was Proclaimed, and Ambassadors sent into *England*, for sealing the conditions. But *Beton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, being Cardinal, and at the Popes devotion, and therefore an utter enemy to King *Henry*, so crossed the business, that it came to nothing, but ended in a War between the two Kingdoms; so as in *March* the year following, the Lord *Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, with an Army by Land, & Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Lisle*, with a Fleet by Sea, met at *New-Castle*, and there joyned together, for invading of *Scotland*. With the Earl of *Hartford*, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Conyers*, *Stinton*, the Lord *William Howard*, with Knights and others, to the number of ten thousand; with Sir *John Dudley* the Admiral, were two hundred sail of Ships. On the fourth of *May*, the whole Army was landed two miles from the Town of *Leith*, at a place called *Granthor Garg*, and there the Lord Lieutenant putting his men in order, marched towards the Town of *Leith*; the Lord Admiral led the Foreward, the Lieutenant the Battel, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rereward. Before they came to the Town of *Leith*, the Cardinal with six hundred Horse, besides Foot, lay in the way to impeach the passage; but they were so assailed by the Harquebusars, that they were glad to flie, and the first man that fled was the Cardinal himself, and then the Earls of *Huntley*, *Murray*, and *Bothwell*: hereupon the *English* made forward to *Leith*, and entred it without any great resistance. The sixth of *May* they marched towards *Edinburgh*, and as they approached the Town, the Provost with some of the Burgers came and offered the Keys of the Town to the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and the Town to be preserved from fire: but the Lord Lieutenant told them, their falsehood had been such, as deserved no favour, and therefore unless they would deliver the Town absolutely without any condition, he would proceed in his enterprise and burn the Town. Here we may see what it is to make men desperate; for to this the Provost answered, They were better then to stand upon defence: and so indeed they did, and made the *English* glad to retire; for the

The King of Scots with grief thereof dieth, leaving behind him one only Daughter. King *Henry* seeks to match his Son Prince *Edward* with his Daughter; and is embraced by all the States of *Scotland*.

Only *Beton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, and Cardinal, crosses it. Whereupon a War between the two Kingdoms. And the Earl of *Hartford* is sent with an Army into *Scotland*.

Where he takes *Leith* and many other Towns.

No policy to make the Enemy desperate.

Castle



Castle shot so fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a part of the Town, they returned to *Leith*; but whilst they lay there, they so wasted the Country, that within seven miles every way of *Edenburgh*, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor house that was left unburnt. At *Leith* the eleventh day of *May*, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Conyers*, Sir *William Wroughton*, Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, Sir *Edward Dorrel*, Sir *Francis Hotham*, and others, to the number of at least three-score. In *Leith* Haven, they seized upon all the *Scottish* Ships, whereof two were of notable fairness, the one called the *Salamander*, given by the *French* King at the marriage of his Daughter into *Scotland*; the other called the *Unicorn*, made by the late *Scottish* King: the ballast of which two Ships was Canon-shot, whereof they found in the Town to the number of four-score thousand. On the fifteenth of *May*, their Army and their Fleet departed from *Leith*, both in one hour, having first set the Town on fire, and burned it to the ground: from *Leith* the English Army marched to *Seaton*, from thence to *Haddington*, from thence to *Dunbar*, from thence to *Ranton*, all which Towns and Castles, with divers others, they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of *May* came to *Barwick*, not having lost in all the journey above fourteen men.

1544.

In the mean time, in King *Henry's* five and thirtieth year, on Trinity Sunday a new League was entered into and sworn, between the King and the Emperour, at *Hampton-Court*, to be both offensive and defensive.

Lords imprisoned, for eating flesh in Lent.

In this year Proclamation was made, whereby the people were licensed to eat white meats in Lent; but straightly forbidden the eating of flesh: whereupon shortly after, the Earl of *Surrey* with divers other Lords and Knights were imprisoned, for eating of flesh contrary to the Proclamation.

Obrine is created Earl of Thomond: whole Posterity enjoyeth the Honour to this day.

The third of *June* this year, there came out of *Ireland* three Lords, of whom *Obrine* was here created Earl of *Thomond*, (which honour his posterity enjoyeth to this day) *Mack William a Bary* was created Earl of *Clanrickard*, and *Mack Gilpatrick* was made Baron of *Ebrankie*.

King Henry marries the Lady Katharine Par, Widow of the Lord Latimer.

King *Henry* had already had five Wives, all of them Maids, and no good luck with any of them; he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of *June*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he took to Wife the Lady *Katharine Par*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer* late deceased, who was then proclaimed Queen: but how lucky this match would have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, seeing in a short time of three years they lived together, it was no small danger she escaped: which though it happened not till a year or two after this time, yet will not unfitly be spoken of in this place, that so her story may come together. This Queen, as being an earnest Protestant, had many great adversaries, by whom she was accused to the King, to have Heretical books found in her closet; and this was so much aggravated against her, that they prevailed with the King, to sign a Warrant to commit her to the *Tower*, with a purpose to have her burnt for Heretic.

She is accused to the King of Heretic.

This Warrant was delivered to *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellour, and he by chance, or rather indeed by Gods Providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen; who having read it, went soon after to visit the King, at that time keeping his Chamber, by reason of a fore Leg: being come to the King, he presently fell into talk with her, about some points of Religion, demanding her resolution therein; but she knowing that his nature was not to be crost, specially considering the case she was in, made him answer, that she was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majesty was wise and judicious, of whom she must learn as of her Lord and Head. Not so by Saint *Mary*, (said the King) for you are a Doctor, *Kate*, to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us, as often we have seen heretofore. Indeed Sir (said she) if your Majesty have so conceived, I have been mistaken; for if heretofore I have held talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majesty some point, whereof I stood in doubt, and sometimes that with my talk I might make you forget your present infirmity. And is it even so sweet heart? (quoth the King) why then we are friends, and so kissing her, gave her leave to depart. But soon after, was the day appointed by the Kings Warrant for apprehending her; on which day, the King disposed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when suddenly the Lord Chancellour with forty of the Guard came into the Garden with a purpose to apprehend her: whom as soon as the King saw, he flew to him, and calling him knave and fool, bid him avaunt out of his presence. The Queen seeing him so angry with him, began to intreat for him: to whom the King said, Ah poor soul! thou little knowest what it is he came about; of my word sweet-heart he hath been to thee a very knave. And thus by Gods Providence was this Queen preserved, who else had tasted of as bitter a cup, as any of his former Wives had done.

And by what means she avoids the danger.

About this time King *Henry* and the Emperour sent *Garret* and *Toyson d'or*, Kings at Arms, to demand performance of certain Articles of the *French* King; which if he denied, they were then commanded to besiege him: but the *French* King would not suffer them to come within his land, and so they returned: whereupon King *Henry* caused the said demands to be declared to the *French* Ambassadour at *Westminster*; and in *July* sent over six thousand men, under the leading of Sir *John Wallop*, accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen. Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marshall of the Army, Sir *Robert Bowes* Treasurer, Sir *Richard Cornwall* Captain of the Horse, and Sir *George Carew* his Lieutenant. There were likewise Sir *Tho. Palmour*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *John Saint-John*, and Sir *John Gascoigne*, Knights, that were Captains of the Foot. Their Commission was to joyn with the Emperour, and together to make War upon *France*. The third of *August* open War was proclaimed in *London*, between the Emperour and the King of *England* on the one part, and the *French* King on the other, as mortal enemy to them both, and to all other Christian Princes besides, as he that had confederated himself

King Henry sends over an Army to aid the Emperour against the King of France.



himself with the *Turk*. Sir *John Wallop* marching forth of *Callice* with his Army, joyned with the Emperours Forces, who together went and besieged *Landrecies*, a Town lately fortified by the *French*, lying within the Borders of the Emperours Dominions: to raise this siege the *French* King had raised a mighty Army, with which he came on as if he meant to give the Emperour Battel: and thereupon the Emperour raising his siege, with a purpose to encounter him, the *French* King took the opportunity to put men and victuals into the Town, which was the thing he intended; and having done this, the night following departed with his Army: and then the Emperour seeing him gone, and finding the Winter coming on, and no hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplied, he also broke up his Army, and returned home.

Lords  
made.

This year, the Sunday before Christmases, the Lord *William Parre*, Brother to the Queen, who had married the Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, was at *Hampton-Court* created Earl of *Essex*; and Sir *William Parre* Knight, Uncle to them both, was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-years day Sir *Thomas Wriothesley*, the Kings Secretary, was made Lord *Wriothesley* of *Titchfield*.

King  
James his  
Parentage.

In June this year, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* fled out of *Scotland*, and came into *England*, whom King *Henry* received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady *Margaret* his Sisters Daughter, by whom he had *Henry*, Father of our late King *James* of blessed memory.

*Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellor being lately dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothesley* succeeded him in the place: and now was an Army levied to go for *France*. The Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Earl of *Surrey* the Dukes Son, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and his Son, Sir *Robert Devereux*, Sir *Tho. Cheiney* Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Thomas Poynings* Captain of *Guysnes*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about Whitsuntide passed over to *Callice*, and marching towards *Muttrel*, joyned with the Emperours Forces, under the leading of the Count de *Baron*; which two Armies laid siege to *Muttrel*, whereof Monsieur de *Bies*, one of the Marshals of *France*, was Captain: but being then at *Bulloigne*, and hearing of the siege of *Muttrel*, he left *Bulloigne*, and with his Forces came thither, which was the thing that was desired, to draw him from *Bulloigne*; and thereupon was the Duke of *Suffolk* appointed to pass over with the Kings Army, accompanied with the Earl of *Arundel* Marshal of the Field, the Lord *Saint John*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of the Kings House, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, with divers others, who the nineteenth of July came and encamped before *Bulloigne*. The four and twentieth of July the King in person, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to *Callice*; and the six and twentieth encamped before *Bulloigne* on the North-side. Many batteries and assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town upon composition yielded, and

King Hen-  
ry lays  
siege to  
*Bulloigne*.

the Duke of *Suffolk* entred and took possession, suffering six thousand *French*, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eighth of September King *Henry* entred the Town himself, and then leaving the Lord *Lisle* Lord Admiral his Deputy there, he returned into *England*, landing at *Dover* the first of October. Many enterprises after this were made by the Dauphin of *France* and by Monsieur de *Bies* for recovery of *Bulloigne*, but they were still repulsed, and the *English* kept the Town in spite of all they could do; although at one time there came an Army of eighteen thousand foot, at another time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelve thousand Launce-Knights, twelve thousand *French* Footmen, six thousand *Italians*, four thousand of Legionary Souldiers of *France*, a thousand men of Arms, besides eight thousand light Horse; great Forces certainly to come and do nothing.

Whilest these things were doing about *Bul-loigne*, the Ships of the West Country and other places wafted abroad on the Seas, and took above three hundred *French* Ships; so that the *Gray-fryers* Church in *London* was laid full of Wine, the *Austin-fryers* and *Black-fryers* full of Herrings and other Fish, which should have been conveyed into *France*.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his Wars in *France* and *Scotland*; to which purpose, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and other of the Kings Council sate at *Baynards-Castle*, where they first called before them the Mayor and Aldermen; and because *Richard Read* Alderman would not agree to pay as they set him, he was commanded to serve the King in his Wars in *Scotland*, which the obstinate man rather chose to do, than he would pay the rate he was required. But being there, he was taken prisoner by the *Scots*, to his far greater damage, than if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: for at this time Sir *Ralph Evers* Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into *Scotland*, assembled four thousand men, and entring *Scotland* now again, was encountered by the Earl of *Arran*, by whom he and the Lord *Ogle*, and many other Gentlemen were slain, and divers were taken prisoners, of whom Alderman *Read* was one.

It was now the seven and thirtieth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when on Saint *Georges* day Sir *Thomas Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor was made Knight of the Garter: also Trinity Term was adjourned by reason of the Wars, but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tents were open.

At this time the *English* Fleet went before *New-haven*, but being there encountered by a far greater Fleet of *French*, they returned; with whose retreat the *French* Admiral emboldened, came upon the Coast of *Suffex*, where he landed Souldiers; but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back: after which he landed two thousand men in the *Isle of Wight*, but was there repelled, though reported, to have in his Ships three score thousand men.

In August this year died the valiant Captain the Lord *Poynings*, the Kings Lieutenant of his Town of *Bulloigne*; and the same month also died

He takes  
the Town  
and re-  
turns.

Three hun-  
dred  
*French*  
Ships ta-  
ken, laden  
with Wine  
and Her-  
rings.

King Hen-  
ry de-  
mands a  
Benevo-  
lence to-  
wards his  
Wars in  
*France*.  
*Richard*  
*Read* Al-  
derman,  
refusing to  
pay his As-  
sessment, is  
sent a  
Souldier  
into  
*Scotland*,  
and there  
taken pri-  
soner.

1546.

Sir *Thomas*  
*Wriothesley*  
Lord  
Chancel-  
lour is  
made  
Knight of  
the Gar-  
ter.



Charles  
Brandon  
Duke of  
Suffolk  
dieth.

died at *Guilford* the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, *Charles Brandon*, Lord Great Master of the Kings House, whose body was honourably buried at *Windsor* at the Kings cost.

About this time the *Scots*, having received aid out of *France*, approached the *English* Borders, but durst attempt nothing: whereupon the Earl of *Hartford*, Lieutenant of the North-parts, raising an Army of twelve thousand men, *English* and Strangers, entred *Scotland*, and burnt a great part of *Mers* and *Tividale*, as *Kelsey* Abbey, and the Town, the Abbeyes of *Medrofs*, *Driborne* and *Tedworth*, with a hundred Towns and Villages more: when on the sixteenth of *September*, an Army of *Scots* and *French* attempted to enter into *England* on the East Borders, but in a Streight were set upon by the *English*, who slew and took of them to the number of seven score, amongst whom was the Lord *Humes's* Son, and a principal *French* Captain. In another Road, which they made into the West Borders, the Lord *Maxwell's* Son, and divers other were taken: but then at another time, (such is the chance of War) five hundred *English* entring the West Borders of *Scotland* were discomfited, and the greatest part of them either taken or slain.

And now to revenge the presumptuous attempts of the *French* upon the *Isle of Wight*, the Lord Admiral with his Fleet approached the Coasts of *Normandy*, landed six thousand men at *Treport*, burnt the Suburbs of that Town with the Abbey, destroyed thirty Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole Voyage.

A Peace  
concluded  
between  
the two  
Kings of  
*England*  
and  
*France*.

At this time the Earl of *Hartford* lying at *Bulloigne*, had in his Army above four score thousand men, and many skirmishes passed between him and the *French*; till at last, by mediation of the Emperour and divers other Princes, a meeting was appointed to treat of a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Hereupon there came to *Guysnes* for the King of *England*, the Earl of *Hartford*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Dudley*, Vicount *Lisle*, Baron of *Mampus*, and High Admiral of *England*, Sir *William Paget* the Kings Secretary, and Doctor *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*: For the *French* King there came to *Ard*, *Claude Danebolt* Admiral of *France*, the Bishop of *Eureux*, Monsieur *Raymond* chief President of *Roan*, and the Secretary *Bouchetel*. Divers times they met betwixt *Ard* and *Guysnes*, and after long debating of matters, and divers breakings off, at length, the seventh of *June*, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the City of *London*, on Whitfunday the thirtieth of *June*, by sound of Trumpet; and the same day in like manner at *Paris* and *Roan*: the chief Article of which Peace was this, that the *French* King paying to the King of *England* eight hundred thousand Crowns, within the term of eight years, should have *Bulloigne* again restored to him, which in the mean time should remain in possession of the King of *England*, as a pledge for assurance of the said money. And now for a full establishment of this Peace, the Vicount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, with the Bishop of *Duresme*, and divers other Lords were sent into *France*, to take Oath of the *French* King, and of the Dauphin; as

*Bulloigne*  
is restored  
to the  
*French*  
upon pay-  
ment of  
eight hun-  
dred  
thousand  
Crowns.

likewise at the same time divers Lords came from the *French* King, to take Oath of King *Henry*, who by the way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

In his seven and thirtieth year, the three and twentieth of *November*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*, wherein was granted to the King a Subsidy both of Spirituality and Temporality, and all Colledges, Chantries and Hospitals were given to him to dispose of. The four and twentieth of *December* the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King coming to the Parliament-House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellor was used to answer, but at this time the King would answer himself: the effect whereof was, that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in mind how necessary it was he should have them: then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colledges and Chantries, which he promised should be bestowed to the Glory of God & good of the Realm: lastly, he acknowledged their love to himself, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? and what concord, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist; and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporality, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some to be stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, and others so curious in their new *Sumpsimus*, that few or none preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God. Now therefore let this be amended, fear and serve God, be in Charity among your selves, to the which I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you. And this said, the Acts were openly read; to some he gave his Royal assent, and to divers assented not.

All Col-  
ledges and  
Chantries  
are given  
to the  
King by  
Parlia-  
ment.

The King  
answers  
the Speak-  
ers Speech  
himself,  
and the  
effect of  
his Speech.

Whilst the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Bulloigne* remaining still in King *Henry's* possession, Monsieur *de Chatillon* Captain of *Mont-pleasier* began to make a new Bastillion at the very mouth of the Haven of *Bulloigne*, naming it *Chatillons* Garden: hereof the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, as then Deputy of *Bulloigne*, advertised the King by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his pleasure whether he should raze it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand. The King asked advice of his Council, who all agree, that the Conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastillion stand: whereupon the King caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget* to write a Letter to the Lord *Gray* to that purpose; but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible he should raze the Fortification to the ground. Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying, that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed; Well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice. Upon the coming back of

Sir



The Lord  
Gray obey-  
eth a Mes-  
sage from  
the King  
before the  
Kings  
Letter.

Sir *Tho. Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a Council, shewing them the Kings Letter, and with- all Sir *Thomas Palmour's* Message, and then asked their advice, what in this case he should do; who all agreed without any question, that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Mes- sage: to which the Lord *Gray* himself said no- thing, but caused the Message to be written *verbatim* from Sir *Thomas Palmour's* mouth, and those of the Council to set their hands to it: this done, the night following he issued forth with a company of armed men and Pio- neers, and overthrew the Fortifications to the ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with Letters to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but then the King half angry, Nay tell me (saith he) will he do it or no? Being then told it was done, and the Fortifications clean razed, he turned to his Lords and said, What say you my Lords to this, *Chatillons* Garden is razed to the floor? Where- to one presently answered, he that had done it was worthy to lose his head: to which the King straightly replied, That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, than one such servant as had done it; and therewith commanded the Lord *Gray's* Pardon should presently be drawn; the which he sent with Letters of great thanks, and promise of re- ward. The cause why the King took this course was this, lest if he had written the razing of the Fortification in this Letter, it might have come to the *French*-mens knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented. And this may be taken as a scantling of King *Henry's* great capacity.

1547.  
The Duke  
of Norfolk  
and his  
Son the  
Earl of  
Surrey  
committed  
to the  
Tower, and  
why.

The Earl  
is be-  
headed.

King Hen-  
ry dieth.

It is now the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, when about *Michaelmas*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* his Son and Heir, upon certain surmises of Treason, were committed to the Tower of *London*: and the thirteenth of *January*, the King then lying at the point of death, the said Earl was arraigned in the *Guild-hall*, before the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor, and other Lords there in Commission. The special matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certain Arms that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earl justified the bearing of them as belonging to divers of his Ancestours; affirming withall, that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. But this notwithstanding, being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tryed by a common Jury, by them was found guilty, and thereupon had judgment of death; and the nineteenth of *January* was be- headed on the *Tower-hill*. The Duke was attain- ted by Parliament, and kept in prison, till in the first year of *Queen Mary* the Attalnder was reversed. The death of this Earl might lay an imputation of cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just jealousie growing from the many circumstan- ces of the Earls greatness, in the tender age of his own Son, did not excuse him.

Soon after the death of this Earl, the King himself died; having made his last Will, in which he took order, that his Son *Edward* should succeed him in the Crown, and hedying

without Issue, his Daughter *Mary*, and she dy- ing without Issue, his Daughter *Elizabeth*; al- though another order of succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteen; *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, Sir *William Pawlet* Lord *Saint-John* and great Master of the Houf- hold, Sir *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford* and high Chamberlain of *England*, Sir *John Russel* Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Dudley* Vicount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Dur- ham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *Edmund Montacute* Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the *Kings Bench*, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *William Paget* Knight of the Order, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treasurer of *Callice*, and *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. To whom were adjoyn- ed as Assistants these twelve; *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Par* Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Peter* Principal Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of *Sissingherst* in *Kent*, Chancellor of the Exche- quer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Edward Peckham*. And it was not without need to leave a full Council- Table, considering in what terms he left the Kingdom when he died. Abroad, in league with the Emperour, at Peace with the King of *France*; but whether these were not personal only, and no longer binding than King *Henry* lived, might be doubted: with the *Scots* at deadly feud; with the Pope at utter defiance; from both which Coasts there could be expected but little fair weather: at home the frame of Religion extremely disjoynted; and the Clergy that should set it in frame, out of frame themselves; the minds of the people extremely distracted; and the Nobility that should cement them, scarce holding themselves together. And in this state was the Kingdom when King *Henry* the eighth died, in the year 1547. the fifty sixth of his life, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth.

His Exe-  
cutors.

Assistants  
to his Ex-  
ecutors.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN his fourth year, in a Parliament at *West- minster*, was granted to the King two Fif- teenths of the Temporality, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five pounds, a Baron four pounds, a Knight four Marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in Goods to pay four Marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen years and upward four pence. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein divers Subsidies were granted to the King, to- wards the charges of his Wars in *France*. In his fourteenth year, order was taken by the Cardinal, that the true value of all mens sub- stance might be known, and he would have had every man sworn, to tell what he was worth, King, and

Every  
man  
sworn  
what he is  
worth, and  
to give the  
Tenth  
part to the  
King.



and required a tenth part thereof, towards the Kings charges in the present Wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth part. This the *Londoners* thought very hard, and thereupon were excused for taking Oath, and were allowed to bring in their Bills upon their honesties: but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinal, the Clergy granted one half of all their yearly Spiritual Revenues, for five years, and the Temporality two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards; and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years. In his sixteenth year, the Cardinal of his own head attempted by Commission, to draw the people to pay the sixth part of every mans substance in Plate or Money; but this was generally opposed, and the people in many Countreys rose upon it, so as coming to the Kings knowledge, he utterly disavowed it, and blamed the Cardinal exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth year, in a Parliament then holden, a fifteenth was granted to the King, towards his Charges of making Fortifications against *Scotland*. In his one and thirtieth year, a Subsidy of two shillings in the pound of Lands, and twelve of Goods, with four fifteens, were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth year, a Subsidy was granted to be paid in three years, every *English*-man being worth in Goods twenty shillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound; and from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; and from ten pounds to twenty pounds, 12 pence; from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings: Strangers, as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants, to pay double. And for Lands, every *English*-man paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds, and from five pounds to ten pounds sixteen pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds two shillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings: Strangers double. The Clergy six shillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Priest having no Benefice, but an Annual stipend, six shillings eight pence yearly, during three years.

*Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.*

Inclosures commanded to be laid open.

**I**N a Parliament holden his sixth year, divers Laws were made, but two most spoken of; one for Apparel, another for Labourers. In his twelfth year, he caused the Statutes against Inclosures to be revived, and commanded that decayed Houses should be built up again, and that Inclosed Grounds should be laid open; which though it did some good, yet not so much as it might have done, if the Cardinal for his own benefit had not procured liberty for great men to keep up their Inclosures, to the oppression of poor men. In his seventeenth year, the King lying at *Eltham*, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinal touching the Governance of the Kings House, and were long after called the Statutes of *Eltham*. In his

eighteenth year, in the month of *May*, Proclamation was made against all unlawful Games, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cards, and Bowls were taken and burnt; but this Order continued not long, for young men being restrained from these Games, fell some to drinking, some to stealing of Coneyes and Deer, and such other misdemeanours. Also in this year was an inhaunting of Coin, for the preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at a higher rate; so that the Angel that went before but for seven shillings, should now go for seven and six pence, and every Ounce of Gold should be five and forty shillings, which was before but forty, and other Coins accordingly. In his twentieth year, Sir *James Spencer* being Mayor of *London*, the Watch used on Midsummer-night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth year, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whosoever should poyson any person, should be boyled to death; by which Statute, one *Richard Roose*, who had poysoned divers persons in the Bishop of *Rockesters* place, was boyled to death in *Smithfield*, to the terrible example of all other. In his two and twentieth year, three Acts were made, one for probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by Spiritual persons. In his thirtieth year, it was ordained by *Cromwell* the Kings Vicar-General, that in all Churches a Register should be kept of every Wedding, Christning and Burial within the same Parish for ever. In his one and thirtieth year, the King first instituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Pensioners, to wait upon his Person, assigning to each of them fifty pounds a year, for the maintenance of themselves and two Horses. In his six and thirtieth year, Proclamation was made for the inhaunting of Gold to eight and forty shillings, and Silver to four shillings the Ounce; also he caused to be coined base Money, mingling it with Brasse, which was since that time called down the fifth year of *Edward* the sixth, and called in the second year of *Queen Elizabeth*. In his seven and thirtieth year, the Brothel-houses called the Stews, on the *Bank-side* in *Southwark*, were put down by the Kings Commandment, and it was done by Proclamation and sound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth year, it was enacted, that Butchers should sell their meat by weight, Beef for a half-peny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings: also at this time foreign Butchers were permitted to sell their flesh in *Leaden-hall Market*, which before was not allowed. In his time also the Government of the President in the North was first instituted, and the first President there was *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*.

Dice and Cards forbidden.

Coin inhaunted.

A Register of all Weddings, Christnings, and Burials, when first kept. The Gentlemen-Pensioners when first ordained.

The Stews put down.

Butchers appointed to sell their meat by weight.

The President of the North when first ordained.

*Affairs of the Church in his time.*

**I**N the year 1517. the eighth year of this Kings Reign, *Martin Luther* of *Wittenberg* in *Germany*, a Fryer of the Order of the *Hermites*, taking occasion from the abuse of Indulgences, began to preach against the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion. For repressing of whom, the Council

*Luther* brings in a Reformation of Religion.

of



The difference  
between  
Lutherans  
and Pro-  
testants.

The King  
when first  
called Su-  
preme  
Head  
of the  
Church.  
No more  
Annates  
to be paid  
to Rome;  
nor Ap-  
peals to be  
made to  
the Pope.

The First-  
fruits and  
Tenths  
given to  
the King.

of *Trent* was called by Pope *Paul* the third, in the year 1542. which continued above forty years, but was never received in the Kingdom of *France*: which Council, by decreeing many things to be Points of Faith, which were not so accounted before, hath made no small distraction amongst Papists themselves. Against this *Luther*, King *Henry* wrote a Book with great bitterness, and with as great bitterness was answered. At the same time with *Luther*, there arose also in the same Countrey other Reformers of Religion, as *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchthon*; who differing from *Luther* in some few points, made the difference which is at this day of *Lutherans* and Protestants, so called at first at *Augsburg*, for making a Protestation in defence of their Doctrine, which soon after spread all Christendom over. King *Henry* in the six and twentieth year of his Reign, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realm: but thinking the work not sufficiently done, as long as Abbeyes and Priories kept their station, which were, as it were, his Fortresses and Pillars; there was not long after means found to have them suppressed: for aspersions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more than truth) of Adulteries and Murthers, they by Act of Parliament, in his eight and twentieth year, at least near four hundred of them were suppressed, and all their Lands and Goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth year, all the rest: and lastly, in his five and thirtieth year, all Colledges, Chantries, and Hospitals. So as the Hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Country. In this Kings time the City of *Rome* was taken and sacked by the Imperial Army, forcing the Pope to flee to his Castle *Saint Angelo*, there kept a Prisoner, till he agreed to such conditions as his Adversaries propounded. In the two and twentieth year of this Kings Reign, a Proclamation was set forth, that no person should purchase any thing from the Court of *Rome*; and this was the first blow given to the Pope in *England*. In his three and twentieth year, the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a *Præmunire*, were the first that called him Supreme Head of the Church. In his four and twentieth year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annates or money for their Bulls to the Pope; and another, that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth year, in *July*, *John Frith* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and with him at the same stake one *Andrew Howet* a Taylor, both for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament. And in a Parliament holden this year, an Act was made which Authorized the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished and then also was given to the King the First-fruits and Tenths of all Spiritual Livings.

And this year were many put to death, Papists for denying the Kings Supremacy, Protestants for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament: and it is incredible what number for these two causes were put to death in the last ten years of the Kings Reign, of whom if we should make particular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs. In his eight and twentieth year, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Vicar-General under the King over the Spirituality, and sate divers times in the Convocation-house amongst the Bishops as Head over them; and in *September* this year he set forth Injunctions, commanding all Parsons and Curates to teach their Parishioners the *Pater-noster*, the *Ave*, and *Creed*, with the ten Commandments and the Articles of the Christian Faith, in the *English* tongue. In his one and thirtieth year, was set forth by the Bishops the Book of the Six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt, that should hold,

1. That the Body of Christ was not Really present in the Sacrament after Consecration.

2. That the Sacrament might not be truly administered under one kind.

3. That Priests entred into Holy Orders might marry.

4. That Vows of Chastity entred into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.

5. That private Masses were not to be used.

6. That Auricular Confession was not necessary in the Church.

The Six  
Articles  
set forth  
by the Bi-  
shops.

This year also the Religion of *Saint Johns* in *England*, commonly called the Order of Knights of the *Rhodes*, was dissolved; and on Ascension-day, Sir *William Weston* Knight, Prior of *Saint Johns*, departed this life, for thought, (as was reported) after he heard of the dissolution of his Order; for the King took all the Lands that belonged to that Order into his own hands. In his six and thirtieth year, the Litany or Procession was set forth in *English*, with commandment by the King, to be generally used in Parish-Churches.

The Or-  
der of  
*Saint  
Johns* dis-  
solved.

Works of Piety done by him or others in his time.

UPON the suppression of Abbeyes, King *Henry* instituted six new Bishopricks, and six Cathedral-Churches, endowing them with convenient Maintenance: he also gave competent Pensions during their lives, to such Religious persons as were turned out of their Cloisters: he also instituted in both the Universities Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil Law, and Physick, allowing to each of them forty pounds a year: he also founded a Colledge at *Cambridge*. He gave at his death a thousand Marks to the Poor; and to twelve poor Knights of *Windsor*, each of them twelve pence a day for ever, and every year a long Gown of white Cloth. But his greatest work of Piety was his putting down the Stews in *Southmark*, *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, the Kings Grandmother, founded two Colledges at *Cambridge*, *Christs-Colledge* and *Saint Johns*. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign *George Monox* Mayor of

Professors  
of the He-  
brew and  
Greek  
Tongues  
first insti-  
tuted in  
both Uni-  
versities.



of London, re-edified the decayed Steeple of the Church of *Waltham-stow* in *Essex*, adding thereunto a Side-Ile with a Chappel, where he lieth buried: on the North-side of the Church-yard there he founded a fair Alms-house, for a Priest and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance. He also, for the commodity of Travellers, made a Cawsey of Timber over the Marshes, from *Waltham-stow* to *Lock-bridg* towards *London*. In this Kings eighth year, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* founded *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, minding to have made it an house for Monks; but *Hugh Oldham*, Bishop of *Exeter*, perswaded him to make it rather a Colledge for Scholars, and joyning with him in it, contributed great sums of money towards it, contenting himself only with the name of a Benefactor. In his seventh year King *Henry* builded the Tower of *Greenwich*. In this Kings time Cardinal *Wolsey* founded two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, another at *Ipswich*. To his Colledge at *Oxford* he had given four thousand pounds Land a year; but his Lands being all confiscate to the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave to the Colledge a competent maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellows: which Colledge is now called *Christ-Church*, and accounts King *Henry* for their Founder. His Colledge at *Ipswich* was demolished. This Cardinal also built *Hampton-Court*, the chiefest at this day of all the Kings Houses; and built or enlarged *White-hall*, called then *Tork-Place*. King *Henry* in his four and twentieth year built also his Mansion-House of *Saint James*, where also he made a fair Park. This Place before had been an Hospital of Sisters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Pensions during their lives. In his thirtieth year, *Nicholas Gibson* Grocer, then Sheriff of *London*, builded a Free-School at *Ratcliff* near *London*, with maintenance for a Master and an Usher; he also builded an Alms-house there for fourteen poor and aged people. In his one and thirtieth year, *Thomas Huntlow*, the then Sheriff of *London*, gave certain Tenements to the Haberdashers, for finding of ten Alms-men of the same Company. In his six and thirtieth year, Sir *John Allen*, who had been twice Mayor of *London*, and of the Kings Council, gave at his death to the City of *London* a rich Collar of Gold, to be worn by the Mayor: which Collar was first worn by Sir *William Laxton* on Saint *Edwards* day, at the election of the new Mayor, who gave to every Ward in *London* twenty pounds, to be distributed among poor Householders; besides to fixscore persons, whereof threescore men, to every one a Gown of Broadcloth, and a black Cap; and threescore women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth, and a white Kerchief. In the eight and thirtieth year, King *Henry* gave to the City of *London*, for relief of poor people in *S. Bartholomews* Spittle, the Church of the *Gray-fryers*, and two Parish-Churches, the one at *S. Nicholas* in the *Shambles*, the other *S. Ewins* in *Newgate-market*, all to be made one Parish-Church of the *Gray-fryers*; and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the same five hundred Marks a year for ever:

and this Church to be named *Christ-Church*, founded by King *Henry* the Eighth. The Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* (the Widow of Sir *William Hollys* Knight, late Lord Mayor of the City of *London*) by her last Will and Testament, dated the 17 of *February* 1543. and in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and proved at *London* in the Prerogative-Court of *Canterbury* the 28 of *March* 1544. did will her Executors, her Cousin Mr. *Andrew Jud* Alderman, (afterwards Knight and Lord Mayor of *London*) and her Brother *Thomas Scopham*, that they should provide a place or plot of ground, whereon should be erected six Alms-houses for six aged folks, men or women, or else both, to inhabit and dwell in; for the maintenance of which, she willed that her said Executors should purchase as much Land or Tenements within the City of *London*, or Liberties of the same, as would amount *de claro* above all charges to the yearly value of ten pound sterling, to be distributed in this manner: that is to say, to every of the said six Alms-people seven pence by the Week, to be paid on every Saturday or Sabbath-day weekly; and the remainder of the said yearly ten pound to be distributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter season, to and amongst the said six Alms-people: and this to continue for ever, whiles the World shall endure, as by the said Will may appear, which was afterwards accordingly effected by her said Executors. Which said Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* and Sir *William Hollys*, were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto *John Hollys* Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceased.

Casualties in his time.

IN his ninth year happened a Sweating-sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* died, especially in *London*; which was so violent, that in three, and sometimes two hours, it took away mens lives, and spared neither rich nor poor: for in the Kings Court, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen and Officers died of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midst of *December*. In his thirteenth year was a great Mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realm, and many men of Honour and Worship died; amongst others, Doctor *Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, in whose place Doctor *Tunstall* succeeded. In his fifteenth year, after great Rains and Winds, there followed so sore a Frost, that many died for cold; and some lost Fingers, some Toes, and many their Nails. In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in Seed-time, there followed a great dearth of Corn; which would have caused great calamity, but that it was relieved in *London* by Merchants of the *Steel-yard* out of *Germany*, and a thousand quarters supplied out of the Kings own provision. In his twentieth year, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-sickness, which afterwards infected all places of the Realm; by reason whereof the Term was adjourned, and the Circuit of the Assises also. Many died in the Court, as Sir *Franc. Poynes*, Sir *William Compton*, Knights, and

A Sweating Sickness, of which many great men died.

Another Sweating-sickness.

Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, when and by whom founded.

Christ-Church in Oxford founded.

Hampton-Court by whom built.

S. James when first built.

Christ-Church Hospital in the Shambles founded.



Castling  
Pipes of  
Lead with-  
out Soder,  
when, and  
by whom  
first in-  
vented.

A miracu-  
lous sud-  
den rising  
of the Ri-  
ver Dun.

The first  
cast Pieces  
of Iron  
made.

One that  
slept four-  
teen days  
together  
without  
waking.  
Divers  
things  
newly  
brought  
into Eng-  
land.

*William Carew* Esquire of the Kings Privy-Chamber. The King himself for a space removed almost every day, till he came to *Tittinghanger*, a place of the Abbot of *Saint Albans*, where he with the Queen and a small number remained till the Sickness was past. In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveyance of Water under ground, without using of Soder, was first invented by *Robert Brocke* Clerk, one of the Kings Chaplains: a profitable Invention; for by this, two men and a boy will do more in one day, than could have been done before by many men in many days. *Robert Cooper* Goldsmith was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the North in this Kings time, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent with an Army against the Rebels, and that a day of Battel between them was appointed; it happened, that the night before a small Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a small rain swelled to such a height, that it was not passable by either Foot or Horse; a thing which had never happened before upon a great rain, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no less than a Miracle. In his three and thirtieth year was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Agues and Fluxes; and withall so great a drought, that small Rivers were clean dried, much Cattel died for lack of water, and the *Thames* was grown so shallow, that the Salt-water flowed above *London-bridge*, till the rain had encreased the fresh-waters. In his five and thirtieth year, the first cast Pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckstead* in *Suffex* by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde*. In his six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as *Michaelmas Term* was adjourned to *Saint Albans*, and there kept. In his seven and thirtieth year, on Tuesday in *Easter-week*, *William Foxely*, Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower of *London*, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching, or burning, till the first day of the next Term, which was full fourteen days; and when he awaked, was found in all points as if he had slept but one night, and lived forty years after. About his fifteenth year, it happened that divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rhyme was made,

*Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel, and Beer,*  
*Came into ENGLAND all in one year.*

*Of his Wives and Children.*

**K**ing Henry had six Wives. His first was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*. She lived his Wife above twenty years, and then was divorced from him; after which she lived three years by the name of *Katharine Dowager*: she deceased at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntington*, the eighth of *January*, in the year 1535. and lieth interred in the Cathedral-Church of *Peterborough*, under a Herse of black Say, having a white Cross in the midst. His second Wife was *Anne*, second Daughter of Sir *Thomas*

*Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. She was married to him the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the year 1533. lived his Wife three years, three months, and five and twenty days, and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Choir of the Chappel in the Tower. His third Wife was *Jane*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, and Sister to the Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, and Duke of *Somerset*: she was married to him the next day after the beheading of Queen *Anne*, lived his Wife one year, five months, and four and twenty days, and then died in Child-bed, and was buried in the midst of the Choir of the Church within the Castle of *Windsor*. His fourth Wife was *Anne*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*. She lived his Wife six months, and then was divorced: she remained in *England* long after the Kings death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London*, at the solemnizing of Queen *Maries* Coronation. His fifth Wife was *Katharine*, Daughter of *Edmund*, and Niece of *Thomas Howard* his Brother, Duke of *Norfolk*. She was married to him in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, lived his Wife one year, six months, and four days, and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancel of the Chappel by Queen *Anne Bullen*. His sixth Wife was *Katharine*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kindal*, and Sister to the Lord *William Parre*, Marquess of *Northampton*. She was first married to *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*, and after his decease to the King at *Hampton-Court*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign. She was his Wife three years, six months, and five days; and then surviving him, was again married to *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admiral of *England*, unto whom she bore a Daughter, but died in her Child-bed, in the year 1548. He had Children by his first Wife Queen *Katharine*, *Henry* born at *Richmond*, who lived not full two months, and was buried at *Westminster*; also another Son, whose name is not mentioned, lived but a short time neither; then a Daughter, named *Mary*, born at *Greenwich*, in the eighth year of his Reign, who came afterward to be Queen of *England*. By his second Wife, Queen *Anne Bullen*, he had a Daughter named *Elizabeth*, born at *Greenwich*, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign; who succeeded her Sister *Mary* in the Crown: he had also by her a Son, but born dead. By his third Wife, Queen *Jane*, he had a Son named *Edward*, born at *Hampton-Court* in the nine and twentieth year of his Reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these, he had a base Son, named *Henry Fitz-Roy*, begotten of the Lady *Talboise*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, born at *Blackmore* in *Essex*, in the tenth year of his Reign; who was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, married *Mary* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; with whom he lived not long, but died at *S. James* by *Westminster*, and was buried at *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*.

*Of his Personage and Conditions.*

**H**E was exceeding tall of stature, and very strong, fair of complexion, in his latter days corpulent and burly. Concerning his conditions,



ditions, he was a Prince of so many good parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill: and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill counsel in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His Cruelty to his wives may not only be excused, but defended. For if they were incontinent, he did but Justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfy his conscience, that he thought he had cause to think them so: and if the Marriage-bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is sacred. In suppressing of Abbeyes he shewed not little Piety, but great Providence: for though they were excellent things being rightly used, yet most pestilent being abused; and then may the use be justly suppressed, when the abuse scarce possibly can be restrained. To think he suppressed Abbeyes out of covetousness & desire of gain, is to make him extremely deceived in his reckoning; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we shall find him certainly a great loser by the Bargain. He was so far from pride, that he was rather too humble; at least he conversed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than was usual with Princes. So valiant, that his whole life almost was nothing but exercises of valour; and though performed amongst his Friends in jest, yet they prepared him against his Enemies in earnest, and they that durst be his Enemies found it. It may be said, the complexion of his Government for the first twenty years was sanguine and jovial; for the rest, cholerick and bloody: and it may be doubted, whether in the former he were more prodigal of his own treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood: for as he spent more in Fictions, than any other King did in Realities; so in any distemper of his people, he had no other Physick but to open a vein. But we shall do him extreme wrong, to think that all the blood shed in his time was of his shedding: they were the Bishops that were the *Draco*, to make the bloody Laws; the Bishops that were the *Phalaris*, to put them in execution; the King oftentimes scarce knowing what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the second time on the Rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for such extreme cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation, yet he gave it so great a beginning, that we may truly say of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto*. They who charge him with the vice of Lust, let them shew such another example of Continence as was seen in him, to lie six months by a young Lady, and not to touch her; for so did he with the Lady *Anne of Cleve*. But this is to make Nosegays: I like better to leave every Flower growing upon its stalk, that it be gathered fresh; which will be done by reading the story of his Life.

Of his Death and Burial.

IT is recorded of him, that in his latter time he grew so fat and slothful, that engines were made to lift and remove him up and down. But howsoever, in the six and fiftieth year of his age, whether by a Dropsie, or by reason of an Ulcer in his Leg, he fell into a languishing

Fever, which brought him into such extremity, that his Physicians utterly despaired of his life: whereof yet none durst speak a word to him, till Master *Denny*, one of his Privy-Chamber, took the boldness to go to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withall putting him in mind to think of his souls health. To which he answered, that he confessed his sins to be exceeding great, yet had such confidence in the mercy of God through Christ, that he doubted not of forgiveness, though they had been much greater. And being then asked by Master *Denny*, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer; he answered, he would willingly have the Archbishop *Cranmer*, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little rest. Whereupon the Archbishop, being then at *Croydon*, was presently sent for: but before he could come, the King was grown speechless, only seeming to retain a little memory, so as putting out his hand, and the Archbishop desiring him to shew some sign of his faith in Christ, he then wrung the Archbishop hard by the hand, and immediately gave up the ghost, the eight and twentieth of *January*, in the year 1547. the six and fiftieth of his age, and of his reign the eight and thirtieth. His Body with great solemnity was buried at *Windsor*, under a most costly and stately Tomb, begun in copper and gilt, but never finished.

King Henry's religious carriage at his death.

Men of note in his time.

MEN famous for the Sword were many in his time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice without being partial; unless we shall prefer Dukes of equal valour before others of meaner calling: and then will the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* hold worthily the place first; and next to them the young Earl of *Surrey*, who had been more fortunate if he had been less valiant. Of men of Letters in his time, there were whole Armies in foreign parts; the most famous were *Budæus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *John Reuchlin*, *Erasmus Roterodamus*, *Ursinus*, *Cornarius*, *Sadolet*, *Martin Bucer*. In England were *John Collet* Dean of *Pauls*, and Founder of the School there: *William Lilly*, born at *Odiham* in *Hampshire*, first School-Master of *Pauls* School; *Thomas Linaker*, a learned Physician; *John Skelton*, a pleasant Poet; *William Horman*, Vice-Provost of *Eaton*, who wrote divers works; *Sir Thomas More*; *William Tindal*; *John Rastal* a Citizen and Stationer of *London*; *Christopher Saint-Germaine*, an excellent Lawyer; *Sir Thomas Ellyot*; *John Leland*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities; *Sir John Bouchier* Knight, Lord *Berners*, who translated the *Chronicles of Froissard* out of *French* into *English*; *Henry Standish*, Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, who wrote a Book against *Erasmus* translation of the New Testament; *Arnold* of *London*, who wrote certain Collections touching Historical matters; *Thomas Lupset* a *Londoner*, who wrote sundry vertuous Treatises; *Henry Bradshaw*, a black Monk, who wrote the life of Saint *Werborough*, and also a certain Chronicle; *John Palsgrave* a *Londoner*, who wrote instructions for the perfect understanding of the *French* tongue; *John Skuifsh* a *Cornish*-man, who wrote certain Abbreviations

John Collet Dean of Pauls.

John Skelton the pleasant Poet.



Anthony  
Fitz-Herbert, who  
wrote an  
Abridg-  
ment of  
the Law.

of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of Troy; *Anthony Fitz-Herbert*, a Judge, who wrote an Abridgment of the Law; *Wilfride Holme*, who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire; *Tho. Lanquet*, who wrote an Epitome of Chronicles, and also of the winning of *Bulloign*; *Thomas Soulman* of Gernsey, who wrote divers notes of History; *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of Durham; *Robert Whittington*, who wrote divers Treatises for the instruction of Grammarians; *John Russel*, who wrote a Treatise entituled, *Super Jure Cesaris & Papæ*, also Commentaries in Cantica; *Simon Fish* a Kentish-man, who wrote a Book called the Supplication of Beggars; *George Bullen* Lord Rochford, Brother to Queen Anne, who wrote divers Songs and Sonnets; *Francis Bigod* Knight, born in Yorkshire, who wrote a Book against the Clergy, intituled *De Impropriationibus*; *Henry Lord Morley*, who wrote divers Treatises, as Comedies and Tragedies, as the Life of Sectaries, and certain Rhymes; *William Botevile*, alias *Thynne*, who restored the Works of *Chaucer*; *Richard Turpin*, who serving in the Garrison of Callice, wrote a Chronicle of his time, and died in the year 1541. *Sir Thomas Wyatt* Knight, who wrote divers matters in English Metre, and translated the seven Penitential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole Psalter; he died of the Pestilence, as he was going Ambassador to the Emperor, in the year 1541. *Henry Howard* Earl of Surrey, who wrote divers Treatises in English Metre; *John Field* a Londoner, who wrote a Treatise of mans Free-will, *De libero hominis Arbitrio*, and Collections of the Common Laws of England; *Robert Shingleton*, born in Lancashire, who wrote a Treatise of the seven Churches, and certain Prophecies; *William Parry* a Welsh-man, who wrote a Book entituled *Speculum Juvenum*.

Sir Thomas  
Wyat  
Knight.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
*Thomas Bradbury* was Mayor for the part of the year, *Sir William Capel* for the rest.  
*George Monox*, *John Doget*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
*Sir Henry Kebble* was Mayor.  
*John Milborne*, *John Rest*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
*Sir Roger Acheley* was Mayor.  
*Nicholas Shelton*, *Thomas Mersine*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
*Sir William Copinger* was Mayor for part of the year, *Sir Richard Haddon* for the rest.  
*Rob. Holdernes* or *Alderns*, *Rob. Fenrother*, Sher.

In his fifth year,  
*Sir William Brown* was Mayor.  
*John Daves*, *John Bruges*, *Roger Bosford*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
*Sir George Monox* was Mayor.  
*James Tarford*, *John Mundy*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
*Sir William Butler* was Mayor.  
*Henry Warley*, *Rich. Gray*, *William Baily*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
*Sir John Rest* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Seymour*, *John* or *Rich. Thurston*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
*Sir Thomas Exmewe* was Mayor.  
*Tho. Baldrie*, *Ralph* or *Richard Simons*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
*Sir Thomas Mersine* was Mayor.  
*John Allen*, *James Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
*Sir James Tarford* was Mayor.  
*John Wilkinson*, *Nicholas Patrich*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
*Sir John Burg* was Mayor.  
*John Skevington*, *John Kyme* alias *Keble*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
*Sir John Milborn* was Mayor.  
*John Breton* or *Britain*, *Tho. Pargiter*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
*Sir John Mundy* was Mayor.  
*John Rudston*, *John Champneis*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
*Sir Thomas Baldrie* was Mayor.  
*Michael English*, *Nicholas Jennings*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
*Sir William Baily* was Mayor.  
*Ralph Dodmere*, *William Roche*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
*Sir John Allen* was Mayor.  
*John Caunton* or *Calton*, *Christ. Askew*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
*Sir Thomas Seymour* was Mayor.  
*Stephen Peacock*, *Nicholas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
*Sir James Spencer* was Mayor.  
*John Hardy*, *William Hollys*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
*Sir John Rudston* was Mayor.  
*Ralph Warren*, *John Long*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,  
*Sir Ralph Dodmere* was Mayor.  
*Michael Dormer*, *Walter Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,  
*Sir Thomas Pargiter* was Mayor.  
*Will. Dantesey* or *Dancy*, *Rich. Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,  
*Sir Nicholas Lambert* was Mayor.  
*Richard Gresham*, *Edward Altham*, Sheriffs.



In his twenty fourth year,  
Sir *Stephen Peacock* was Mayor.  
*Richard Reynolds, John Martin, Nicholas Pinchon,*  
*John Priest,* Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,  
Sir *Christopher Askew* was Mayor.  
*William Forman, Thomas Kitson,* Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,  
Sir *John Champneis* was Mayor.  
*Nicholas Leveson, William Denham,* Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,  
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.  
*Humfrey Monmouth, John Cotes,* Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,  
Sir *Ralph Warren* was Mayor.  
*Robert or Richard Paget, William Bowyer,* Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,  
Sir *Richard Gresham* was Mayor.  
*John Gresham, Thomas Lewin,* Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
Sir *William Forman* was Mayor.  
*William Wilkinson, Nicholas Gibson,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,  
Sir *William Hollys* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Ferrer, Thomas Huntlow,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,  
Sir *William Roche* was Mayor.  
*William Laxton, Martin Bows,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,  
Sir *Michael Dormer* was Mayor.  
*Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,  
Sir *John Cotes* was Mayor.  
*Henry Hobbblethorn, Henry Amcoats,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,  
Sir *William Bowyer* was Mayor.  
*John Tholouse, Richard Dobbes,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,  
Sir *William Laxton* was Mayor.  
*John Wilford, Andrew Jud,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,  
Sir *Martin Bows* was Mayor.  
*George Barne, Ralph Allen or Alley,* Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,  
Sir *Henry Hobbblethorn* was Mayor.  
*Richard Jarvein, Thomas Curteis,* Sheriffs.

The



# The Reign of KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

An.Dom.  
1547.



The Earl  
of Hart-  
ford cho-  
sen Pro-  
tector.

Advance-  
ment of  
divers in  
honour.

King Ed-  
ward is  
Crowned.

It was now in the year 1547. when on the eight and twentieth of January King Henry dying, Prince Edward, his Son by his third Wife, the Lady Jane Seymour, and the onely Son he left behind him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his last Will, succeeded him in the Kingdom; to whom, as being but nine years old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had assigned eight and twenty Counsellors: a fit number, if agreeing amongst themselves; too many, if at variance: and at variance they would soon fall, if there were not a Moderator to keep them in concord. The first work therefore necessary to be done in this new World, was to make choice of such a man as might be to the Counsellors a Moderator, a Protector to the King, and in his minority to the Kingdom. To this place, by common consent of the King and Council, Edward Seymour Earl of Hartford, the Kings Uncle, was chosen, to hold the place until the King should accomplish the age of eighteen years. In which Office the first thing he did, was to make the young King Knight; who presently thereupon, made Henry Hobbethorn Mayor of London Knight. And then, King Henry's Obsequies being solemnly performed, on the seventeenth of February were raised in honour, the Earl of Hartford Protector, to be Duke of Somerset; William Par Earl of Essex, to be Marquess of Northampton; Dudley Vicount Lisle, to be Earl of Warwick; Wriothesley Lord Chancellor, to be Earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour, the Protectors Brother, was made Lord Sudeley, and Admiral of England; Sir Richard Rich was made Lord Rich; Sir William Willoughby was made Lord Willoughby; and Sir Edmund Sheffield was made Lord Sheffield of Butterwick. On the nineteenth of Febr. the King in great state rode from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster, where the day following he was Crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with all Rites accustomed, in great solemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders, six only excepted; namely, the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pool, Edward Courtney eldest Son to the Marquess of Exeter, Master Fortescue, Master Throgmorton, and Doctor Pate Bishop of Worcester, who was fled to Rome, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy. All which six continued

unpardoned till the first year of Queen Mary, and then were restored. A few days after, the Earl of Southampton, Lord Chancellor, for being contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of counsel, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his place in Council, and the great Seal was delivered to Sir William Pawlet, Lord Saint-John, and Lord great Master of the Kings Household.

Within two months after the death of King Henry, died Francis King of France also, for whom solemn Obsequies were kept in Pauls Church, as he likewise had kept before at Paris for King Henry. These two Kings were of so consenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jealousie of state had not made them oftentimes not to be themselves.

King Henry before his death had left in charge with the Lords of his Council, by all means possible to procure a proceeding in the Marriage with the young Queen of Scots; and now in discharge thereof, the Lord Protector himself, with an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, besides Labourers and Pioneers thirteen hundred, entred Scotland the third of September: at which time also Edward Lord Clinton, with a Fleet of threescore Sail, assisted by Sea. But before he would do any hostile Act, he caused Proclamation to be made, that his coming was only to have performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the Marriage, tending to the good of both Kingdoms; which if they would yield unto, he would then return in peaceable manner. And the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into England, and there to be brought up, the Protector was content she should remain in Scotland till years of consent. This demand the more moderate sort of the Scots accounted very reasonable; but those of the French and Papal Faction, who were the greatest persons, and the greatest number, strongly opposed. Whereupon the Lord Protector presently put his Army into Array. The Lord Gray and Sir Francis Brian, with eight hundred Light horse, were sent before, to provide Lodging for the Army, and to give advertisement of the enemies approaches: then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light horse, led by the Earl of Warwick: then followed the main Battel, consisting of above six thousand Foot, six hundred

Francis  
King of  
France  
dieth.

The Pro-  
tector en-  
ters Scot-  
land with  
an Army,  
and why.

How he  
marshalled  
his  
Army.



dred men at Arms, and one thousand Light horse, led by the Protector himself: lastly followed the Arrear, wherein were between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light horse, under the conduct of the Lord Dacres. Upon one Wing the Artillery was drawn, being sixteen Pieces of great Ordnance; the other Wing was made by men at Arms and Demilances: for the Avant-guard and half the Battel riding about two flight-shot from their side, the other half of the Battel and the whole flank of the Arrear was closed by the Carriages, being nine hundred Carts besides Waggon; the rest of the men at Arms and the Demilances marched behind. In this order they marched two days, taking in three Castles as they went, with little resistance. Where it is memorable, what a sudden device the Defendants of one of them used to save themselves by: for finding they were no longer able to defend themselves, and that their obstinacy had excluded all hope of pardon; they made suit, that they might not presently be slain, but have some time to commend their souls to God, and afterwards be hanged: which respite being obtained, their Pardon afterwards did more easily ensue. So much doth the winning of time oftentimes prevail, more than any other policy. The Governour of Scotland, hearing of the Protector's approach, and having no sufficient Army ready to resist him, sent his Heralds abroad into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the Fire-crofs to be carried, (an ancient custom in cases of importance) which was two Firebrands set in fashion of a Cross, and pitched upon the point of a Spear; and therewith Proclamation to be made, that all above sixteen years of age, and under fixty, should resort forthwith to *Musselborough*, and bring convenient provision of victuals with them. By this means having gotten a sufficient Army, he set forward towards the English, who were now come to the River called *Linne*: and here the Earl of *Warwick*, being too venturous, was like to have been entrapped, but by his valour came off bravely. And now the Scottish Horsemen began to hover about the English Army, and to come pricking towards them, sometimes within length of their staves, using provoking words, to draw the English from their strength: but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a close march, till he came to *Salt-Preston* by the *Frith*, where he incamped within two miles of the Scottish Army. And here the Scots, having gotten the advantage of a Hill, came upon the English with the number of twelve hundred Horse, besides five hundred foot that lay in ambush behind the Hill: at which time the Lord *Gray* and *Francis Brian*, impatient of such braveries, obtained leave of the General to encounter them; and so as they came scattered upon the spur, within a stones cast of the English, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord *Gray* with some Troops of Light-horse-men charged them home, and was forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thousand men at Arms: yet the Scots resolutely maintained the fight three hours and more; but in the end, over-

laid with number, they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chiefest force of the Scottish Horse-men was defeated; the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his Horse lost his life, his Son and Heir, with two Priests, and six Gentlemen, were taken Prisoners, and about fifteen hundred slain. The next day the Protector and the Earl of *Warwick* rode towards the place where the Scottish Army lay, to view their manner of incamping. As they returned, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the Scots overtook them, who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter said, that the Lord *Huntley* his Master, to spare effusion of Christian blood, would fight upon the whole quarrel; either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or else try it between the Lord General and himself. The Protector answered, that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargain; and as for himself, that being in Publick charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against a man of Private conditions, which otherwise he would most willingly accept. Here the Earl of *Warwick* intreated the Lord General that he might accept the Challenge; and, Trumpeter, (saith he) bring me word that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains. Nay, rather (saith the Lord General) bring me word, that thy Master will abide and give us battel, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy pains. And thereupon, when no other agreement could be made, a general Battel was resolved on. In the Army of the Scots were five or six and thirty thousand men: in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about fifteen thousand; in the Battel, over whom was the Lord Governour, about ten thousand; and in the Arrear as many, led by the valiant *Gourdon*, Earl of *Huntley*. Hackbutters they had none, nor men at Arms, but about two thousand Horsemen, (Prickers as they term them;) the rest were all on foot, well furnished with Jacks and Scull, Pikes, Daggers, Bucklers made of board, and slicing Swords broad and thin. Every man had a long Kerchief folded twice or thrice about his neck, and many of them had Chains of Lattin, drawn three or four times along their hoses or doublet sleeves. They had also, to affright the Enemies Horses, great Rattles covered with Parchment or Paper, and small stones within put upon staves three ells long. And now both Armies joyned in Battel, where after a long fight, and much variety of fortune on both sides, at length the victory fell to the English. In this fight, divers of the Nobility of Scotland were slain; of the inferiour sort about ten, or, as some say, fourteen thousand: of the English were slain one and fifty Horsemen, and one Footman, but many hurt. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously thrust with a Pike in the mouth, which struck two inches into his neck. The Scottish Prisoners, accounted by the Marshals Book, were about fifteen hundred; the chief whereof were, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Yester*, *Hobley*, and *Hamilton*, the Master of *Sanc-Poole*, and the Lord of *Weemes*. The Earl of *Huntley* being asked, whilst he was a Prisoner, how

The Lord Huntley challengeth the Protector to a single Combat, and the Protector's Answer.

How the Scots Army was marshalled.

The great number of Scots slain, and the small number of the English.

The profit of winning time.

The Fire-crofs erected in Scotland, and what it was.

The Battel of Musselborough Field.



Days to  
some men  
fortunate,  
and un-  
fortunate  
to others.

how he stood affected to the Marriage; made this answer, That he liked the Marriage well enough, but he liked not this kind of wooing. This Victory of *Musselborough* against the *Scots* was on the tenth of *December*, the very same day on which thirty years before a Victory had been had against them at *Flodden* field: so as it seems this day was fatal to the *Scots*, and confirms the opinion of Astrologers, that there are days to some men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known. This Victory struck such a terrour into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Bothwell* & divers chief Gentlemen of *Tivdale* and of *Mers* submitted themselves to the King of *England*, and were received by the Protector into his protection. After this, the *English* Army took many Towns and Castles, and then for want of Provision, returned into *England*, having not stayed above five and twenty days in *Scotland*, and not lost above threescore men. After the taking of *Musselborough*, the Duke of *Somerset* made many Knights, but three especially; namely, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Treasurer, Sir *Francis Brian* Captain of the Light Horse, and Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Horsemen, he made Bannerets, which is a dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron: and these were the last that from that time to this did ever receive this dignity. But notwithstanding this great overthrow at *Musselborough*, the Governour of *Scotland* would not yet be quiet; but assembling the people, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Country, and not to be daunted with any event of war.

Inclosures  
commanded  
to be  
laid open.

Injun-  
ctions set  
forth in  
matters of  
Religion.

Divers Bi-  
shops  
committed  
to Prison.

In this time many distractions and troubles happened in *England*; partly in matters of Religion, and partly about Inclosures. And first for Inclosures, the Lord Protector caused Proclamation to be set forth, commanding that they who had inclosed any Lands accustomed to lie open, should, upon a certain pain, before a day assigned, lay them open again. And then in matter of Religion, certain Injunctions were set forth, for removing of Images out of Churches: and divers Preachers were sent with Instructions to dissuade the People from praying to Saints, or for the Dead; from use of Beads, Alhes, and Processions; from Masses, Dirges, praying in any unknown Tongue: and for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed publickly to be read in Churches. And many, for offering to maintain these Ceremonies, were either punished, or forced to recant. *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, was committed to the Fleet, for refusing to receive these Injunctions. *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was likewise committed first to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preached, It were well these changes in Religion should be stayed untill the King were of years to govern by himself. For the like causes *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Heath* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, were in like manner committed to prison, and all of them dispossessed of their Bishopricks; and that which was worse, the Bishopricks themselves were dispossessed of their Revenues, in such sort that a very small part remained to the Bishops that came after.

And now a Parliament was held, in the first year of the King, and by Prorogation in the second; wherein divers Chantries, Colleges, free Chappels, Fraternities and Guilds, with all their lands and goods, were given to the King: which being sold at a low rate, enriched many, and ennobled some, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the Change. Also it was then ordered, that no man should speak against receiving the Eucharist in both kinds; and that Bishops should be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding, or confirmation ensuing; and that all Processes Ecclesiastical should be made in the Kings name, as in Writs at the Common Law; and that all persons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction should have the Kings Arms in the Seals of their Office: and further, the Statute of the Six Articles, and other Statutes concerning punishment of Lollards, were repealed, and the Kings Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed.

All this while the Wars in *Scotland* continued, and were managed by the Lord *Gray of Wilton* with variable success: and now about this time was sent to him in aid the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with fifteen thousand men. Against him, in aid of the *Scots*, was sent the *Rhinegrave* with ten thousand *French*; who entering into consultation how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the *English*, provided a Fleet, and sailing round about *Scotland*, notwithstanding the *English* Fleet lay in wait to impeach their passage, yet conveyed her safely into *France*, being then but six years old, accompanied in the journey with *James* her base Brother, *John Erskin*, and *Will. Leviston*: and in April following she was married to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*.

You heard before the Alterations in Religion: now hear the Troubles. For when the Injunctions were sent abroad into the Country, and Commissioners appointed to see them executed; one Master *Bodye* a Commissioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwall*, was suddenly by a Priest stabbed into the body with a Knife. Hereupon the people flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit outrages: and although the chief Offender was hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and many of his Complices executed in divers parts of the Realm, and withall a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms; yet neither could that severity, nor this lenity restrain them from their insolencies; but in divers Countries, as *Suffex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Gloucestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Worstershire*, but specially in *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*, great Assemblies of people gathered to a head: whose chief Leaders were *Humfrey Arundel*, and about six others of inferiour note, but many Priests. Some of these (we may say) were Common-wealth Mutineers, and some mutined for Religion. They who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing: some would have no Justices, some no Gentlemen, some no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Justice; but above all, Inclosures must down; but whether all, or which, or how to be employed, none could tell. The Religious Mutineers were not altogether so various in their voices, as having

A Parlia-  
ment, in  
which ma-  
ny things  
ordered  
concern-  
ing Eccle-  
siastical  
Affairs.

The  
young  
Queen of  
*Scots* is  
conveyed  
into  
*France*.

She is  
married at  
six years  
old to  
*Francis*  
the Dau-  
phin of  
*France*.

1548.

The trou-  
bles that  
ensued up-  
on the al-  
teration of  
Religion.

some



some few amongst them by whom they were guided: these in the name of the people hampered up these Articles following; upon granting of which, they professed that both their bodies and goods should be at the Kings devotion.

1. That Curates should administer Baptism at all times of necessity, as well on week-days as on holy-days.
2. That their Children might be confirmed by the Bishop.
3. That the Mass might be celebrated, no man communicating with the Priest.
4. That they might have reservation of the Lords Body in their Churches.
5. That they might have holy Bread and holy Water, in remembrance of Christs precious Body and Blood.
6. That Priests might live unmarried.
7. That the Six Articles, set forth by King Henry the Eighth, might be continued, at least till the King should come to full age.

1549. Upon these demands, although the King knew that Reasons would little prevail with unreasonable men, yet to discharge the place he held, he sent them in writing Answers to them all, and withal a general Pardon, if they would desist and lay down Arms. But the Seditious growing the more outrageous, the fairer they were intreated, and finding themselves unable to subsist with their own estates, began to think upon the spoil of Cities. And first they came to Exeter, and demanded entrance: which the Citizens refusing, they fell to set fire on the Gates: but the Citizens prevented this, by casting in wood, and maintaining the fire, till they had cast up a half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were presently hewn and cut in pieces. And after this they mined the walls, laid Powder, and rammed the mouth: but the Citizens prevented this also, by making a Countermine, whereinto they poured such plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired. All this while the Lord Russel, Lord Privy-Seal, who had been sent down to suppress the Commotion, lay at Honyton, expecting more Forces; whilst the Citizens of Exeter for twelve days together endured so great famine, that they were fain to eat Horses, and make bread of course Bran moulded in cloaths, for that otherwise it would not cleave together. At last the Lord Gray came to the Lord Russel with supply of Forces; who after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raise their siege at Exeter, and thereby freed the City from many miseries: to whom the King afterward gave the Mannor of Ewyland, in reward for their loyalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were again set upon by the Kings Army, and the greatest part of them slain, the rest fled; many were taken and executed by Martial Law: the chief Leaders were sent to London, and there executed. The Sedition being thus suppressed, it is memorable what sport Sir William Kingston the Provost-Marshal made, by virtue of his Office, upon men in misery. One Boyer, Mayor of Bodmin in Cornwall, had been amongst the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced: to him the Provost sent word he would come & dine with him, for whom the Mayor made great provision. A little before Dinner, the Provost took the

Exeter endured a siege of the Rebels to extreme famine.

For which loyalty the King gave them the Mannor of Ewyland.

Sir William Kingston's mercy cruelty.

Mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the Town, and therefore required to have a pair of Gallows set up against dinner should be done. The Mayor failed not of his charge. Presently after dinner the Provost taking the Mayor by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallows was; which when he beheld, he asked the Mayor if he thought them to be strong enough. Yes, (said the Mayor) doubtless they are. Well then, said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (answered the Mayor) you mean not as you speak. In faith (said the Provost) there is no remedy, for you have been a busie Rebel. And so without respite or defence he was hanged to death: a most uncourteous part, for a guest to offer his host. Near the said place dwelt a Miller, who had been a busie actor in that Rebellion; who, fearing the approach of the Marshal, told a sturdy fellow his servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but say that himself was the Miller, and had been so for three years before. So the Provost came and called for the Miller; when out comes the servant, and faith, he was the man. The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill. These three years, answered the Servant. Then the Provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next Tree. At this the Fellow cried out, that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man. Nay Sir, (said the Provost) I will take you at your word; and if thou beest the Miller, thou art a busie knave; if thou beest not, thou art a false lying knave: and howsoever, thou canst never do thy Master better service than to hang for him. And so without more ado he was dispatched.

When this Sedition in Devonshire was appeased, there arose another in Norfolk, and that specially upon a grievance for Inclosures. The Rebels had got one Robert Ket, a Tanner of Wymondham, to be their Leader, and were grown to a Body of twenty thousand, seating themselves at Mounthold near Mount-Surrey, where they carried a face as it were of Justice and Religion. For they had one Conyers, an idle fellow, to be their Chaplain, who morning and evening read solemn Prayers, also Sermons they had often: and as for Justice, they had a Bench under a Tree, where Ket usually sate, and with him two of every Hundred whence their Companies had been raised, to hear complaints, and to give Judgment; and from hence were Warrants sent in the Kings name, to bring in Powder, Shot, Victuals, and all things necessary. Which Tree hath ever since been called the Tree of Reformation. And now being grown to a height, they presented certain Complaints to the King, requiring he would send a Herald to them, to give them satisfaction. The King, though he took it for a great indignity to have such base Fellows to capitulate with him, yet framing himself to the time, he returned this answer, That in October following he would call a Parliament, wherein their Complaints should be heard, and all their Grievances should be redressed; requiring them in the mean time to lay down Arms, and return to their houses, and thereupon granting them a

An Insurrection in Norfolk about Inclosures, by Ket a Tanner.

Their shews of Religion.

R x general



They take the Town of Norwich.

They encounter the Kings Forces.

They refuse Pardon offered to them.

At last they embrace Pardon, if the Earl of Warwick will bring it to them himself.

Ket is taken and hanged.

Another Insurrection at the same time in Yorkshire, upon the conceit of a Prophecie.

general Pardon. But this was so far from satisfying the Seditious, that hereupon first they assaulted the Town of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Mayor attend them as their Servant, and then returned again to their station at *Moushold*. Not long after, *William Parre*, Marquess of *Norhampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights and fifteen hundred horse, with a small Band of *Italians*, was sent against them; whom the Seditious so stoutly opposed, that much mischief was done on both sides. The Lord *Sheffield*, falling with his Horse in a Ditch, was taken prisoner; and as he pulled off his Helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher stricken down with a Club and slain. So as the Marquess with his Forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earl of *Warwick* with six thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powis*, and *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of name. When the Earl was come near to the Camp of the Seditious, he sent a Herald to them, offering them the Kings Pardon, if they would desist: but they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turned up his naked breech towards the Herald, and bid him kiss it. Upon this, many Skirmishes passed between the Earl and them, with loss sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another. At last they came to Battel, where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken Prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain; of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand. And now once again the Earl offered them pardon, if they would desist: but for all their losses, they continued obstinate still. At last, the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their Pardon, in case he should come in person and assure them of it. This moved them much; and then they answered, They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Weapons, wishing all joy and prosperity to the King. Nine of the principal Rebels were hanged upon the *Tree of Reformation*: *Ket* himself flying away was taken, and hanged in Chains upon *Norwich* Castle. The day of this defeat of the Seditious was a long time after observed for a Festival day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*. And thus ended the Sedition in *Norfolk*; when at the same time another arose in *Yorkshire*, whereof the chief movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish-Clerk, and *Stephenson* a Poet, to whom were assembled four or five thousand: who took their encouragement from a certain Prophecie, which did foretel, that the time should come when there should be no King; when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed; when the Realm should be ruled by four Governours elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in Commotion, which should begin at the *South* and *North* Seas of *England*: and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*, should draw together to accomplish this Prophecie. But as soon as they heard that the Tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk* were

quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the Prophecie; and thereupon presently, upon the Kings Pardon, they fell off and dispersed. Their chief Leaders, *Ombler*, *Dale*, and four others, were executed at *York*; and with this, the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdom.

But the King of *France* taking advantage of these Seditions, though he had been in Treaty of Peace with *England* before, yet now he brake off the Treaty, proclaimed War, and denounced it by his Embassadour to the King. Hereupon all *French*-men in *England*, not Denizens, were taken Prisoners, and all their Goods seized for the King: which the *French* King understanding, he sent a Fleet of Ships to surprize *Gernsey* and *Jersey*, but was repelled with the loss of a thousand men. After this, he levied an Army by land, and went himself in person against *Bulloign*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*. But being weary of the work, he left his Lieutenant *Chatillon* to pursue the Siege; who having made many fierce Batteries, and at last Assaults, and not prevailing, he then attempted to hinder the Town from supply of Victuals; and to this end charged a Galley with gravel and stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven. But the *English* took the Galley before it was sunk, and made use of the stones for their own defence. After this they made Faggots of light matter, mixed with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder, and Wild-fire, with intention to fire the Ships in the Haven: but that enterprize was defeated by the *Bulloigners*, and the Faggots taken from the *French*: and more than this there was little done in those parts at this time.

But in *England*, in the mean time, an unfortunate accident happened, which beginning upon a very light occasion, produced afterward very heavy effects; whereof though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the original cause was the Pride of a woman, upon a point indeed wherein the natures of Women are commonly most tender, Precedency of place. The Protector had married *Anne Stanhope*, a Woman of an haughty stomach; & the Lord Admiral, his Brother, the Queen Dowager, a Lady of great mildness. The nearness of the Husbands gave occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutcheffs would inwardly murmur, why she, being the Wife of the elder Brother, and the better man, should give place to her, who was the wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner man. This envy of hers towards the Queen bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did to the Husband, to be a part of revenge upon the Wife; and though the Queen shortly after died in Child-bed, yet the malice of the Dutcheffs towards the Admiral lived still: (so hard a thing it is for malice, once settled in a Womans heart, to be removed.) Out of this malice, she puts divers surmises into her Husband the Protector's head, against his Brother the Admiral, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end he might aspire to the place he held; but certainly, as misliking his Government, being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist. In this case causes of jealousy against the Admiral were obvious enough; for it was known

But these also upon the Kings Pardon lay down their

Arms. The *French* King taking advantage of these Seditions in *England*, goes with an Army against *Bulloign*, which the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold* defended.

Contention for place between the Queen Dowager, Wife of the Lord Admiral, and the Lady *Anne Stanhope*, Wife of the Protector.

She makes variance between the two Brothers their Husband.



The Admiral in Parliament is accused of divers Crimes.

He is beheaded.

After his death the Protector is accused.

Somerset-house builded by the Protector with Sacrilege.

known that in King Henry's time, he had aimed at the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth, King Henry's second Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen Dowager being dead, (and not without suspicion of poyson) he fell upon that marriage afresh, which could not be thought to tend but to some very high aspiring end. The Protector, a plain man, and one that had not the deepest insight into practices, whether too importunately provoked by his Wife, or whether out of an honest mind, not willing to patronize faults, though in a Brother, gave way to Accusations brought against him: so as in a Parliament then holden, he was accused for attempting to get into his custody the Person of the King and Government of the Realm; for endeavouring to marry the Lady Elizabeth, the Kings Sister; for perswading the King in his tender years to take upon him the rule and ordering of himself. Upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently, against him, who was never called to his answer) he was by act of Parliament condemned; and within few days after condemnation, a Warrant was sent, under the hand of his Brother the Protector, to cut off his Head. Wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own Head down upon the Block: for whilst these Brothers lived and held together, they were as a strong Fortrefs one to the other; the Admirals courage supporting the Protectors Authority, and the Protectors Authority maintaining the Admirals stoutness; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectors Authority, as wanting support, began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruine. Besides; there was at this time, amongst the Nobility, a kind of faction; Protestants, who favoured the Protector for his own sake, and other of the Papal inclination, who favoured him for his Brothers sake: but his Brother being gone, both sides forsook him, even his own side, as thinking they could expect little assistance from him, who gave no more assistance to his own Brother. And perhaps more than all this, the Earl of Warwick, at this time, was the most powerfull man both in Courage and Council amongst all the Nobility, and none so near to watch him as the Admiral, while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durst, or durst and was able to stand against him. However it was not long after the Admirals death, the Protector was invaded with sundry Accusations; wherein the Earl of Warwick made not always the greatest show, but yet had always the greatest hand. One thing the Protector had done, which, though a private act, yet gave a publick distaste. To make him a Mansion-house in the Strand, (the same which is now called Somerset-House) he pulled down a Church, and two Bishops Houses by the Strand-Bridge; in digging the foundation whereof, the Bones of many who had been there buried were cast out, and carried into the fields: and because the Stones of those Houses and the Church sufficed not for his work, the Steeple, and most part of the Church of S. Johns of Jerusalem near Smithfield, was mined & overthrown with Powder, and the stones applied to this spacious Building: and more than this, the Cloyster of Pauls on the North

tide of the Church, in a place called Pardon Church-yard, and the dance of Death very curiously wrought about the Cloyster, and a Chappel that stood in the midst of the Church-yard, also the Charnel House that stood on the South side of Pauls, (now a Carpenters Yard) with the Chappel, Timber, and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into Finsbury Fields, and the Stones converted into this Building. This act of the Protectors did something alienate the peoples minds from him: which the Earl of Warwick perceiving, thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and thereupon drew eighteen of the Privy Council to joyn with him, who withdrawing themselves from the Court, held secret consultations together, and walked in the City with many Servants weaponed, and in new Liveries. Whereof when the Protector heard, he sent Secretary Peter to them, to know the causes of their Assembly, requiring them to resort to him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends: but in the mean time he armed five hundred men, and removed the King by night from Hampton-Court to Windsor. On the other side, the Lords at London, having first taken possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to the Earl of Warwicks Lodging at Ely-house, in Holborn; to whom the Lord Rich, then Lord Chancellour, made a long Oration, wherein he shewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector, and the many mischiefs that by it were come upon the Kingdom, and thereupon required them to joyn with the Lords there assembled to remove him. And presently that day a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpose, to which the Lords and Counsellors that subscribed their names were these; the Lord Rich Chancellour, the Lord Saint-John Lord great Master, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Warwick Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundell Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Tho. Cheyney Treasurer of the Household, Sir John Gage Constable of the Tower, Sir William Peter Secretary, Sir Edward North Knight, Sir Edward Montague chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker Chancellour of the Exchequer, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward Wotton, Sir Richard Southwell, Knights, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury. In the afternoon of the same day the Lord Mayor assembled a Common-Council in the Guild-hall, where two Letters arrived almost in one instant, one from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thousand men to be armed for defence of the Kings Person; another from the Lords at London, for two thousand men to aid them in defence of the Kings Person also; both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to please them both. The Recorder set forth the complaint of the Lords against the Protector in such sort, that he made many inclinable to favour that side: but one named George Stadlow, better advised, stepped up, and in a long Speech shewed what mischiefs had come to the City by opposing the King; and therefore gave his opinion, to suspend giving aid to the Lords, at least for a time. His advice was hearkened unto

The Earl of Warwick draws many of the Lords to joyn against the Protector.



The Protector is sent to the Tower.

and thereupon the Court resolved only to arm an hundred Horsemen, and four hundred Foot, in defence of the City; and to the Letters returned submissive, but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir *Edward Winfield*, Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*; who so well perswaded the King of the Lords loyal affection towards him, and of their moderate intention towards the Protector, that the King was contented to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within two days after to be carried to the Tower. In whose absence, seven Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by turns to attend the Kings Person; and for Affairs of State, the Government of them was referred to the whole Body of the Council. Soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present answer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The chief Article was this, that he took upon him the Office of Protector, with expresse condition, that he should do nothing in the Kings Affairs but by assent of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that, contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subverted Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command: and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose.

Upon his submission he is released, but no more Protector.

Divers Lords made.

1550.

The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by submission than by contesting, or perhaps finding himself not altogether innocent, (for indeed, in so great a place, who can bear himself with such sincerity, but he will commit errors with which he may be taxed?) subscribed an acknowledgement with his own hand; humbly submitting himself to the Kings mercy, and desiring their Lordships favour towards him. Upon this submission, three months after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained, and feasted by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Counsellour, but no more Protector. At which time, between him and the Lords a shew at least of perfect amity was made; and to make it the more firm, the Dukes Daughter was afterward married to the Lord *Lisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*: at which Marriage the King was present. And perhaps to honour their reconciliation and this Marriage, the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Admiral of England; Sir *John Russel*, Lord Privy Seal, was created Earl of *Bedford*; the Lord *Saint-John* was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and soon after made Lord Treasurer; Sir *William Paget*, Controller of the Kings House, was made Lord *Paget*; Sir *Anthony Winfield*, Captain of the Guard, was made Controller; and Sir *Thomas Darcy* was made Captain of the Guard. But of the other side, the Earl of *Arundell*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of *Southampton* died shortly after at *Lincoln-Place* in *Holborn*, and was buried in *St. Andrews Church* there.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against un-

lawful Assemblies: but for fear of new Tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, & Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Country Habitations; and for the same cause also, *Trinity Term* did not hold.

About this time also Pope *Paul the Third* died; after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the Election of a new Pope, the Imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their Voices for Cardinal *Poole*: which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to chuse one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church. Upon this stop, some that were no friends to *Poole*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst other, that he was not without suspicion of *Lutheranism*, as having been very conversant with *Emanuel Tremellius*, and *Antonius Flaminus*, great *Lutherans*: and not altogether without blemish of Incontinency, there being a young Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these Criminations *Poole* so cleared himself, that he was afterward more importuned to take the place than he was before: and thereupon one night the Cardinals came unto him, being in bed, and sent him word they came to adore him, (which is one special kind of electing the Pope.) But he being awaked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, that this was not a work of darkness, and therefore required them to forbear till the next day, and then to do as God should put into their minds. But the *Italian* Cardinals, attributing this putting off to a kind of stupidity and sloth in *Poole*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterward named *Julius* the Third.

Cardinal Poole is chosen Pope, but making excuses is rejected.

And now the King of *France*, upon many just Considerations, was grown delirous to have a Peace with *England*; and thereupon sent one *Guidotti*, a *Florentine*, into *England*, to make some overture of his desire to the Lords of the Council: who addressing himself to the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he knew to be most prevalent, so prevailed, that it was concluded four Embassadors should be sent from the King of *England* into *France*, and four from the *French* King, to treat with them. The Commissioners for the *English* were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, Sir *William Peter*, and Sir *John Mason*, Secretaries of State. For the *French*, were *Monsieur Rochpot*, *Monsieur Chatillon*, *Guyllart de Martier*, and *Rochetelle de Daffie*. Much time was spent to agree about a place of Meeting; till at last the *English*, to satisfy the *French*, were contented it should be before *Bulloigne*: where were many Meetings, and many differences about Conditions. But in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles, the chief whereof was, that *Bulloigne* and the places adjacent should be delivered up to the *French* within six weeks after the Peace Proclaimed; and that the *French* should pay for the same two hundred thousand Crowns within three days after delivery of the Town, and other two hundred thousand Crowns upon the fifth day of *August* following. Hostages were on both sides given for performance, and

A Peace between England & France, upon payment of four hundred thousand Crowns.

to



to those Articles the French King was sworn at Amiens, and the King of England in London. The Lord Clinton, who had been Deputy of *Bulloigne*, was made Lord Admiral of England.

Presently after this Agreement, the Duke of *Brunswick* sent to the King of England, to offer his Service in the Kings Wars with ten thousand men, and to intreat a Marriage with the Lady Mary, the Kings eldest Sister. To his offer of Aid Answer was made, that the Kings Wars were ended: And touching the Marriage with the Lady Mary, that the King was in speech for her Marriage with the *Infanta* of Portugal; which if it succeeded not, he should then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperours Ambassadour demanded of the King, that the Lady Mary might have free exercise of the Mass; which the King not only constantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exercised at the Court, and order taken that no man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should Preach before him. And shortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, five thousand pounds were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas. At this time also an Ambassadour came from *Gustavus* King of Sweden, to enter League with the King for intercourse of Merchants; and charge was then also given, that the Laws of England should be administred in Ireland.

The Laws of England first administred in Ireland.

1551.

About this time the Queen Dowager of Scotland, going from France to her Country, passed through England, having first obtained a safe Conduct. She arrived at *Portsmouth*, and was there met by divers of the English Nobility; conducted to London, she was lodged in the Bishops Palace. After four days staying, having been Feasted by the King at *White-Hall*, she departed, being waited on by the Sheriffs of Counties to the Borders of Scotland. And now was one *Stewart* a Scot apprehended in England, and imprisoned in the Tower, for intending to poison the young Queen of Scots; whom the King delivered to the French King upon the Frontiers of *Callice*, to be by him Justiced at his pleasure.

The Emperour seeks to get the Lady Mary by stealth out of England.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperour, to transport the Lady Mary either by violence or by stealth out of England to *Antwerp*. Whereupon Sir *John Gates* was sent with Forces into *Essex*, where the Lady lay: and besides, the Duke of *Somerset* was sent with two hundred men, the Lord Privy-Seal with other two hundred, and Master *Sentleger* with four hundred more, to several Coasts upon the Sea: and the Lord Chancellour and Secretary *Peter* were sent to the Lady Mary, who, after some Conference, brought her to the Lord Chancellours House at *Lye* in *Essex*, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the Mass; and considering her obstinacy, was resolved now no longer to permit it, unless she would put him in hope of some conformity in short time. To which she answered, that her Soul was Gods: and touching her Faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended

The Lady Mary is constant to her Religion.

not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward profession of it, in regard of the danger the Example might draw. After some like interchange of speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arrived an Ambassadour from the Emperour, with a threatening Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady Mary should be denied the free exercise of the Mass. Hereupon the King presently advised with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with the Bishops of *London* and *Rocheſter*; who gave their Opinion, that to give Licence to sin, was sin; but to connive at sin, might be allowed, so it were not too long, nor without hope of Reformation. Then Answer was given to the Ambassadour, that the King would send to the Emperour within a month or two, and give him such satisfaction as should be fit.

To connive is less than to give Licence.

And now the King, being uncertain of the faith both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by alliance to strengthen himself; and thereupon sent one *Bartwick* to the King of *Denmark*, with private Instructions to treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Kings youngest Sister, and the King of *Denmark*s eldest Son: but when it came to the point, the Lady could not be induced to entertain Marriage with any.

The Lady Elizabeth cannot be induced to marry.

After this the Marquess of *Northampton* was sent Ambassadour to the French King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other secret Affairs. With him were joyned in Commission the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobbie*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Mason*, and Master *Smith* Secretary of State; also the Earl of *Worcester*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*, were appointed to accompany them; as likewise the Lords *Lisle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny*, and *Evers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of note, to the number of six and twenty. And for avoiding of an immoderate Train, order was given, that every Earl should have but four Attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commissioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of France, they were forthwith brought to the King, being then in his Bed-chamber: To whom the Marquess presented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested. Then the Bishop of *Ely*, in a short Speech, declared how the King of England, out of his love and desire of Amity, had sent this Order to his Majesty; desiring withall, that some persons might be Authorized to treat with them about some other matters of Importance. Whereupon a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, *Chastillon* the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, and others. At first the English demanded, that the young Queen of Scots might be sent into England, for perfecting of a Marriage between King *Edward* and her. But to this the French answered, that conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dauphin of France. Then the English proposed a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the French Kings eldest Daughter. To this the French did cheerfully incline: but when they came to talk

Embassadours are sent into France;

To treat of Marriage between King Edward and the French Kings eldest Daughter, which is at last concluded.



talk of Portion, the *English* demanded at first fifteen hundred thousand Crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at last to eight hundred thousand. The *French* offered at first one hundred thousand Crowns, then rose to two hundred thousand, and higher they would not be drawn; saying, It was more than ever had been given with a Daughter of *France*. Shortly after, *Monsieur*, the Marshal and other Commissioners were sent by the *French* King to deliver to the King of *England* the Order of *S. Michael*; and then was further Treaty about the Marriage. And because the *French* could be scrued no higher than two hundred thousand Crowns, it was at last accepted, and the Agreement was reduced into Writing, and delivered under Seal on both sides.

Dukes and  
Earls  
made.

And now King *Edward* supposing his state to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure, in testimony both of his Joy and Love, advanced many to new Titles of Honour. The Lord Marquess *Dorset*, who had married the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, was created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Earl of *Warwick*, Duke of *Northumberland*; the Earl of *Wiltshire* was created Marquess of *Winchester*; Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Cardiffe*, and Master of the Horse, was created Earl of *Pembroke*: Also *William Cecill* the Kings Secretary, *John Cheek* one of his Schoolmasters, *Henry Dudley* and *Henry Nevil* were made Knights; and (which perhaps it had been happy if it had never been) Sir *Robert Dudley*, one of the Duke of *Northumberland's* Sons, (the same who was afterward the great Earl of *Leicester*) was sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber. After whose coming into a place so near about him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.

The Lord  
Robert  
Dudley is  
made one  
of the  
Kings Bed-  
Chamber.

The Duke  
of Nor-  
thumber-  
land seeks  
Accusati-  
ons against  
the Duke  
of Somers-  
et.

Who be-  
ing ar-  
raigned, is  
acquitted  
of Treas-  
on; but  
found  
guilty of  
Felony.

The aspiring thoughts of the Duke of *Northumberland* were now grown to be put in execution. He was advanced in title of Honour equal with the highest; in authority and power above the highest: he had placed his Politick Son near about the Kings Person. The next thing was to remove the Duke of *Somerset* out of the way. And for this also, he had prepared Instruments, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, *Crane*, *Hammond*, *Cecill*, and others, who brought several Accusations against the Duke; some trenching upon the King and Kingdom, but one specially against the Duke of *Northumberland's* Person. Whose practices when the Duke of *Somerset* found, and had cause to fear; he went one day into the Duke of *Northumberland's* Chamber; with a purpose to kill him: but finding him in his Bed, and being received with much kind Complement by him, his heart relented, and thereupon he came away without any thing done. At his coming out, one of his Company asked him if he had done the deed: Who answered, No. Then, said he, you are your self undone. And indeed it so fell out; for when all other Accusations were refuted, this onely stuck by him, and could not be denied. And so on the first of *December* he was Arraigned at *Westminster*; where the Lord *William Paulet*, Marquess of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, sat as High Steward of *England*,

and with him Peers to the number of seven and twenty; the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bathe*, *Suffex*, *Worcester*, *Pembroke*, and *Hereford*, the Barons *Abergavenny*, *Andley*, *Whar-ton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Zouch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Winsor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Lords being set, the Indictments were read, in number five, containing a Charge for raising men in the North-parts of the Realm; and at his House, for assembling men to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*; for resisting his Attachment; for raising *London*; for assaulting the Lords, and devising of their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a satisfactory Answer to every Point, though the Kings Learned Council pressed them hard against him. This done, the Lords went together, where Exception was taken by some, as a thing unfit, that the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, should be of the Jury; seeing the Prisoner was chiefly charged with practices against them. But to this the Lawyers made answer, that a Peer of the Realm might not be challenged. So after much variation of Opinions, the Prisoner was acquitted of Treason, but by most Voices found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute lately by his own procurement made, that if any should attempt to kill a Privy-Councillour, although the Fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and be punished with death. But upon his being acquitted of Treason, the Axe at the Tower was presently laid down, which made people conceive he had been acquitted of all; who thereupon for Joy gave so great a Shout, that it was heard as far as *Charing-Cross*. But the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treason, seeing he was found guilty of Felony, and had Judgment to die. It is thought by some, he might have saved his life, if he had demanded his Clergy: but it is rather thought that in that Statute Clergy was denied. Two months after his Condemnation, (much against the Kings will) he was brought to the Tower-Hill to Execution: where being ascended the Scaffold, he entred into a Speech wherein though he justified himself for any matter tending to the hurt of the King or Kingdom; yet he confessed he was justly by the Law brought to his death; and thanked God, that had given him so large a time of repentance, especially that he had opened his eyes, to see clearly the light of the Gospel. And going on in his Speech, a sudden noise arose of some crying; *Away, away*; which made some think a Pardon had been come; but it was indeed the voice of some that had been warned to be at the Execution, and were come somewhat late. But the Tumult being appeased, the Duke went on with his Speech; and at last commending his Soul to God, with a countenance not shewing any sign of fear or perturbation, only his Cheeks a little redder than they used to be, he peaceably laid down his head upon the Block, and in a moment, with one stroke of the Axe, had it stricken off.

A Peer of  
the Realm  
not to be  
challenged  
in a Jury.

1552.

The Duke  
of Somers-  
et is be-  
headed, &  
his patient  
suffering it.

The



The Death of this Duke made the Duke of *Northumberland* more odious to the people than he was before; and there were some that dipped Handkerchiefs in his blood, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of *Northumberland* withall, when he came himself afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Miles Partridge* were hanged at the *Tower-hill*, Sir *Michael Stanhope* and Sir *Thomas Arundel* were there beheaded.

George Ferrers Lord of Misrule at Christmas.

After the Dukes condemnation, it was thought fit to have something done for averting the Kings mind from taking thought; and to that end, one *George Ferrers*, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inne*, was appointed in the Christmas-time to be Lord of Misrule; who so carried himself, that he gave great delight to many, and some to the King, but not in proportion to his heaviness.

A call of Serjeants.

About this time was a call of seven Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at *Grays-Inne*: of whom Master *Robert Brooke*, Recorder of *London*, was the first; and the next Master *Dyer*, who was chosen Speaker the next Parliament.

The Lord Paget hath the Garter taken from him, and why.

About this time also the Lord *Paget* was committed to the Tower, for what cause is not certain; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garter was taken from him by Garter King at Arms, upon this pretence, that he was said to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother: and the Garter was then bestowed on the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Northumberland's* eldest Son. And the Lord *Rich*, Lord Chancellor, was put off from his place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor *Thomas Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*.

Sebastian Cabot sent to discover a Passage to the East-Indies.

About this time also three great Ships were set forth at the Kings charge, for discovery of a Passage to the *East-Indies* by the North Seas. The chief Pilot and Director in this Voyage was one *Sebastian Cabot*, an English-man, born at *Bristol*, but the Son of a *Genoway*. These Ships at the last arrived in the Country of *Moscovia*, but not without loss of their Captain Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who being tossed and driven by tempest, was afterward found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his people.

Sir Hugh Willoughby frozen to death.

At this time also the Duke of *Suffolk's* three Daughters, which he had by *Frances*, Daughter of *Charles Brandon* and *Mary Queen of France*, were married at *Durham-House*: the eldest, *Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*; the second, *Katharine*, to *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Pembroke*; the youngest, *Mary*, being somewhat deformed, to *Martyn Keyes*, the Kings Gentleman-Porter. And then also *Katharine*, the Duke of *Northumberland's* youngest Daughter, to the Lord *Hastings*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Huntington*. And now had the Duke of *Northumberland* gone a great way in his design: it remained to persuade King *Edward* to exclude his two Sisters from Succession in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter-in-law, the Lady *Jane*, would come to have a right. For as for pretenders out of *Scotland*, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to work the King to this perswasion, (being in a

The Duke of Northumberland perswades King Edward to exclude his two Sisters succession in the Crown: and by what reasons.

languishing sickness, not far from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preserved in purity, not only in his own life, but as well after his death: which would not be, if his Sister the Lady *Mary* should succeed; and she could not be put by, unless her other Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, were put by also, seeing their rights depended one upon another. But if he pleased to appoint the Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* eldest Daughter, and his own next Kinswoman to his Sisters, to be his Successor, he might then be sure that the true Religion should be maintained, to Gods great glory, and be a worthy Act of his own religious Providence. This was to strike upon the right string of the young Kings affection, with whom nothing was so dear as preservation of Religion; and thereupon his last Will was appointed to be drawn, (contrived chiefly by the Lord Chief Justice *Mountague*, and Secretary *Cecil*: ) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Sisters from the Succession, and all other but the Duke of *Suffolk's* Daughters. And then causing it to be read before his Council, he required them all to assent unto it, and to subscribe their hands: which they all, both Nobility, and Bishops, and Judges, did. Only the Archbishop *Cranmer* refused at first; Sir *James Hales*, a Judge of the Common-Pleas, to the last; and with them also Sir *John Baker*, Chancellor of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of *Northumberland's* purpose, but that the King should die: which soon after he did at *Greenwich*, the sixth of *July*, in the year 1553. One point of the Duke's policy must not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady *Mary* might raise after the Kings decease, if she should be at liberty, he therefore, seeing the King drawing on, used all means possible to get her within his power: to which end Letters are directed to her in the Kings name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about his Person. Whereupon the Lady, suspecting nothing, addressed her self with all speed to the Journey; till being upon the way, she was advertised of the Dukes design; and then she returned to her House at *Hovesden*, and so escaped the snare: by whose escape the whole Design of the Duke of *Northumberland* was disappointed; as soon after will be seen.

His Will drawn to that purpose.

King Edward dies.

1553.

The Duke of Northumberland seeks to get the Lady Mary into his hands.

#### Of his Taxations.

IN no Kings Reign were ever more Parliaments for the time, nor fewer Subsidies: the greatest was in his last year, when yet there was but one Subsidy, with two Fifteens and Tenths, granted by the Temporality, and a Subsidy by the Clergy. And indeed, to shew how loath this King was to lay Impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument; that though he were much in debt, yet he chose rather to deal with the Foulket in the Low-Countries for money upon loan, at the interest of fourteen pounds for a hundred for a year. But his ways for raising of money were, by selling



selling of Chantrey Lands and Houses, given him by Parliament; and by inquiring after all Church-Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezzelled away, as Jewels, Gold and Silver Chalice, ready Money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one Covering for the Communion-Table, the rest to be applied to his benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after Offences of Officers in great places; in which enquiry one *Beaumont*, Master of the Rolls, being convinced of many Crimes, surrendered all his Offices, Lands and Goods into the Kings hands. Also one *Whalley*, Receiver of *Yorkshire*, being found a Delinquent, surrendered his Office, and paid a great Fine besides. Also the Lord *Paget*, Chancellour of the Dutchy, convinced that he had sold the Kings Lands and Timber-woods without Commission, and had applied the Kings Fines to his own use, for these and other Offences, surrendered his Office, and was fined at four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of Bullion was appointed to be made so much bafe, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Delinquent  
Officers  
fined.

Bullion  
made ba-  
fer to raise  
money.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his third year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies; another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate; and Usury for loan of money was forbidden. In his fifth year it was ordained, that the Laws of *England* should be admitted in *Ireland*; and a King at Arms, named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*, whose Province was all *Ireland*: and he was the first fourth King of Arms, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*. Also in his fifth year bafe moneys formerly coined were cried down; so as the shilling went but for nine pence, and shortly after but for six pence, the groat but for three pence, and shortly after but for two pence.

Priests  
Children  
made legi-  
timate.  
Usury for-  
bidden.  
*Ulster*  
King at  
Arms or-  
dained for  
*Ireland*.  
Bafe mo-  
neys cried  
down.

#### Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the first year of this Kings Reign, Injunctions were set forth for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches; also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by Learned men, to be read in Churches, for the peoples instruction. And at Easter this year it was ordered, that the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be ministred to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy-men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the dead were forbidden. And it is observable, that the very same day that Images were pulled down at *London*, the great overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Musselborough*. Also at this time, by the Archbishop *Cranmers* means, divers learned Protestants came over into *England*, and had here entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*: of whom

*Peter Martyr* was sent to read a Divinity Lecture in *Oxford*, *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this Kings fourth year all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth year the Book of Common-Prayer was established.

The Book  
of Com-  
mon-Pray-  
er esta-  
blished.

#### Casualties happening in his time.

IN his second year *S. Annes* Church within *Aldersgate* was burnt. In his fifth year a Sweating-sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North parts, and afterwards grew most extreme in *London*, so as the first Week there died eight hundred persons; and was so violent, that it took men away in four and twenty hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometimes in less. Amongst others of Account that died of this Sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who died within an hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This Disease was proper to the *English* Nation, for it followed the *English* wheresoever they were in foreign Parts, but seized upon none of any other Country. In this year one Mr. *Arden* of *Kent*, by procurement of his Wife, was murdered in his own house; being dead, his body was carried out and laid upon the ground in a Close hard by: where this is memorable, that for two years after, the ground where his body lay bore no grass, but represented still as it were a Picture of his body, only in the space between his legs and arms there grew grass; but where any part of his body touched, none at all. Yet this Miraculous Accident was not so much for the Murder, as for the Curses of a Widow-woman, out of whose hands the said Master *Arden* had uncharitably bought the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftentimes, works Miracles upon Offenders, for a merciful warning to men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his sixth year, the third of *August*, at *Middleton-stony*, eleven miles from *Oxford*, a woman brought forth a Child which had two perfect bodies from the navel upward, the legs for both the bodies grew out at the midst where the bodies joyned, and it had but one issue for the Excrements of them both: they lived eighteen days, and were Women-children. This year also were taken at *Quinborough* three Dolphins, and at *Black-Wall* six more, the least of which was bigger than any Horse.

A Sweat-  
ing-sick-  
ness pro-  
per only to  
the *English*  
Nation.

A miracu-  
lous effect  
of a mur-  
ther.

A mon-  
strous  
Birth.

Dolphins  
taken at  
*Black-  
Wall*.

#### Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

THIS King gave three Houses to the Relief of the Poor. First, for the Fatherless and Beggars Children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers* in *London*, which is now called *Christs Hospital*. Then for lame and diseased persons, he gave the Hospital of *S. Thomas* in *Southwark*, and *S. Bartholomews* in *West-Smithfield*. Thirdly, for riotous and idle persons, he gave his House of *Bridewell*. And for their Maintenance, he took six hundred pounds a year land from the House of the *Savoy*, (which had been long abused) and bestowed it upon these Houses; to which

*Christs*  
*Hospital*,  
*St. Thomas*  
*Hospital*,  
*St. Bartho-  
lomews*, &  
*Bridewell*,  
given by  
this King  
to Chari-  
table uses.



which he added four thousand Marks a year more. By his example, Sir William Chester Alderman of London, and John Calthrop Draper, at their own Costs, made the Brick-walls and Way on the Back side that leadeth to the Hospital of St. Bartholomews, and also covered and vaulted the Town-Ditch, which before was very noysome. In the second year of this King, Sir John Gresham, then Mayor of London, founded a Free-School at Holt in Norfolk. Also at his decease he gave to every Ward in London ten pounds, to be distributed amongst the Poor; and to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. In his third year, Sir Rowland Hill, the then Lord Mayor of London, caused to be made a Cawsey, commonly called Overlane Pavement, in the High-way from Stone to Nantwich, in length four miles, for the ease of Horse and Man. He caused also a Cawsey to be made from Dun-Church to Bransfen in Warwickshire, more than two miles in length; and gave twenty pounds towards the making of Roitton Bridge, three miles from Coventry. He made likewise the High-way to Kilburne, near to London: Also four Bridges, two of them of Stone, containing eighteen Arches in them both; the one over the River of Severn, called Acham Bridge, the other Terne Bridges and two other of Timber at Stoke, where he built also a good part of the Church. A Free-School likewise he built at Drayton in Shropshire, with Master and Usher, and gave sufficient Stipends to them both. Also he purchased a free Fair to the said Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen days a free Market for Cattel. Besides all this, he gave to the Hospital of Christ-Church in London in his life-time five hundred pounds, and at his death a hundred. In this Kings fourth year, Sir Andrew Jud, Mayor of London, founded a notable Free-School at Tunbridg in Kent; and gave threescore pounds land a year to the Skinners of London, for which they be bound to pay twenty pounds to the School-Master, and eight pounds to the Usher of his Free-School at Tunbridg yearly for ever. In his sixth year, Sir George Barnes, who was Mayor of London, gave a wind-Mill in Finsbury-Fields to the Haberdashers of London, the profits thereof to be distributed to the poor of that company: also to St. Bartholomews the Little, certain Tenements to the like use.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

Concerning his Personage, it is said he was in Body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and specially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveness and lustre in them. Concerning his Conditions, in matter of Fact, there is not much to be said; but in matter of Disposition and Inclination very much, even to admiration. For though his Tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing Fruit, yet it was come to the forwardness to bear plenty of Buds and Blossoms. For proof of his Merciful Disposition, this one example may be sufficient: when one Joan Butcher was to be burned for Blasphemy and Heresie, all the Council could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbishop Cranmer, with much importunity, perswaded

him; and then he did it, but not without weeping. For his pregnancy of Wit, and knowledge in all kinds of Learning, we shall need but to hear what Cardan (who coming into England, had often conference with him) reporteth of him; That he was extraordinarily skilful in Languages and in the Politicks, well seen in Philosophy and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very Miracle of Art & Nature. He would answer Embassadors sometimes upon the sudden, either in French or Latine. He knew the state of Foreign Princes perfectly, and his own more. He could call all Gentlemen of account through his Kingdom by their names. And all this when he had scarce yet attained to the age of fifteen years, and died before sixteen; that from hence we may gather, It is a sign of no long life, when the Faculties of the Mind are ripe so early.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN the sixth year of his Reign, which was the year before he died, he fell sick of the Measels; and being well recovered of them, he fell soon after into the Small pox; and of them also was so well recovered, that the Summer following he rode a Progress with a greater Magnificence than ever he had done before, having in his Train no fewer than four thousand Horse. In January following (whether procured by sinister practice, or growing upon him by natural infirmity) he fell into an indisposition of body, which soon after grew to a Cough of the Lungs. Whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by some, that a Nosegay had been given him at New-years-tide, which brought him into this slow, but deadly Consumption: by others, that it was done by a Clyster. However it was, he was brought at last to so great extremity, that his Physicians despaired of his life: and when physicians could do him no good, a Gentlewoman (thought to be prepared for the purpose) took him in hand, and did him hurt; for with her applications his Legs swelled, his Pulse failed, his Skin changed colour, and many other symptomes of approaching death appeared. The hour before his death, he was over-heard to pray thus by himself; O Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy Chosens sake, if it be thy will, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England, and defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy Holy Name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake. So turning his face, and seeing some by him, he said, I thought you had not been so nigh. Yes, said Doctor Owen, we heard you speak to your self. Then said the King, I was praying to God. O I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit: and in so saying, he gave up the Ghost, the sixth day of July, in the year 1553. and the sixteenth year of his age, when he had Reigned six years, five months, and nine daies. It is noted by some, that he died the same month, and the same day of the month, that his Father King Henry the Eighth had put Sir Thomas

King Edward's pitiful Disposition.

His pregnancy of Wit and Learning.

Suspected to be poisoned.

His Piety at the time of his death.

S f

Thomas



Thomas Moor to death. His Body was buried upon the ninth of *August*, in the Chappel of St. Peters Church in *Westminster*, and laid near to the Body of King *Henry* the Seventh, his Grandfather. At his Funeral, which was on the tenth of *August* following, his Sister Queen *Mary* shewed this respect to him, that though Doctor *Day*, a Popish Bishop, preached, yet all the Service with a Communion was in *English*.

Men of note in his time.

His King's Reign being short, and having but small Wars, had not many Sword-men famous for any Acts they did. Gown-men there were some: as, *Edward Hall*, a Counsellour in the Law, who wrote a notable Chronicle of the Union of the Two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, *William Hugh*, a *Yorkshire* man, who wrote a notable Treatise, called *The Troubled man's Medicine*; *Thomas Sternhold*, born in *Southampton*, who turned into *English* Meeter seven and thirty of *David's* Psalms.

### The Interregnum between the death of King Edward, and the Proclaiming at London of Queen Mary.

1553.  
The Duke of Northumberland bears all the sway. He causes the Mayor and Aldermen to swear allegiance to the Lady Jane.

Who is proclaimed Queen.

The Lady Mary rides post into Norfolk.

Takes upon her the name of Queen, and is assisted by the Norfolk-men, upon her promise not to alter Religion.

King Edward being dead, the Duke of Northumberland took upon him to sit at the Stern, and ordered all things at his pleasure. So two days after, he, with others of the Council, sent to the Lord Mayor, that he, with six Aldermen, and twelve principal Commons, should repair presently to the Court: to whom, when they came, it was signified that King Edward was dead; and that by his last Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges had given assent, he had appointed the Lady Jane, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, to succeed him, his Letters Patents whereof were shewed them: and thereupon they were required to take their Oaths of Allegiance to the Lady Jane, and to secure the City in her behalf; which, whether dissemblingly, or sincerely, whether for love, or fear, yet they did, and departed. The next day, the Lady Jane in great State was brought to the Tower of London, and there declared Queen; and by Edict with the sound of Trumpet proclaimed so through London. At which time, for some words seeming to be spoken against it, one Gilbert Pot, a Vintners servant, was set in the Pillory, and lost both his Ears. Before this time, the Lady Mary, having heard of her Brothers death, and of the Duke of Northumberland's designs, removed from *Hovesdon* to her Mannour of *Keninghall* in *Norfolk*, and under pretence of fearing infection, (having lately lost one of her Household-Servants of the Plague) in one day she rode forty miles, and from thence afterward to her Castle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*; where taking upon her the name of Queen, there resorted to her the most part of all the Gentlemen both of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, offering their Assistance; but upon condition, she would make no alteration in Religion: to which she condescended. And thereupon, soon after came to her the Earls of *Oxford*, *Bath*, and *Suffex*, the Lord *Wentworth*, *Thomas Wharton*, and *John Mordant*, Barons eldest Sons; and of Knights, *Cornwallis*, *Drury*, *Walgrave*, *Shelton*, *Beningsfield*, *Jerningham*, *Suliard*, *Freston*, and many others. The Lady Mary being thus assisted, wrote her Letter, signed the 9th of July,

to the Lords of the Council; wherein she claimed the Crown, as of right belonging to her, and required them to proclaim her Queen of England in the City of London, as they tendred her displeasure. She writes to the Lords, and claimeth the Crown. The Lords Answer.

To this Letter of hers the Lords answered, That for what they did they had good Warrant, not only by King Edward's last will, but by the Laws of the Land, considering her Mothers Divorce, and her own Illegitimation; and therefore required her to submit her self to Queen Jane, being now her Sovereign. This Letter was written from the Tower of London, under the hands of these that Follow, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Ely* Chancellour, *William* Marquess of *Winchester*, *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Thomas* Lord *Darcey* Lord Chamberlain, *Cobham*, *Rich*, *Huntington*, *Cheyney*, *John Gates*, *William Peter*, *William Cecil*, *John Clerk*, *Mason*, *Edward North*, and *Robert Bowes*. The quarrel on both sides being thus begun by Letters, is prosecuted by Arms; and the Lords for their General made choice of the Duke of Suffolk, as a man most likely to be firm and sure in the employment. But the Queen his Daughter cannot miss his presence, and besides, is not willing to hazard his person; and thereupon, she by intreaties, and the Lords by perswasions, prevail with the Duke of Northumberland to undertake the charge: who, before his going, having conference with the Lords, let them know how sensible he was of the double danger he underwent in this enterprise, both in respect of the Lady against whom he went, and in respect of them whom he left behind him: for if they in his absence should by any accident be drawn to waver in their resolution, they might work their own safety with his destruction, and make themselves seem innocent in his guiltiness. To which one of the Lords replied and said, Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be, for which of us all can wash his hands clean of this business? And thereof it behoves us to be as resolute as your self. And the Earl of Arundel,



Arundel, to testifie his resolution in the matter, said, He was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whose feet he could find in his heart to spend his blood. So the Duke, with the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Gray, and divers others of account, on the fourteenth of July set forward on the Journey with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and passing through *Shoreditch*, the Duke said to the Lord Gray, See how the people press to see us, but not one of them saith, God speed you. The Duke had every days march how far he should go appointed him by Commission: which being very slow, whether it were done of purpose by some that favoured the Lady Mary's side, was certainly a great help to her proceedings; for by this means she had the longer time to make her preparations. And indeed in this time two Accidents happened of great benefit to her. One, that *Edward Hastings*, the Earl of *Huntington's* Brother, having an Army of four thousand Foot committed to him by the Duke of *Northumberland*, he now left his Party, and went to the Lady Mary. The other, that six great Ships which lay before *Tarmouth*, to intercept the Lady Mary, if she should attempt to fly, now at the perswasion of Master *Jerningham* came to her aid. Which two revolts so terrified the Londoners, that though Doctor *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*, on the sixteenth of July, at *Pauls Cross*, preached a Sermon, wherein he invited the people to stand firm to Queen *Jane*, whose cause he affirmed to be most just, yet few or none were perswaded by him; so as the Lords themselves fell off from the side; who assembling at *Baynards-Castle*, first the Earl of *Arundel*, then the Earl of *Pembroke* fell to Invectives against the Duke of *Northumberland*; and then all the Lords joyning in Opinion with them, they called for the Mayor, and in *London* Proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen; as likewise the Lord *Windsor*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie*, and Sir *Edward Hastings*, did in *Buckinghamshire*; Sir *John Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlain* in *Oxfordshire*, and Sir *Thomas Tresham* in the County of *Northampton*. All this came soon to the knowledge of the Duke of *Northumberland*, being then at *Bury*; who thereby seeing how the World went, thought it his best course to turn with the stream: and thereupon returning to *Cambridge*, he took the Mayor of the Town with him into the Market-place, and there himself, for want of a Herald, Proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen, and in sign of joy threw up his Cap. Which yet served not his turn: for the next morning, *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*, came into *Cambridge* from Queen Mary; who entering his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell on his knees, desiring him for Gods love to consider his case, that had done nothing but by the Warrant of him and the Council. My Lord, (saith the Earl) I am sent hither by the Queen, to

Arrest you. And I (saith the Duke) obey your Arrest; yet I beseech your Lordship to use mercy towards him, whose acts have been no other than were enjoined by Commission. You should have thought of that sooner, (saith the Earl:) and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queens mercy. Thus ended all this great Dukes designs in his own destruction, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had often before bowed their knees to him; and the Earl, who at the Dukes going out could have been contented to spend his blood at his feet, was now contented to be made an Instrument of his fall. So sudden are the turns of mens Affections, and so unstable is the building upon their Asseverations: at least, no man must look to have his case be of any weight against him, who hath his own case put in the Balance. Together with the Duke, his three Sons, *John Ambrose*, and *Henry*, the Earl of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *John* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Sands*, were conveyed towards *London*, and brought to the Tower; and the next day the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Robert Corbet*. Before which time, the Duke of *Suffolk*, entering his Daughters the Lady *Jane's* Chamber, told her, She must now put off her Royal Robes, and be contented with a private life. To which she answered, She would much more willingly put them off, than she had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the end of the Lady *Jane's* Ten Days Reign.

And with him divers more.

The Lady Jane hearing hereof, was nothing troubled at it. And thus ended her ten days Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
Sir *John Gresham* was Mayor.  
*Thomas White*, *Robert Chertsey*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
*Henry Amcoats* was Mayor.  
*William Lock*, Sir *John Ayleph*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Sir *Rowland Hill* was Mayor.  
*John Torke*, *Richard Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Sir *Andrew Jud* was Mayor.  
*Augustin Hinde*, *John Lion*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir *Richard Dobbes* was Mayor.  
*John Lambert*, *John Cowper*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir *George Barne* was Mayor.  
*William Garret*, or *Gerard*, *John Mainard*, Sheriffs.

But soon after the Lords that sent him, fell off from the side, and Proclaimed Queen Mary.

Which the Duke of Northumberland hearing, he also at Cambridge Proclaimed Queen Mary.

Yet is arrested by the Earl of Arundel.



# The Reign of QUEEN MARY.

1553.

The Lady Mary having been proclaimed Queen, comes to London, and so to the Tower.



Where she sets divers Lords at liberty.

And restores the Bishops who had been deprived.

THE Lady Mary, having been Proclaimed Queen in London, and other parts of the Realm; removed from her Castle of Framlingham towards London; and being come to *Wansted* in *Essex*, on the thirtieth of July, the Lady Elizabeth her Sister, with a Train of a thousand Horse, rode from her Place in the Strand to meet her. On the third of August the Queen rode through London to the Tower; where at her Entrance were presented to her Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord Courtney, Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and the Dutchess of Somerset, who all kneeling down, she kissed them, and said, *These be my Prisoners*, and then caused them presently to be set at liberty. The next day she restored the Lord Courtney to the Marquisate of Exeter; and the same day also she not only restored Stephen Gardiner to his Bishoprick of Winchester, but a few days after made him Chancellor of England: Yet this was the Man that had subscribed to her Mothers divorce, and had written books against the lawfulness of her Marriage. The fifth of August, Edmund Bonner, late Bishop of London, Prisoner in the *Marshalsey*, and Cuthbert Toustal, the old Bishop of Durham, Prisoner in the *Kings Bench*, had their Pardons, and were restored to their Sees. Shortly after, all the Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed: as Ridley was removed from London, and Bonner placed; Scory from Chichester, and Day placed; Miles Coverdale from Exeter, and West placed; John Hooper from Worcester, and Heath placed. Also all Beneficed men that were married, or would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms.

On the thirteenth of August, one Master Bourne a Canon of Pauls, preaching at Pauls-Cross, not only prayed for the dead, but also declared, that Doctor Bonner Bishop of London, (late restored, and there in presence) for a Sermon by him made four years before, in the same place, and upon the same Text, had unjustly been cast into the vile Prison of the *Marshalsey*. Which Speech so offended some of the Auditory that they cried, *Pull him down, Pull him down*; and had certainly done him violence, (for a Dagger was thrown at him) if Master Bradford, a Protestant Preacher, had

not stepped into his place, and appeased the Tumult, and Master Rogers, another Protestant Minister, (who were both afterward burnt for Religion) had not shifted away Bourne into Pauls School.

Hitherto Queen Marias Reign had been without blood, but now the Cataracts of severity will be opened, that will make it rain blood: for now, on the eighteenth of August, John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, William Parre Marquess of Northampton, and John Earl of Warwick, Son and Heir, to the Duke, were arraigned at Westminster-Hall, before Thomas Duke of Norfolk as High Steward of England. Where the Duke of Northumberland, after his Indictment read, required the opinion of the Court in two Points. First, Whether a man doing any Act by authority of the Princes Council, and by Warrant of the Great Seal of England, might for any such Act be charged with Treason. Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable, and by whose Commandments he was directed, might be his Judges, and pass upon his Trial. Whereunto was answered, That concerning the first, the Great Seal, which he alledged for his Warrant, was not the Seal of the lawfull Queen of the Realm, but of an Usurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him. And as to the second, it was resolved, That if any were as deeply to be touched in the Case as himself, yet so long as no Attainder were of Record against them, they were persons able in Law to pass upon his Trial, and not to be challenged but at the Prince's pleasure. After which Answers, the Duke used few words, but confessed the Indictment, and accordingly had Judgment to die. By whose example, the other Prisoners arraigned with him, confessed the Indictments, and thereupon had Judgment. The nineteenth of August, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Brethren, and Sir Thomas Palmer, Knights, were Arraigned at Westminster; who confessing their Indictments, had Judgment, which was pronounced by the Marquess of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer, sitting that day as Chief Justice. After these Condemnations followed the Executions: for on the two and twentieth of August, John Duke of Northumberland was brought to the Tower-Hill, and there beheaded. Being upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green-coloured Damask, he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgiveness,

The Duke of Northumberland is arraigned.

And beheaded.



ness, whom he acknowledged to have grievously offended : and then making profession of his Faith, that he died a true Catholick, (meaning a Papist) he said the Psalms of *Miserere & De Profundis*, the *Pater noster*, and six of the first vers. of the Psalm *In te domine speravi*, ending with this ver. *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*. And this said, he looked about him, as looking for a Pardon; but none coming, he laid his head down upon the Block, and at one blow had it stricken off. His Body with the Head was buried in the Tower, by the body of *Edward* late Duke of *Somerset*, (mortal enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good friends :) so as there lieth before the high Altar in *St. Peters Church*, two Dukes between two Queens, namely, the Duke of *Somerset* and the Duke of *Northumberland*; between Queen *Anne* and Queen *Katharine*, all four beheaded. Of what Religion this Duke was, may well be doubted, seeing at his death he professed himself a Papist, when lately before he had importuned King *Edward* to make the Lady *Jane* his Successour, lest the Papal Religion should be restored. It seems he was not greatly of either, but for other ends: a Protestant then, when it was to make his Daughter-in Law Queen; now a Papist, when it was to save his life, (for it was thought he had a Pardon promised, if he would recant.) At the same time and place were beheaded *Sir John Gates* and *Sir Thomas Palmer*, who were no such Temporizers, but persisted and died in the Protestant Religion, which they had always professed.

Latimer & Cranmer sent to the Tower. Cranmer and the late Queen Jane, with the Sons of the Duke of Northumberland, arraigned and condemned. Queen Mary is Crowned, and in what order.

After this, a sprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen: for on the third of September the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, the two Chief Justices, *Sir Roger Cholmely* and *Mountague*, *Sir John Cheek*, and others were delivered out of the Tower, whither they had been committed. But a shower of severity followed: soon after for on the fifteenth of September Master *Latimer*, and Doctor *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were sent to the Tower; and on the third of November following, the said Archbishop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane*, (late Queen) and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, with the Lords *Ambrose* and *Henry*, Sons to the late Duke of *Northumberland* were all arraigned at the *Guildhall*, found guilty, and had Judgment to die. All this while Queen *Mary* had contented her self to be Queen by proclamation; but now that things were something settled, she proceeds to her Coronation: for on the last of September she rode in her Chariot through *London* towards *Westminster* in this order. First rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Bishops, then Lords, then the Council; after whom followed the Knights of the *Bath*, thirteen in number, in their Robes, then the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellour, and the Marquess of *Winchester* Lord High Treasurer: next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword, then the Mayor of *London* in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold: after came the Queens Chariot, and then followed another Chariot, wherein sat the lady *Elizabeth* her Sister, and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and then

came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding on Horses, trapped with red Velvet, &c. In this order they came through *London* to *Westminster*, where in many places by the way were Pageants and stately Shews, and many rich Presents given to the Queen. The next day she went by Water to the old Palace, and remained there till eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blue cloth, being railed on either side, to *St. Peters Church*, where she was Crowned and Anointed by the Bishop of *Winchester*, the two Archbishops being then in the Tower, with all Rites and Ceremonies of old accustomed.

After her Coronation, a general Pardon was published in her name, but interlaced with so many exceptions of matters and persons, that very few took benefit by it: for after the Pardon published, there were Commissioners assigned to compound with such persons as were excepted; from some of whom they took away their Fees and Offices, some they fined, and some they deprived of their Estates and Livings.

A Pardon granted, but full of exceptions.

About this time, *Sir James Hales*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who in the time of King *Edward* had refused to sign a Writing for disinheriting the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, (a fact worthy at least of a kind of remembrance from the Lady *Mary* now Queen) yet now, for that at a Quarter-Sessions in *Kent* he gave charge upon the Statutes of King *Henry* the Eighth and King *Edward* the Sixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*, he was first committed to the *Kings-Bench*, then to the Counter, and lastly to the *Fleet*; where he grew so troubled in mind, that he attempted with a Pen-knife to kill himself: and being afterward recovered of that hurt, and brought to the Queens presence, who gave him very comfortable words, yet could he never come to be quiet in his mind; but in the end drowned himself in a River not half a mile from his house, the River being so shallow, that he was fain to lie groveling before he could dispatch himself of life.

Sir James Hales Justice of the Common Pleas drowns himself, and why.

And now another sprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for the Marquess of *Norhampton* and *Sir Henry Gates*, lately before condemned to die, were now pardoned, and set at liberty. The Lady *Jane* also was allowed the liberty of the Tower, not without hope of life and liberty all together, if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not the second time been cause of her destruction.

The Lady Jane, though condemned, is allowed the liberty of the Tower.

About this time also a Synod was assembled, for consulting about matters of Religion, and the point specially of the Real Presence in the Sacrament. The Prolocutor was Doctor *Weston*; and of the Protestant side were *John Ailmer* and *Richard Cheney*, both Bishops afterward in Queen *Elizabeths* time, also *John Philpot*, afterward burnt, *James Haddon*, and others. After long Disputation, where reasons were not so much weighed, as voices numbred, the Papal side, as having most voices, carried it: and thereupon was that Religion again restored, and the Mass commanded in all Churches to be celebrated, after the ancient manner.

Upon a conference about Religion, the Mass is again restored.

It was now the year 1553. when Queen *Mary* was come to the age of seven and thirty years, and therefore high time now to think of Marriage,



Matches  
propound-  
ed for  
Queen  
Mary.

The  
Match is  
concluded  
with Phi-  
lip Prince  
of Spain.

With grea-  
ter Condi-  
tions of  
advantage  
to her  
than to  
him.

Yet is op-  
posed by  
divers, e-  
specially  
Sir Thomas  
Wyat of  
Kent.

Marriage, at least if she meant to have Issue of her body: but a hard matter it was to find a Husband in all points fitting for her: yet three at this time (in common fame at least) were taken into consideration. One was the Lord *Courtney*, Marquess of *Exeter*, a goodly Gentleman, and of Royal blood: but there was an exception against him, because inclining (as was thought) to *Lutheranism*. Another was Cardinal *Poole*, of a dignity not much inferiour to Kings, and by his Mother descended from Kings: but there was exception against him also, because four and fifty years old, (as old a Batchelour as Queen *Mary* was a Maid) and so the less hope of Issue between them. But the third (if he might be had) was without exception, and this was *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, the Emperour *Charles* his eldest Son, with whom, being a *Spaniard*, she was the fitter matched, as being by the Mother a *Spaniard* her self. And now very opportunely came in the beginning of *January* Embassadors into *England* about it; amongst others, the Count of *Egmond*, Admiral of the *Low-Countries*, and *John* of *Memorancy* Lord of *Curryers*: whose Message was so kindly entertained, that the Marriage in short time was absolutely concluded; though it seemed something strange to many, that she should now be the Wife to the Son, who thirty years before should have been Wife to the Father. But so it is, Queens are never old so long as they are within years of bearing Children. And indeed the Match was concluded with Conditions of far more advantage to Queen *Mary* than they were to King *Philip*, as on the fourteenth of *January* *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, openly in the Presence-Chamber at *Westminster*, declared to all the Lords and Gentlemen there present. For it was agreed, that after the Marriage, King *Philip* should have the Title of all the Queens Dominions, and be assumed into fellowship of the Government; but yet with reservation to the Queen of all Privileges and Customs of the Kingdom, and free disposition of all Offices and Honours. As likewise the Queen would be assumed into the fellowship of all the Kings Dominions, and surviving him, should have a Joynture of two hundred thousand pounds a year. Then for the Issue between them, if she had a Son, that he should inherit the *Low-Countries* and *Burgundy*; and King *Philip*'s Son *Charles*, which he had by a former Wife, should inherit all his Dominions in *Italy* and *Spain*: but if his Son *Charles* should fail without Issue, then the Son he should have by Queen *Mary* should inherit his Kingdom of *Italy* and *Spain* also. And the like good provision was also made for Daughters. But notwithstanding these great advantages of the Match, yet such was the precipitant rashness of some, that thinking themselves wiser than the Queen and the Council, they sought by all means to oppose the match; giving out, that it tended to bring *England* under the yoke of *Spain*, and to make the Country a slave to strangers. This was the general murmuring of people: but the first that shewed himself in Arms, was Sir *Thomas Wyat*

of *Kent*, who having communicated the matter with the Duke of *Suffolk* the Lady *Janes* Father, with *Peter Caroe* a Knight of *Devonshire*, and divers others, intended only to make secret provision, but not to stir till Prince *Philip* should be come, that so their cause of taking Arms might have the better colour. On the fifteenth of *January*, *Robert Dudley*, Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was arraigned at the *Guild-Hall* of high Treason; who confessed the Indictment, and had Judgment given by the Earl of *Suffex*, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered.

The Lord  
Robert  
Dudley is  
arraigned  
and con-  
demned.

But now in Counsels communicated to many, it is a hard matter to have counsel kept; and Sir *Peter Caroe* finding that their Plot was discovered, fled privily into *France*, where lurking for a time, he was afterward taken at *Bruxells*, and brought Captive into *England*: as likewise at the same time and place Sir *John Cheek* King *Edward*'s School-Master, was taken; who being drawn by terrours to embrace the Papal Religion, with very grief afterward of his error pined away and died. Sir *Peter Caroe* lived many years after, and died in *Ireland*; though it be falsely recorded, they were both burnt for Religion in *June* this year. *Wyat* hearing of Sir *Peter Caroe*'s flight, and that all their purpose was discovered, was driven before his time to enter into Arms, giving out for the Cause, that it was not to attempt any thing against the Queen, but only to remove ill Counsellours, and chiefly to repel Prince *Philip*, left by his Marriage the Kingdom should come in subjection to the *Spaniard*. With *Wyat* were joyned Sir *Henry Isle*, Sir *George Harper*, *Anthony* and *William Knevet*, and divers other Gentlemen of the County. Against him, were the Lord *Abergavenny*, Sir *Thomas Cheiney* Lord Warden of the Ports, Sir *Robert Southwell* Sheriff of *Kent*, Sir *Warham Sentleger*, Sir *Thomas Kemp*, Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Sir *Thomas Finch*, with divers other; yet all these great men had such doubt of the people, that they durst not proceed but very warily. The five and twentieth of *January* news came to *London* of *Wyat*'s rising; against whom was presently sent the Duke of *Norfolk* with Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray*, Sir *John Fogge*, *John Covert*, *Roger Appleton* Esquires and five hundred Souldiers out of *London* appointed to go after him, under the leading of Captain *Bret*. And now see in times of Sedition how uncertain a thing it is to trust to the people; for before *Bret* could overtake the Duke, Sir *George Harper* was secretly got to him, who so perswaded him, that he and his five hundred Souldiers left the Duke, and went all to *Wyat*; which made the Duke and those with him presently to flie, and put such boldness into *Wyat*, that now he marched with great confidence towards *London*, with so great terrour to all sorts of people, that at *Westminster-Hall* the Serjeants and other Lawyers pleaded in harness.

Wyat with  
his Army  
marcheth  
towards  
London.

In the mean time the Duke of *Suffolk* was perceived in *Warwickshire* to be raising of Forces in assistance of *Wyat*: against whom was presently sent the Earl of *Huntington*; and the Duke finding himself unable to make resistance,

The Duke  
of Suffolk  
raiseth  
Forces to  
assist Wyat.



But is taken, and carried to the Tower.

Queen Mary protests her Marriage for the good of the Kingdom.

stance, having with all his industry gotten together but only fifty men he betook himself to a Tenant of his, one *Underwood*, with whom he hoped, and had promise, to remain undiscovered, till he might have opportunity to escape, as some say; as others, to a Keeper of his Park, called *Nicholas Lawrence*, who kept him in a hollow Oak in the said Park for two or three dayes. But whether *Underwood* or *Lawrence*, either out of fear, or out of hope of reward, he betrayed him to the Earl, by whom he was taken, and under a strong Guard carried to the Tower. Upon this, *Queen Mary* her self came into *London*, where calling the Mayor and chief of the City together, she made an Oration, wherein she shewed the insolency of *Wyat*; who though he pretended but only the crossing of the Marriage, yet was now grown to such presumption, that he required to have the Custody of her Person, and to have Counsellors retained or removed at his pleasure. And as for her Marriage, she there affirmed she had done nothing in it but by the advice of her Council; and for her self, that she was not so longing for a Husband, but that if it were not more for the good of the Kingdom, than for her own Satisfaction, she would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her Speech confirmed the minds of the Citizens, Forces were presently raised and placed about the Bridge, and other fit places of the City. The third of *February*, *Wyat* with an Army of three or four thousand came to *London*, hoping of present entrance; but finding the Bridge broken, and Souldiers placed to resist him, after two dayes stay in *Southwark*, he removed to *Kingstone*, where he found likewise the Bridge broken; yet with great industry suddenly repairing it, he passed over his men, and meant with all speed to get to the Court, before the Queen should have notice of his coming: and had done so indeed, if a mischance, and an error upon that mischance had not hindered him. For being come within six miles of *London*, the Carriage of one of his great Ordnance brake; in mending whereof so much time was spent, (and *Wyat* by no persuasions would go forward without it) that the time was past in which his Friends at *London* expected his coming: which disappointment made many in those parts to fall off, and being perceived by those about him, many of them also; so as one half of his Army was suddenly gone and left him; amongst other, Sir *George Harper*, the most intimate of all his Council, went to the Queen, and discovered all his purposes. Whereupon the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Company levied upon the sudden, was sent against him, who made *Wyat* slack his pace, so as it was Noon before he came to the Suburbs of the City; and then placing his Ordnance upon a Hill, and leaving there the greatest part of his Army, he only with five Ensigns marched towards *Ludgate*, and being encountered at *Charing-Cross* by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir *John Gage*, after a small fight put them to flight in such sort, that word was carried to the Queen, how near *Wyat* approached, and how wonderfully he prevailed all the way he came. With which nothing dismayed, Well then

(said she) I will go in person against him myself; and was preparing to do so indeed, (so much was her Father's Valour running in her veins) but it needed not; for by this time Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Master of the Ordnance, and Sir *Philip Paris* had given him Battel, and slain many of his men. And that which was more, coming to *Ludgate*, he was denied entrance; and then thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of *Pembroke* with his Forces was behind at *Charing-Cross*: so as neither able to go forward, nor yet back-ward, he was at a stand and in amazement, and then leaning a while upon a Stall by the *Bell-Savage*, after a little musing, he returned towards *Temple-Gate*: where *Clarenceaux* the Herald meeting him, fell to persuade him, not to be a cause of more effusion of blood, nor by persisting in obstinacy to exclude all hopes of the Queens mercy. The Soldiers of *Wyat* were earnest with him to have stood it out: but *Wyat* as fillily ending, as he had unadvisedly begun, yielded himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and getting up upon his horse behind him in that manner rode to the Court; where he had not the entertainment he expected, for without more adoe he was presently sent away to the Tower. The Captain taken, the rest made no resistance, few fled, and of the other many were taken and laid in prison: and this was done the sixth of *February*. And now consultation was held what Delinquents should be punished: where the first that was thought on was the Lady *Jane*, in whom was verified, *The Fathers have eaten sour Grapes, and the Childrens teeth are set on edge*; the innocent Lady must suffer for her Fathers fault: for if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not this second time made shipwrack of his Loyalty, his daughter perhaps had never tasted the salt-waters of the Queens displeasure: but now, as a Rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed; and thereupon is Doctor *Fecknam* sent to acquaint her, That she must prepare her self to die the next day. Which Message was so little unpleasing unto her, that she seemed rather to rejoyce at it, as whereby she should at last be set at liberty. And the Doctor being earnest with her to leave her new Religion, and to embrace the old; she answered, She had now no time to think of any thing but of preparing her self to God by Prayer. *Feckman* thinking she had spoken this, to the end she might have some longer time of life, obtained of the Queen three days longer, and then came and told so much to the Lady *Jane*, whereat she smiling said, You are much deceived, if you think I had any desire of longer life; for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death; and since it is the Queens pleasure, I am most willing to undergoe it. Before she was brought to Execution, her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, had made suit, and obtained to see her, and have some conference with her: but she refused it, saying, These were rather augmenters of grief, than comforts of death; she made no doubt, but they should shortly meet in a better place, and in a better condition of society. So on the twelfth of

*Wyat* being denied Entrance at *Ludgate*, retires, and at last yields himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and is sent to the Tower.

The Lady *Jane* hath word sent her to prepare her self to die. Whereat she seemed to rejoyce.

*February*



She is beheaded.

Her Piety and Learning.

Judge Morgan who had given Sentence upon her, falls mad.

The Duke of Suffolk is beheaded.

Wyat is beheaded.

Steph. Gardiner practices against the Lady Elizabeth.

February her Husband the Lord Guilford first, and then she, an hour or two after, was beheaded within the Tower; where she acknowledged her self to have deserved death, not for seeking the Crown, but for not refusing it being offered. And after Prayers to God, unclothing her self, and putting a Handkerchief before her eyes, she laid her Head down upon the Block, and patiently suffered death, more grievous to the beholders than to her self. This end had the Lady Jane Gray, a Lady of incomparable Piety, and (for her years) of incomparable Learning; for being not past seventeen years of age, she understood perfectly the Greek and Latine Tongues, and was so ready in Points of Divinity, as if she knew them by inspiration rather than by instruction: no less a Miracle in this kind than King Edward; and therefore no marvel if he appointed her to succeed him in the Kingdom, who in the endowments of Mind was so like unto him, that whilest she reigned, it might be thought he continued to reign himself, at least no more differing but only the Sex. It may not be forgotten, that Judge Morgan, who at her Arraignment gave the sentence against her, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving, cried continually to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and so ended his life.

Two days after the Execution of the Lady Jane, namely, the fourteenth and fifteenth of February, twenty pair of Gallows were set up in divers places of the City, whereon were hanged fifty of Wyat's Faction. On the eighteenth of February Bret was hanged at Rochester in Chains: Sir Henry Isle, who had been taken in an old freez Coat and an old pair of Hose, with his Brother Thomas Isle, and Walter Mantell, were hanged at Maidstone: Anthony Knevet, and his Brother William, with another of the Mantells, were executed at Sevenock. But then on the twentieth of February, a sprinkling of mercy came, for four hundred of Wyat's followers, being brought before the Queen with halters about their necks, were all pardoned and set at liberty. But then severity soon after began again, for on the three and twentieth of February the Lord Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, and Father to the Lady Jane, who the week before had been arraigned and condemned, was on the Tower-Hill beheaded; and on the eleventh of April in the same place was beheaded (the Author of all this mischief) Wyat himself, whose quarters were set up in divers places of the City, his Head upon the Gallows at Hay-hill, besides Hide-Park. This man, in hope of life, having before accused the Lord Courtney, and the Lady Elizabeth, the Queens Sister, to be privy to his Conspiracy, yet at his death he cleared them, and protested openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his proceedings. Yet was this matter so urged against them by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellour, that both of them in March before had been committed to the Tower, though in May following they were both again released; but yet confined, the Lady Elizabeth to Woodstock, under the custody of Sir Henry Bedingsfield of Oxenborough in the County of

Norfolk; the Lord Courtney to Fotheringhay, under the custody of Sir Thomas Tresham, who after some time was set at liberty, and going into Italy there died. It is memorable, what malice this Bishop Gardiner bore to the Lady Elizabeth, by whose only procurment, not only she was kept in most hard durance, but a Warrant was at last framed under certain Counsellours hands, to put her to death: which had been done, but that Mr. Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her case, went to the Queen to know her pleasure, who utterly denied that she knew any thing of it; by which means her life was preserved. Indeed the Bishop would sometimes say, how they cut off boughs and branches, but as long as they let the root remain, all was nothing: and it is not unworthy the remembring what trains were laid to ensnare her. The common Net at that time for catching of Protestants, was the Real Presence, and this Net was used to catch her: for being asked one time, what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my Body*, whether she thought it the true Body of Christ that was in the Sacrament; it is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered,

*Christ was the Word that spake it:  
He took the Bread, and brake it:  
And what the Word did make it,  
That I believe, and take it.*

Which though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least it served her turn at that time to escape the Net, which by direct answer she could not have done.

On the seventeenth of February, Thomas Lord Gray, the Duke of Suffolks Brother was beheaded, the last, and indeed the least, in Delinquency, that suffered for having any hand in Wyat's Conspiracy. There remained yet a fagg-end, and was indeed but a fagg-end, as nothing worth: for on the same day Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, being accused to have been a party in Wyat's Conspiracy, was at the Guild-Hall arraigned before Sir Thomas White Lord Mayor, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, Sir Thomas Bromley Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Nicholas Hare Master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield Master of the Wards, Sir Richard Somthwell and Sir Edward Walgrave Privy Counsellours, Sir Roger Cholmely, Sir William Portman, one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir Edward Sanders, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Mr. Stamford and Mr. Dyer Serjeants at Law, Mr. Edward Gryffin Attorney-General, Mr. Sendal and Peter Tichborne Clerks of the Crown; where the said Sir Nicholas Throgmorton so fully and discreetly answered all Objections brought against him, that he was found by the Jury Not guilty and was clearly acquitted. But the Jury notwithstanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him, and sent Prisoners, some of them to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and afterward fined to pay a thousand Marks apiece at least, and some two thousands pounds; though these Sums were afterward something mitigated.

He procures a Warrant to put her to death. And how she was preserved.

Thomas Lord Gray, the Duke of Suffolks brother beheaded. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton arraigned, and by the Jury acquitted.

More



Divers of  
Wyats  
Complices  
pardoned.

More of *Wyat's* Complices had been taken, arraigned, and adjudged to die; but in Judgment the Queen remembred Mercy, and gave them their Pardons: of which number were Master *Rudston* of *Kent*, Sir *James a Crofts*, the Lord *John Gray* Brother to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and some others.

Divers  
Lords  
created.

About this time, a little before and after, were advancements in Honour: the Lord *William Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, was created Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*; Sir *John Williams* was created Baron of *Tame*; Sir *Edward North* was Created Baron of *Chartleigh*; Sir *John Bridges* was created Baron *Chandoss* of *Sudely*; *Gerard Fitz-Garret*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Baron of *Ophelley*; and not long after Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the Horse, was created Viscount *Mountague*.

The Impos-  
sure of E-  
lizabeth  
Croft, cal-  
led the  
Spirit in  
the Wall.

It is scarce worth remembring, that in the end of this first year of the Queens Reign, one *Elizabeth Croft*, a Wench of eighteen years old, was by practice put into a Wall, and thereupon called *The Spirit in the Wall*, who, with a Whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many seditious words against the Queen, the Prince of *Spain*, the Mass, Confession, and such other points; for which she did Penance, standing upon a Scaffold at *Paul's Cross* all the Sermon-time, where she made open confession of her fault.

Cranmer,  
Ridley and  
Latimer  
adjudged  
Hereticks,  
and con-  
demned to  
die.

There had been good store of Lay-mens blood shed already, & now the time is coming to have Clergy-mens shed: and for a preparative to it, on the tenth of *April*, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* late Bishop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* late Bishop of *Worcester*, are conveyed from the Tower to *Oxford*, there to dispute with *Oxford* and *Cambridge-men* in Points of Religion, but especially of the Eucharist. The *Oxford-men* were *Cole*, *Chadsey*, *Pye*, *Harpsfield*, *Smith*, and Doctor *Weston* Prolocutor: the *Cambridg-men*, *Young*, *Seaton*, *Watson*, *Atkinson*, *Fecknam*, and *Sedgewick*. The Disputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carried) went against the Prisoners, on the twentieth of *April* they were brought again on the Stage; and then demanded, whether they would persist in their Opinion, or else recant. And affirming they would persist, they were all three adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire: but their Execution we must not look for till a year or two hence. But in the meantime we have *John Rogers*, the first Martyr of these Times, burnt at *London* the fourth of *February*: after whom, the ninth of *February*, *John Hooper*, late Bishop of *Worcester*, burnt at *Gloucester*: after him *Robert Ferrar*, Bishop of *Man*, burnt at *Carmarthen*: after him, *John Bradford*, with many others; and then the two famous men, *Ridley* and *Latimer*, no less famous for their constant deaths than their Religious lives, both burnt at *Oxford* the sixteenth of *October*.

The first  
that suf-  
fered for  
Religion in  
Queen  
Mary's  
time.

This Rising of *Wyat* had been a Remora to the Queen's Marriage; and now to avoid all such obstacles hereafter, the Queen in *April* called a Parliament, wherein were propounded two things; one for Confirmation of the Marriage, the other for restoration of the Popes Primacy. This latter was not assented to but with great

difficulty; for the six years Reign of King *Edward* had spread a plantation of the Protestant Religion in the hearts of many: but the Proposition for the Marriage was assented to readily, but yet with the adding of some conditions, which had not been thought of in the former Articles. 1. That King *Philip* should admit of no Stranger in any Office, but only Natives. 2. That he should innovate nothing in the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom. 3. That he should not carry the Queen out of the Realm, without her consent, nor any of her Children, without consent of the Council. 4. That surviving the Queen, he should challenge no right in the Kingdom, but suffer it to descend to the next Heir. 5. That he should carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor suffer any Ships or Ordnance to be removed out of the Realm. And lastly, That neither directly nor indirectly, he should cause the Realm of *England* to be intangled with the War between *Spain* and *France*.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of *Bedford* Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord *Fitz-waters*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are sent into *Spain*, to fetch over Prince *Philip*; who arrived at *Southampton* the twentieth of *July*, in the year 1554. and the three and twentieth came to *Winchester*, where the Queen met him, and the five and twentieth the Marriage between them there was openly solemnized: (the disparity of years, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but seven and twenty years of age, she eight and thirty.) At which time the Emperours Embassadors being present, openly declared, that in Consideration of that Marriage, the Emperour had given to Prince *Philip* his Son, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Hierusalem*. And thereupon (the solemnity of Marriage being ended) *Garret* King of *Heralds* openly in the Church, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Lords both of *England* and *Spain*, solemnly proclaimed the Title and Style of these two Princes, as followeth: *Philip* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Hierusalem*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of *Spain*, and *Sicily*; Arch-Dukes of *Austria*; Dukes of *Millain*, *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*; Counts of *Habsburg*, *Flanders*, and *Tyroll*. After this, the King and Queen by easie journeys came to *Windsor Castle*, where the King was installed Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of *Suffex* with him. The eleventh of *August* they removed to *Richmond*, the seven & twentieth to *Suffolk-Place* in *Southwark*, and the next day to *London*, (where the stately Shews that were made may well enough be conceived without relating:) from hence after four days they removed again to *Richmond*, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries: and indeed so many departed, that there remained not an English Lord at the Court but the Bishop of *Winchester*. From *Richmond* they removed to *Hampton-Court*, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept shut, so as no man might enter, unless his errand were first known; which might perhaps be the fashion of *Spain*, but to Englishmen seemed very strange.

About this time Cardinal *Poole*, sent for by

T t

The Con-  
ditions of  
the Queens  
Marriage  
with  
Prince  
*Philip*.

1554.

The Earl  
of *Bedford*  
is sent into  
*Spain*, to  
fetch over  
Prince  
*Philip*.  
The Mar-  
riage be-  
tween him  
and the  
Queen is  
solemniz-  
ed.

Their  
Style.

A bare  
and close  
Court.



Cardinal  
Poole is  
sent for by  
the King  
and Queen  
to come  
into Eng-  
land.

Being  
come, he  
makes a  
solemn  
speech to  
the Parlia-  
ment, ex-  
horting  
them to  
return to  
the bosom  
of the  
Church.  
The Parli-  
ament de-  
sires Par-  
don of  
their for-  
mer Er-  
rors.

And  
thereupon  
the Car-  
dinal gives  
the whole  
Realm Ab-  
solution.

The Par-  
liament  
will not  
yield that  
King Phi-  
lip should  
be Crown-  
ed

1555

the King and Queen, came over into England; and had come sooner; but that the Emperour, fearing he might prove a Corival with his Son Philip, had used means to stop his passage; but now that his Son's Marriage was past, he was content to let him pass: who though he came from Rome with the great authority of a Legate à Latere, yet he would not but come privately into London, because his Attainder was yet upon Record. An act therefore was presently passed to take it off, and to restore him in blood. For passing of which Act, the King & Queen in Person came to the Parliament-House, whither a few days after the Cardinal came himself; which was then kept in the great Chamber of White-hall, because the Queen, by reason of sickness, was not well able to go abroad. And here the King and Queen sitting under the Cloath of Estate, and the Cardinal on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights and Burgeses being present, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellour, made a short Speech unto them, signifying the presence of the Lord Cardinal, and that he was sent from the Pope as his Legate à Latere, to do a Work tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which (saith he) you may much better hear from his own mouth. Then the Cardinal rose up, and made a long solemn Oration, wherein he first thanked them for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a Member of their Society: Then exhorting them to return into the bosom of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemn, but to reconcile; not to compel, but to call and require. And for their first work of Reconcilement, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Laws as had formerly been made in derogation of the Catholick Religion. After which Speech, the Parliament, going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two dayes after they presented to the King and Queen; wherein they shewed themselves to be very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly desired their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be Pardoned of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosom of the Church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of Rome. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinal, he then gave them Absolution in these words; [We, by the Apostolick Authority given unto Us, by the most Holy Lord Pope Julius the Third, (Christ's Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Heresie and Schism, and from all Judgments, Censures, and Pains for that cause incurred. And also We do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother the Holy Church.] The report hereof coming to Rome, was cause that a solemn Procession was made for joy of the Conversion of England to the Church of Rome. And now the Queen had a great desire to have King Philip Crowned, but to this the Parliament would by no means assent.

In October this second year of her Reign a rumour was spread of the Queens being with child, and so forward, that she was quick; and

thereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Council to Bonner Bishop of London, that Prayers of Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it self was so credulous of it, that they entred into consideration of the Education of the Child, and made an Act, desiring the King, (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queen should fail, he would be pleased to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Child. But after all this, in June following, it came to be known that it was but a Tympany; or at least the Queen so miscarried, that there was no Child, nor the Queen likely ever after to have any. But howsoever, in hope of the joy that was expected; in January this year; divers of the Council, as the Lord Chancellour, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Controller of the Queens House, Secretary Bourne, and Sir Richard Southwell Master of the Ordinance, were sent to the Tower, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the Tower; as namely, the late Duke of Northumberland's Sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, also Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir John Rogers, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Sentlow, Sir Gomen Carow, William Gybbs Esquire, Cuthbert Vaughan, and some others.

About this time one William Fetherstone, a Millers Son, of the age of eighteen years, named and bruted himself to be King Edward the Sixth: for which being apprehended and examined, he answered as one Lunatick, and thereupon was whipped at the Carts tail, and banished into the North. But the year after, spreading abroad again that King Edward was alive, and that he had talked with him, he was arraigned and condemned of Treason, and at Tyburn hanged and quartered.

In the month of March the Queen was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her four of her Privy Council, namely, William Marquess of Winchester Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Rochester Controller, Sir William Peter Secretary, and Sir Francis Englefield Master of the Wards, and signified unto them, That it went against her Conscience to hold the Lands and Possessions, as well of Monasteries and Abbeys, as of other Churches, and therefore she did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed as the Pope and the Lord Cardinal should think fit; and thereupon charged them to acquaint the Cardinal with her purpose. And shortly after, in performance hereof, John Fecknam, late Dean of Pauls, was made Abbot of Westminster, and had possession delivered him, and with him fourteen Monks received the Habit at the same time: and on the twentieth of November, Sir Thomas was instituted Lord of St. Johns of Hierusalem, and was put in possession of the Lands belonging unto it. And when it was told her, that this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown; she answered, She more valued the salvation of her Soul, than a thousand Crowns. A most religious speech, and enough, if there were but this, to shew her to be a most Pious Prince.

The Queen is preached in Churches to be with child, and prayers made for her safe delivery; but proved no such thing.

Divers that were in the Tower condemned are set at liberty.

One Fetherstone, a Millers Son, takes upon him to be King Edward the Sixth.

Is taken and hanged at Tyburn.

The Queen delivers up all the Lands of Monasteries that were in her hands.

The



King Philip goes into Flanders, where he stays eighteen months.

The fourth of September this year King Philip, waited on with the Earl of Arundel Lord Steward, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Huntington, and others, went over to Calice, and from thence to Brussels in Brabant, to visit the Emperour his Father; who delivering him possession of the Low-Countries, in March following he returned into England; but on the sixth of July following, by reason of Wars with France, he passed again over to Calice, and so into Flanders, from whence he returned not till eighteen months after. Which made great muttering amongst the Common people, as though he took any little occasion to be absent, for the little love he bore to the Queen.

1556.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester dies a strange death.

Bishop Cranmer upon hope of life recants.

Yet is brought to the stake and burnt: where he burns his hand first. When his whole body was burnt, his heart remained untoucht of the fire.

In the third year of the Queen died Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, at his house in Southwark. Of whose death it is memorable, that the same day in which Bishop Ridley and Mr. Latimer suffered at Oxford, he would not go to Dinner till four a clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of Norfolk was come to dine with him: the reason was, because he would first hear of their being burnt; and as soon as word of that was brought him, he presently said, Now let us go to Dinner; where sitting down, and eating merrily, upon a sudden he fell into such extremity, that he was fain to be taken from the Table and carried to his Bed; where he continued fifteen days, without voiding any thing either by Urine or otherwise; which caused his Tongue to swell in his mouth, and so he died. After whose death, Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York was made Lord Chancellour.

And now comes the time of Archbishop Cranmer's Execution, who the year before had been condemned, and degraded by Commission from the Pope: after which, being by the subtilty of some put in hope of life, out of frailty he subscribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinal Poole would no longer be kept from being Archbishop, (which he could not be as long as he lived) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget his being the chief Instrument of her Mothers Divorce, his Execution was resolved to be the fourteenth of February, in the same place at Oxford, where Ridley and Latimer five months before had died. Before the Execution, Doctor Cole preached, who, to make use of Cranmer's Recantation, told the people, they should do well to hearken to this Learned mans Confession, who now at his death, and with his death, would testify which was the true Religion; never thinking that Cranmer would have denied his former Recantation. But Cranmer being brought to the Stake, (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, that through frailty he had subscribed it, praying God heartily to forgive it; and now for a punishment, that Hand which had done it should first suffer: and therewithall thrusting his right Hand into the fire, he there held it, till it first, and then his whole body was consumed; onely (which was no smal miracle) his heart remained whole, and not once touched with the fire. The same year also, no fewer then eighty four of both Sexes were burnt for Religion. And it was a cruelty very far extended, that the bones of Bucer and Fagius, some time before dead and buried,

were taken up, and publicly burnt in Cambridge. No sooner was Cranmer dead, but the very same day was Cardinal Poole made Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the fourth year of the Queen, exemplary Justice was done upon a great Person: for the Lord Stourton, a man much in the Queens favour, as being an earnest Papist, was for a Murther committed by him arraigned and condemned, and he (with four of his Servants) carried to Salisbury, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour, to be hanged in a silken Halter; his Servants in places near adjoining to the place where the Murther was committed.

The four and twentieth of April, Tho. Stafford, second Son to the Lord Stafford, with others to the number of two and thirty persons, (set on by the French King) attempted to raise Sedition against the Queen, for marrying with King Philip; and coming out of France, arrived at Scarborough in Yorkshire, where they took the Castle, but within two days were driven out by the Earl of Westmorland, and then taken and arraigned. The eight and twentieth of May, Stafford was beheaded on the Tower-Hill; and the next day three of his Associates, Strelly, Bradford, and Proctor were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there executed. The first of May, Thomas Percy was first made Knight, after Lord, and the next day was created Earl of Northumberland; to whom the Queen gave all the Lands that had been his Ancestors.

At this time the Queen intangled her self (contrary to her promise) in her Husbands Quarrel; sent a defiance to the French King, by Clarenceaux King at Arms; and after on the Monday in the Whitsun-week, by sound of Trumpet, proclaimed open War against him in Cheapside, and other places of the City; and shortly after, caused an Army of a thousand Horse, and four thousand Foot, to be transported over, to the aid of her Husband King Philip, under the leading of the Earl of Pembroke Captain-General, Sir Anth. Brown Viscount Montague Lieutenant-General, the Lord Gray of Wilton Lord Marshal, the Earl of Rutland General of the Horse, the Earl of Lincoln Colonel of the Foot, the Lord Robert Dudley Master of the Ordnance, the Lord Tho. Howard, the Lord De la Ware, the Lord Bray, the Lord Chandoy, the Lord Ambrose Dudley, the Lord Henry Dudley, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joyning with King Philip's Forces, they all set down before S. Quintins, a Town of the French Kings of great importance. To the rescue whereof, the French King sent an Army, under the leading of the Countable of France, which consisted of nine hundred men at Arms, with as many light Horse, eight hundred Reysters, two and twenty Ensigns of Lancequenets, and sixteen Ensigns of French Footmen. Their purpose was, not to give battel, but to put more Succours into the Town; which the Philippians perceiving, encountred them, and in the fight slew John of Bourbon Duke of Anguine, the Viscount of Torrain, the Lord of Chadenier, with many Gentlemen of account. They took prisoners the Duke of Memorancy Constable of France, the Duke of Montpensier, Duke Longueville,

1557.

The Lord Stourton for a Murther is hanged in a silken halter.

Thomas Stafford for raising Sedition arraigned and beheaded.

Thomas Percy made Earl of Northumberland.

Queen Mary sends aid to King Philip, with which he besieges and takes S. Quintins.



the Marshall of *Saint Andrews*, the Lord *Lewis* Brother to the Duke of *Mantoua*, the Baron of *Courton*, the *Rhinegrave* Colonel of the *Almanes*, Monsieur *d'Obigny*, Monsieur *de Biron*, and many others; and then pursuing the Victory, under the Government of the Earl of *Pembroke*, on the seven and twentieth of *August*, they took the Town of *S. Quintins*: in the assault whereof, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, youngest Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was with a piece of great Ordnance slain, and some other of account. The Saccage of the Town *K. Philip* gave to the *English*, as by whose valour chiefly it was won.

The causes and means of losing Callice.

1558.

The joy was not so great for this winning of *S. Quintins*, but there will be a greater sorrow presently for other losses. Many of the Garrison of *Callice* had been drawn from thence for service of *S. Quintins*, and no new supply sent: which being perceived by the *French King*, a Plot is laid how to surprize it; which yet was not so secretly carried, but that the Officers of *Callice* had intelligence thereof; who thereupon signified it to the Council of *England*, requiring speedy Succours, without which against so great an Army as was raised against them, they should not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to their relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger so imminent as indeed it was, they neglected to send Supplies till it was too late. For the Duke of *Guise*, with no less speed than Policy, took such a course, that at one and the same time he set both upon *Newnham-Bridge*, and also upon *Ricebank*, (the two main Sconces for defence of the Town) and took them both; and then fell presently to batter the Walls of the Castle it self, and that with such violence of great Ordnance, that the noise was heard to *Antwerp*, being a hundred miles off. But having made the Walls assailable, the *English* used this Stratagem, they laid trains of Powder to blow them up, when they should offer to enter: but this Stratagem succeeded not; for the *French* in passing the Ditch had so wet their cloths, that dropping upon the Train, the Powder would take no fire, (so all things seemed to concur against the *English*.) And thereupon the Castle was taken also; and with it the Town also had been taken, but that Sir *Anthony Ager*, with the loss of his own life, and his eldest Sons, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the *French*. But their numbers increased so fast upon the Town, that the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, seeing no other way of safety, demanded Parlee; where a Composition was made, That the Town should presently be yielded to the *French King*, the lives of the Inhabitants onely saved, and safe conduct to pass away, saving the Lord Deputy, with fifty other, such as the Duke should name. And here to be quit with the *English* for their hard usage at *S. Quintins*, the Duke caused Proclamation to be made, that all and every person of the Town should bring their Money, Jewels and Plate, to the value of a Groat, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church: by which means, an inestimable sum of treasure was there offered, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enriched a Town. And now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out

against so great an Army, it is said, there were in it but onely five hundred Souldiers of ordinary, and scarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women and children, four thousand and two hundred: all which were suffered to depart, saving the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlain* Captain of the Castle, *John Hurlestone* Captain of *Ricebank*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captain of *Newnham-bridge*, *Edward Grimston* the Controller, *John Rogers* the Surveyor, with others to the number of fifty, who were all carried prisoners into *France*. And thus *Callice*, which had been in possession of the *English* above two hundred years, was won from the *English* in eight days, which King *Edward* the Third had not won from the *French* in less then a year. The Lord *Wentworth* was suspected, and in Queen *Elizabeth's* time arraigned for betraying it; but was acquitted by his Peers. *Callice* thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to *Guines*, five miles distant, whereof was Captain the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who held out the siege and batteries five or six days, with so great valour and resolution, that he appeared in nothing inferiour to the Enemy but in multitude: yet at last overlaid with their numbers, and importuned by his Souldiers, much against his own will, he made composition, that the Town and Castle should be wholly rendred, himself and all Officers remain prisoners, all other to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The Lord *Gray* was afterward ransomed for four and twenty thousand Crowns. And now the Duke of *Guise* considering that *Guines* would be too costly a Castle to be kept, and too dangerous a Neighbour to *Callice*, if it should be recovered, razed it with the Bulwarks and Fortifications to the ground. *Guines* thus won, there remained nothing within the *English* Pale, but the little Castle of *Hammes*, whereof was Captain the Lord *Edward Dudley*; who considering, that though it were naturally strongly situate, as being invironed with Fens and Marshes, yet it had but little helps by Art of Fortifications, and being assured that the Duke of *Guise* would speedily come upon him, he secretly in the night with all his Garrison departed into *Flanders*; so as the Castle was not won, but taken by the Duke of *Guise*; and with the loss of this Castle, the *English* lost all their footing in *Terra Firma*, and the Kings of *England* all the reality of their Title in *France*, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

*Guines* also won by the *French*.

And so the *English* lost all their footing in *France*.

Presently after this, the *French King* caused the Marriage between his eldest Son *Francis* the Dauphin, and *Mary Stuart*, sole Heir of *James* the Fifth King of *Scotland*, to be solemnized: whereupon great Wars ensued soon after between *England* and *Scotland*.

The Dauphin of *France* marries *Mary Stuart* Heir of *Scotland*.

Queen *Mary* being infinitely troubled in mind for the loss of *Callice*, sent presently forth her Admiral the Lord *Clinton*, with a Fleet of more than a hundred Sail, to recover at least reparation in honour, by doing some exploit upon *France*; who not finding opportunity to set upon *Brest*, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of *Conquest*, which he took and burnt, and also divers Villages thereabouts, and then returned. In which mean time many great Conflicts having



An agree-  
ment of  
peace be-  
tween King  
Philip and  
the King  
of France;  
but only  
want of  
restitution  
of Callice.  
Queen  
Mary dies.

having been between King Philip and the King of France; at last, by mediation of the Dutcheſs of Lorrain, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things ſeemed to be well accorded, but only that King Philip by all means required reſtitution of Callice, to which by no means the French would aſſent. But whilſt they ſtood upon theſe terms, it hapned that firſt the Emperor Charles, King Philips Father, died, and ſhortly after Queen Mary, and the day after Cardinal Poole, and ſhortly after Sir John Baker of Siſſingberſt in Kent, who had been a Privy Counſellour to Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary. And ſo our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of France and Spain.

Of her Taxations.

SHE began with a rare example; for in the firſt year of her Reign, was pardoned, by Proclamation, the Subſidy of four ſhillings the pound of Land, and two ſhillings the pound of Goods, granted in the laſt Parliament of King Edward the Sixth. In her ſecond year, in a Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen a Subſidy of the Laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds upwards, ſixteen pence in the pound: all Strangers double, and the Clergy ſix ſhillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time, there came no new charge upon her people; for one Subſidy remitted, and one received, made but even. In her laſt year ſhe borrowed twenty thouſand pounds of the City of London; and paid twelve pounds a year Inter-eſt for every hundred pound.

Laws and Ordinances in her time.

New Coins  
of Gold &  
Silver.

Meat and  
Drink for-  
bidden to  
be ſold to  
any Ser-  
ving-man,  
without a  
Testimo-  
nial whom  
he ſerved.

The Coun-  
ter in  
Woodſtree  
firſt made  
a Priſon.

IN her firſt year, on the fourth of September, were proclaimed certain new Coins of Gold and Silver; a Sovereign of Gold of thirty ſhillings, the half Sovereign fifteen ſhillings, an Angel of ten ſhillings, the half Angel five ſhillings: of Silver, the groat, the half groat, and penny. All theſe Coyns to be currant as before. In her ſecond year, Proclamation was made, forbidding the ſhooting in Hand-guns, and bearing of weapons. The year in which ſhe was married to King Philip, a ſtrait charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners and Alehouſe-keepers, that they ſhould ſell no meat nor drink, nor any kind of victuals, to any Serving-man whatſoever, unleſs he brought a teſtimonial to ſhew whoſe ſervant he was. Alſo in a Parliament holden this year, amongſt other Acts, the Statute Ex Officio and other Laws made for the puniſhment of Hereſies, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Diſpenſation of Abbey-Lands was there confirmed. In her ſecond year, on Michalemas even, the Priſoners that lay in the Counter in Breadſtreet were removed to a new Counter made in Woodſtreet, of the Citys purchase and building; the which removing was confirmed by the common Council of the City.

Affairs of the Church in her time.

IN the firſt year of this Queens Reign, all Biſhops which had been deprived in the time of King Edward the Sixth were reſtored to their Biſhopricks, and the new removed; alſo all benefited men that were Married, or would not forſake their Opinion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms. Alſo this year, on the ſeven and twentieth of Auguſt, the Service begun to be ſung in Latine in Pauls Church. Alſo this year the Popes Authority was by Act of Parliament reſtored in England, and the Maſs commanded in all Churches to be uſed. In her ſecond year the Realm was Abſolved, and reconciled to the Church of Rome by Cardinal Poole; and Firſt-fruits and Tenths were reſtored to the Clergy; but this was ſoon revoked, the Council finding the neceſſity of it for the Queens ſupport. In her fourth year Monafteries were begun to be re-edified; of which number were that of Weſtmiſter, that of Sheen and Sion, that of the Black-Fryers, and the Fryers of Greenwich. Of the number of thoſe that died for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Biſhops, one and twenty Divines; and of all ſorts of Men and Women, two hundred threeſcore and ſeventeen.

Works of Piety done by her, or others, in her time.

THIS Queen reſtored a great part of Abbey-lands that were in her poſſeſſion, and if ſhe had lived longer, very likely ſhe would have reſtored more. In her firſt year, Sir Thomas White, then Mayor, erected a Colledge in Oxford, now called St. Johns Colledge; before, Bernard Colledge. He alſo erected Schools at Briſtow and Reading, and gave two thouſand pounds to the City of Briſtow to purchaſe Lands, the profits whereof to be employed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten years, and after that to be employed in like manner to the benefit of two and twenty other Shires and Cities. In her third year died Sir John Greſham, late Mayor of London, who founded a Free School at Holt in Norfolk, and gave to every Ward in London ten pounds to be diſtributed to the Poor; alſo to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. Cuthbert Tunſtal Biſhop of Durham erected a goodly Library in Cambridge, ſtoring it with many excellent both Printed and Written Books: he alſo beſtowed much upon building at Durham, at Alnewick, and at Tunbridge.

Casualties happening in her time.

IN her firſt year, on the ſeven and twentieth of Auguſt, the goodlieſt Ship in England, called The Great Harry, being of the burthen of a thouſand Tun, was burnt at Woolwich by negligence of the Mariners. In her ſecond year, on the fifteenth of February, appeared in the Skie a Rainbow reverſed, the Bow turned downward, and the two ends ſtanding upward; alſo two Suns ſhined at one time a good diſtance aſunder:



Pease  
growing  
plentifully  
where ne-  
ver sowed.

The price  
of Wheat  
and Malt  
in a dearth  
and in a  
plenty.

A marvel-  
lous Tem-  
pest.

asunder: which were taken for ill signs. This year also in the month of *August*, at a place in *Suffolk* by the Sea-side, all of hard stone and pebble, lying between the Towns of *Orford* and *Alborough*, where never grass grew, nor any earth was ever seen, there chanced suddenly to spring up, without any tillage or sowing, so great abundance of Peason, that the Poor gathered above a hundred quarters; yet there remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as many as were before. In her fourth year, hot burning Agues and other strange Diseases took away much people: so as between the twentieth of *October* and the last of *December* there died seven Aldermen, namely, *Henry Heardson*, *Sir Richard Dobbs* late Mayor, *Sir William Laxton* late Mayor, *Sir Henry Hobblethorn* late Mayor, *Sir John Champneys* late Mayor, *Sir John Ayleph* late Mayor, and *Sir John Gresham* late Mayor. In her fourth year, before Harvest, Wheat was sold for four Marks the quarter, Malt at four and forty shillings the quarter, and Pease at six and forty shillings and eight pence; where after Harvest, Wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, Malt at six shillings eight pence, Rye at three shillings four pence the quarter. In the Country, Wheat was sold for four shillings the quarter, Malt at four shillings eight pence, and in some places a bushel of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was four pence. In her fifth year, within a mile of *Nottingham*, so marvelous a Tempest of thunder happened, that it beat down all the Houses and Churches in two Towns thereabouts, cast the Bells to the outside of the Church-yard, and some webs of Lead four hundred foot into the field, writhen as if it had been leather; the River of *Trent* running between the two Towns, the Water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against Trees, with the violence whereof the Trees were pulled up by the Roots, and cast twelve score off: also a Child was taken forth of a mans hand, and carried two spears length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which Fall it died: five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished: also there fell some Hail-stones that were fifteen inches about. This year also in Harvest-time was a great Mortality, and especially of Priests, so as many Churches were unserved, and much corn was lost in the field for want of Workmen; whereupon infused a great scarcity, so that Corn was sold for fourteen shillings a quarter, and Wood sold in *London* for thirteen shillings a thousand of Billets, and Coals ten pence a sack. Also this year, on the last of *September*, fell so great store of Rain, that *Westminster-Hall* was full of water, and Boats were rowed over *Westminster-Bridge* into *Kings-Street*.

#### Of her Personage and Conditions.

Of her Personage we can make no particular description; only we may say, she was none of the most amiable, but yet without Deformity. But of her Conditions we may say, she was not without Deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we account her Religion a Deformity; yet her constancy and devotion in it we must needs count a beauty. If it were a

Deformity to promise the *Suffolk*-men, not to alter the Religion which King *Edward* had established; yet it was certainly a pious dissimulation, *Cretizare cum Cretensibus*; and Equivocation (will some say) was there a vertue, where she deceived them into truth, and did them good against their wills. And as for her Sister *Elizabeth*, if she did not love her, it was but a quality hereditary in her; for their Mothers did not love one another before: and indeed not without some cause in both; for as those upbraided each others Marriage, so these each others Birth. We shall not do her right, if we deny her to be of a merciful disposition, seeing oftentimes she pitied the person, where she shed the blood. She could have found in her heart to have spared the Lady *Jane's* life, if *Ragion di stato* had not been against it; and she did spare her Father the Duke of *Suffolks* life, till his second offence gave her just provocation. The goodness of her nature might be seen in the badness of her fortune, who took nothing so much to heart, as unkindness of friends; the revolt of *Callice*, and the absence of King *Philip*, being the two chief Causes that brought her to her end.

#### Of her Death and Burial.

THE Conceit of her being with child had kept Physicians from looking into the state of her body; so as her first Distemper at first neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropsie, to which was added a burning Fever, brought upon her by a double grief, one for the long absence of King *Philip*, (who had now been away a year and a half) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loss of *Callice*; as she forbore not to say to some about her, that if they looked into her Heart, being dead, they should find *Callice* there. She began to fall sick in *September*, and died at her Mannor of *Saint James* on the seventeenth of *November*, in the year 1558. when she had reigned five years, four months, and eleven dayes; lived three and forty years. Her Body was interred in a Chappel in the Minster of *St. Peters Church* at *Westminster*, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

#### Men of Note in her time.

OF Men of Valour in her time there were many, as may be seen in the Story of her Reign: but to name some for example, there was *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the chief assistant of King *Philip* in the winning of *St. Quintyns*; there was *William Lord Gray of Wilton*, Captain of *Guysnes*, who though he yielded the Town, yet more out of tenderness to his Souldiers, than out of fear of his Enemies, which he never else would have yielded up: and to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was *Sir Anthony Ager*, who in defence of the Town of *Callice* lost his life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and flee. Of Learned men also there were very many: as *John Rogers*, born in *Lancashire*, who translated the Bible into *English* with Notes; *Richard Moryson* Knight, born in *Oxfordshire*, who wrote divers



*Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of Durham, whose Ancestor was Barber to the Conqueror. divers Treatises, *Robert Record*, a Doctor of Physick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick; *Cuthbert Tunstall*, of a Worshipfull Family in Lancashire, though base born, whose Ancestor came into England with the Conqueror as his Barber, and therefore hath three Combs his Arms, Bishop first of London, and after of Durham, who wrote divers learned Works; *Richard Sampson* Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who wrote certain Treatises; *Lucas Shepheard*, born at Colchester in Essex, an English Poet; *Jane Dudley*, Daughter to Henry Gray Duke of Suffolk, wrote divers excellent Treatises; *William Thomas* a Welshman, who wrote the History of Italy, and other things; *James Brooks* and *John Standish*, both of them Writers in defence of the Pope's Doctrine; *William Peryn* a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Mass, and also divers Sermons; *Henry Lord Stafford*, Son to Edward Duke of Buckingham, who, amongst other things which he wrote, translated a Book out of Latin into English, entituled *Utriusque Potestatis Differentia*; which Book (as some think) was first compiled by *Edward Fox* Bishop of Hereford; *John Hopkins* who translated divers of Davids Psalms into English Metre, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the Church.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first year,  
Sir *Thomas White* was Mayor.  
*Thomas Offley*, *William Hewet*, Sheriffs.

In her second year,  
Sir *John Lion* was Mayor.  
*David Woodroffe*, *William Chester*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,  
Sir *William Garret*, or *Gerrard*, was Mayor.  
*Thomas Lee*, or *Leigh*, *John Machel*, Sheriffs.

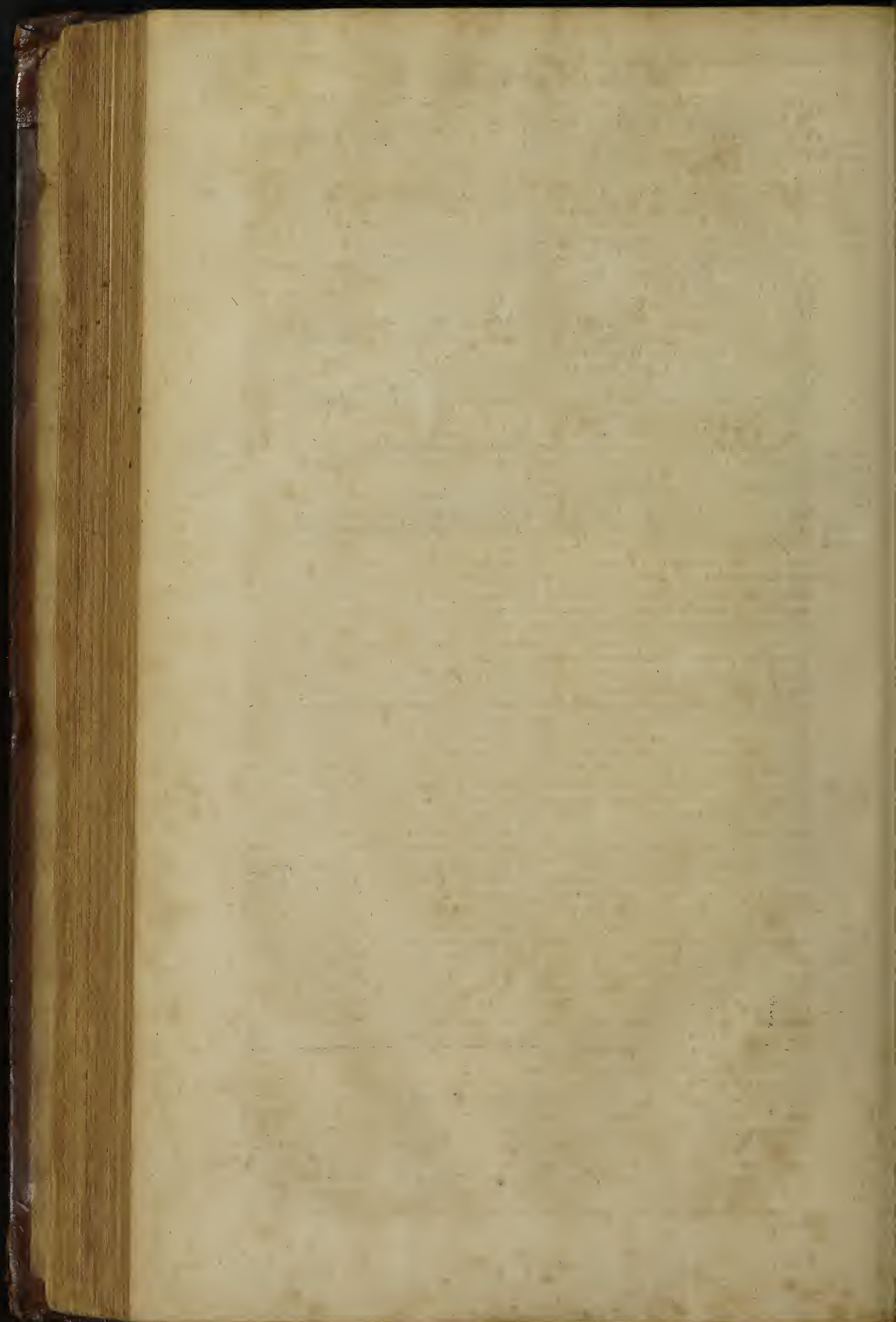
In her fourth year,  
Sir *Thomas Offley* was Mayor.  
*William Harper*, *John White*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,  
Sir *Thomas Curteis* was Mayor.  
*Richard Mallory*, *James Altham*, Sheriffs.

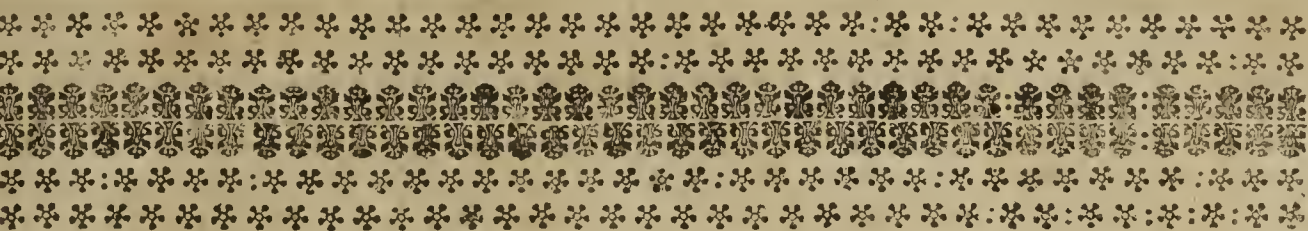
In her sixth year,  
Sir *Thomas Lee*, or *Leigh*, was Mayor.  
*John Halsey*, *Richard Champion*, Sheriffs.

The









# The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

1558.



QUEEN Mary dying on Thursday the seventeenth of November, in the Year 1558. her Sister, the Lady Elizabeth, of the Age of five and twenty years, the onely surviving Child of King Henry the VIII. by undoubted Right suc-

ceeded her in the Crown: which happening in a time of Parliament, Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellour, sent to the Knights and Burgeses in the Lower House, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper House; to whom he signified, that Queen Mary was that morning dead, and therefore required their Assents to joyn with the Lords in proclaiming Queen Elizabeth: which accordingly was done by the sound of Trumpet, first at Westminster, and after in the City of London. The Queen was then at Hatfield, from whence on Wednesday the three and twentieth of November she removed to the Lord North's House in the Charter-House, where she stayed till Monday the eight and twentieth of November, and then rode in her Chariot through London to the Tower; where she continued till the fifth of December, and then removed to Somerset-House in the Strand; from whence she went to her Palace at Westminster, and from thence, on the twelfth of January, to the Tower, and on the fourteenth of January to Westminster to her Coronation: whither as she went, she said this Prayer.

O Lord, Almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast spared me to this joyfull day: and I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy faithfull Servant Daniel whom thou deliveredst out of the Den, from the cruelty of the raging Lions; even so was I overwhelmed, and onely by thee delivered. To thee therefore onely be thanks, honour and praise for ever.

And it is incredible, what Pageants and

Shews were made in the City as she passed. On Sunday, the five and twentieth of January, she was Crowned in the Abbey-Church at Westminster, by Doctor Oglethorp Bishop of Carlisle, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in such case accustomed. At this time, to honour her Coronation, she conferred more Honour, than in all her time after. William Parre, degraded by Queen Mary, she made Marques of Northampton; Edward Seymour, whose Father had been Attainted, she made Earl of Hartford; Thomas Howard, second Son to the Duke of Norfolk, she made Viscount Bindon; Sir Henry Carie, her Cousin-german, she made Baron of Hunsdon; and Sir Oliver Saint-John she made Baron of Blembo.

And now the Queen, though she were her self very wise, yet would not trust (and it was a great point of wisdom that she would not trust) to her own wisdom; and therefore she chose Counsellours to assist her. In which number she took Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, William Pawlet Marques of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer, Henry Fitz-Allen Earl of Arundell, Francis Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Stanley Earl of Derby, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Edward Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, and William Lord Howard of Effingham, Sir Thomas Cheiney, Sir William Peter, Sir Richard Sackville, and Nicholas Winton Dean of Canterbury; all which had been Counsellours to Queen Mary, and were of her Religion. But then to make a counterpoise of Counsellours of her own Religion, she joyned with them, William Parre Marques of Northampton, Francis Russell Earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parrey, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, and Sir William Cecil, late Secretary to King Edward the Sixth; and a little after Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her State at home, she seeks correspondence with Princes abroad. To the Emperour Ferdinand, she sent in Embassage Sir Thomas Chaloner; to the King of Spain in the Low-Countries, the

She is Crowned.

Divers Lords created.

She makes of her Privy Council as well Papists as Protestants.

She sends Ambassadors to all Princes abroad.



Lord Cobham; to the Princes of Germany, Sir Henry Killigrew, Sir Armigill Waad to the Duke of Holstein, and another Ambassador to the King of Denmark. There were also Ambassadors sent to the Pope, to the State of Venice, and to the French King; with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at Cambray, between the Kingdoms of France, England and Spain: where for England, were employed the Earl of Arundell, Thursby Bishop of Ely, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury; with whom William Lord Howard of Effingham was joined by a new Commission.

King Philip solicited Queen Elizabeth for Marriage.

Whom she puts off, by bringing in an alteration of Religion: which yet she doth by degrees.

The alteration of Religion by Parliament, by the difference only of six voices.

As soon as King Philip heard of the death of his Wife Queen Mary, partly out of considerations of State, and partly out of affection of love, he solicited Queen Elizabeth by his Ambassador, the Earl of Feria, to joyn in Marriage with himself; it being no more for two Sisters to have successively one Husband, than was done before, for two Brothers to have successively one Wife; and for this he promised to procure a Dispensation from the Pope. To which Motion the Queen, though she well knew, that to allow a Dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own Birth illegitimate; yet to so great a Prince, and who in her Sisters time had done her many favours, she would not return so blunt an Answer; but putting the Ambassador off for the present in modest terms, she conceived there would be no better way to take him off clean from further suit, than by bringing in an alteration of Religion: which yet she would not do all at once, and upon the sudden, (as knowing the great danger of sudden changes,) but by little and little, and by degrees. As at first she permitted only Epistles and Gospels, the Ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed, to be read to the people in the English Tongue; in all other matters they were to follow the Roman Rite and Custom, until order could be taken for establishment of Religion by Authority of Parliament; & a severe Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting all Points of Controversie to be meddled with. By which means, she both put the Protestants in hope, and put not the Papists out of hope. Yet privately she committed the correcting of the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the English Tongue under King Edw. the Sixth, to the care and diligence of Dr. Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindhall, Whitehead and Pilkington, Divines of great Learning, with whom she joyned Sir Thomas Smith, a learned Knight: but the matter carried so closely, that it was not communicated to any, but to the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, and Sir William Cecil. The two and twentieth of March, the use of the Lords Supper in both kinds was by Parliament allowed. The four and twentieth of June, the Sacrifice of the Mass was abolished, and the Liturgy in the English Tongue established; though, as some say, but with the difference of six Voices. In July the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Bishops and others: And in August, Images were removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By these degrees Religion was changed; and yet the Change, to the wonder of the world, bred no disturbance; which if it had been done at once, and on the sudden, would hardly, at least not without dangerous opposition, have been admitted.

During this time, a Parliament had been summoned to begin at Westminster upon the fifteenth of January: and now the Queen for satisfaction of the People appointed a Conference to be held between the Prelates of the Realm, & Protestant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm in the time of Queen Mary. For the Prelates were chosen John White, Bishop of Winchester; Ralph Bayne, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln; Doctor Cole, Dean of Pauls; Doctor Langdell, Archdeacon of Lewis; Doctor Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and Doctor Chadsey, Archdeacon of Middlesex. For the Protestant side were appointed Doctor Scory, Doctor Cox, Doctor Sands, Doctor Whitehead, Doctor Grindall, Master Horne, Master Guest, Master Elmer, and Master Jewel. The place was prepared in Westminster-Church; where, besides the Disputants, were present the Lords of the Queens Council, with other of the Nobility; as also many of the Lower House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates and their Adherents, were these. First, That it is against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common Prayer, and in the Administration of the Sacrament. Secondly, That every Church hath Authority to appoint and change Ceremonies and Ecclesiastical Rites, so they be to edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Mass a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it should be performed in Writing; and that the Bishops should deliver their Reasons in writing first. The last of March was the first day of their meeting; where, contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in Writing; but said, they would deliver their minds onely by Speech. This breaking of Order much displeased the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then rose up Doctor Cole, and made a large Declaration concerning the first Point. When he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to say: who answered, No. Then the Protestant Party exhibited a written Book, which was distinctly read by Master Horn. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article. This again much displeased the Lords; yet this also was granted them, to do at their next meeting on Monday next; but when Monday came, so many other differences arose between them, that the Conference broke off, & nothing was determined. But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was Enacted, That Queen Elizabeth was the lawful and undoubted Qu. of England, notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King Henry the Eighth, that excluded both her & her Sister Mary from the Crown, seeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a principle in Law, That the Crown once gained-taketh away all defects. Also in this Parliament, First-fruits & Tithes were restored to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England was confirmed to the Queen, with so universal consent, that in the upper House none opposed these Laws, but onely the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Anthony Brown, Viscount Mountague:

1559.

A Conference of Papists and Protestants about matters of Religion.

But broken off, and why.

The Crown once gained, taketh away all defects. The Title of Supreme Head of the Church is confirmed to the Queen.



Montague : and in the Lower House only some few of Papal inclination murmured, saying, that the Parliament was packt; and that the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, & Sir William Cecil, for their own ends, had cunningly begged Voices, to make up their Party.

The Oath of Supremacy readily taken by all, but only some few, and who they were.

Supremacy thus confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tendred to the Bishops and others; of whom, as many as refused to take it, were presently deprived of their Livings. And that we may see how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Protestant Religion; it is said, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckoned above nine thousand Spiritual Promotions) there were no more that refused to take the Oath, but only fourscore Parsons, fifty Prebendaries, 15 Masters of Colledges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, six Abbots, and fourteen Bishops, (indeed all that were at that time, except Anthony Bishop of Landaffe) as Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstal Bishop of Durham, Thomas Thursby Bishop of Ely, Gilbert Bourn Bishop of Bath and Wells, John Christopherson Bishop of Chichester, John White Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Watson Bishop of Lincoln, Ralph Bayne Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Owen Ogletborp Bishop of Carlisle, James Turbervile Bishop of Exeter, and David Poole Bishop of Peterborough; and with these, Dr. Fecknam Abbot of Westminster. All which were at first committed to prison, but soon after delivered to the custody of private Friends, excepting those two sawcy Prelates, Lincoln and Winchester, who threatned to excommunicate the Queen. Three only, namely, Cuthbert Scot Bishop of Chester, Richard Pate Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell Bishop of Saint Asaph, changed their Religion of their own accord; as also did certain Noble Personages, namely, Henry Lord Morley, Sir Francis Englefield, and Sir Robert Peckham, (who had been Privy-Councillors to Queen Mary) Sir Thomas Shelley, and Sir John Gage.

Papal Bishops removed, and Protestants placed in their rooms.

In the Sees of the Prelates removed were placed Protestant Bishops: as Matthew Parker was made Archbishop of Canterbury; (who was consecrated by the Imposition of the hands of three that formerly had been Bishops; namely, William Barlow of Bath and Wells, Job. Scory of Chichester, and Miles Coverdale of Exeter) and being consecrated himself, he afterward consecrated Edmund Grindball Bishop of London, Richard Cox Bishop of Ely, Edwin Sands Bishop of Worcester, Rowland Merick Bishop of Bangor, Thomas Young Bishop of Saint Davids, Nicholas Bullingham Bishop of Lincoln, John Jewell Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Davis Bishop of Saint Asaph, Edward Guest Bishop of Rochester, Gilbert Barkely Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Benthiam Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, William Alley Bishop of Excester, John Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, Robert Horn Bishop of Winchester, Richard Cheiney Bishop of Gloucester, Edmund Scambler Bishop of Peterborough, William Barlow Bishop of Chichester, John Scory Bishop of Hereford, Young Archbishop of York, James Pilkington Bishop of Durham, John Best Bishop of Carlisle, and William Downham Bishop of Chester.

Whilest these things were done in England,

the Treaty of Peace at Cambray continued still; wherein King Philip stood for the restitution of Callice to the English, as firmly as if it had been his own Interest, and without it, would agree to no Peace with France. But when by Messages he understood that his suit for marriage with Queen Elizabeth was rejected, and that the Protestant Religion was established in the Kingdom, he then left Queen Elizabeth, seeing she would not be his, to her self: and though he became not presently a Foe, yet he became presently less than a Friend, and forbore to do any more good Offices in that business. Queen Elizabeth, thus left to her self, agreed with the French King, to conclude her own peace apart; and thereupon Delegates on both sides were appointed to meet at Cambray. For the Queen of England were Thursby Bishop of Ely, the Lord Williams, the Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain to the Queen, and Doctor Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York: For the King of France were Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, the first Peer of France, Annas Duke of Memorancy, James Allon Lord of Saint Andrews, John Morvilliers Bishop of Orleans, and Claude Aubespine Secretary to the Privy Council. The Commissioners meeting, the chief point in difference was the restitution of Callice; for which the English Commissioners, by the Queens appointment, offered to remit two millions of Crowns, that by just accompt were due from France to England: but the Queen was not more desirous to recover Callice, than the French King was to hold it. And thereupon at last it was concluded, that Callice should remain in possession of the French for the term of eight years; and those expired, it should be delivered to the English, upon forfeiture of five hundred thousand Crowns, for which Hostages were given. But all this notwithstanding, though the conditions were sealed and sworn to, & though Hostages were assigned to remain in England, till one or other were performed, yet all was frustrate, and came to nothing.

King Philip stood for restitution of Callice, till he understood of the alteration of Religion in England.

Queen Elizabeth left to her self, sends Ambassadors about Peace with France.

Where it was concluded, that Callice should be restored after eight years, but yet it came to nothing.

About this time, Henry King of France married his Daughter Isabel to Philip King of Spain, and his Sister Margaret to Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy: at the Solemnity of which Marriages he would needs be a Tilter himself, & thereupon commanded the Earl of Montgomery to run against him; who unfortunately breaking his lance upon the Kings Curials, a splinter thereof (his Beaver being somewhat open) struck him so deep in the Eye, that within few days he ended his life. After whose death, Francis his Son, at the age of sixteen years, succeeded him in the Crown, having by the Marriage of Queen Mary the Title of Scotland, and upon ground thereof laying claim to the Crown of England also, & giving the Arms of England, as properly belonging to him.

Henry King of France unfortunately slain running at Tilt.

And now begins the game of Faction to be plaid, wherein the whole Estate of Queen Elizabeth lies at stake; a Game that will hold playing the most part of her Reign, and if not plaid well will put her in jeopardy of losing all, seeing all about her was against her. Philip of Spain hath a quarrel to her, for being rejected in his suit; the King of France hath a quarrel to her in right of his Wife, which is now his right; the Queen of Scots hath a quarrel to her, for detaining her Inheritance;



heritance ; the Pope hath a quarrel to her, for excluding his Authority ; the King of Sweden hath a quarrel to her, for slighting his Son in the way of Marriage. And all these being against her, whom hath she on her side, but only her own Subjects, Papists yesterday, and to day Protestants? who being scarce settled in their Religion, how shall they be settled in their Loyalty? and not being Loyal, where can she find to cast Anchor for her safety? But it is a true saying, *Nullum numen abest, si sit Prudentia*; Wisdom is a supply for all defects. And indeed, the Queen being very wise in her self, and having a wise Council about her, she passed all these difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

Knox in Scotland preaches against the Prince's Authority.

It happened (if at least it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpose) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in Scotland; but was indeed an incroachment upon the Prince's Authority: for at the preaching of John Knox, and other headstrong Ministers, not only Images and Altars were cast down and burnt, the Monasteries of Saint Andrews, of Stone, of Strive-ling, and of Lynlithgow were overthrown; but it was further put into the heads of the Nobility, that it pertained to them, of their own Authority to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the prescript of Laws. Whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of Scotland against the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Country; and in this case each of them sought for aid. The Queen Dowager had aid

The Lords of Scotland send for aid to Qu. Elizabeth.

1560.

The Queen sends an Army to assist the Lords of Scotland.

A Peace is concluded between the King of France and the Queen, and upon what terms.

out of France, the Lords of Scotland sent for aid to the Queen of England. But this was matter for consultation. It seemed a bad Example, for a Prince to give aid to the rebellious Subjects of another Prince. On the other side, it seemed no less then impiety, not to give aid to the Protestants of the same Religion. But most of all, it seemed plain madness, to suffer adversaries to be so near Neighbours, and let the French nestle in Scotland, who pretend Title to England. Upon such considerations, it was resolved to send them aid. And thereupon an Army of six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Gray of Wilton his Lieutenant General, Sir James Crofts, Assistant to him, the Lord Scroop, Lord Marshal, Sir George Howard, General of the men at Arms, Sir Henry Piercy, General of the Light Horse, Thomas Huggens, Provost Marshal, Thomas Gower, Master of the Ordnance, Master William Pelham, Captain of the Pioneers, and Master Edward Randol, Serjeant-Major, and divers others. These coming into Scotland, joy- ned with the Scottish Lords, and set down before Leith; where passed many small Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults: to whom, after some time, a new supply came of above two thousand Foot; whereof were Captains, Sir Andrew Corbet, Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir Thomas Hesketh, Sir Arthur Manwaring, Sir Lawrence Smith, and others. Yet with this new supply there was little more done then before; many light Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults; so long, till at last the young French King, finding these broyls of Scotland to be too furious for him to appease, he sent to the Queen of England, desiring that Commissioners might be sent to re-

concile these differences. Whereupon were dispatched into Scotland, Sir William Cecil, her principal Secretary, with Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury; who concluded a Peace between England and France, upon these Conditions: That neither the King of France, nor the Queen of Scotland, should thenceforth use the Arms or Titles of England or Ireland; and that both the English and the French should depart out of Scotland; and a general Pardon should be enacted by Parliament, for all such as had been actors in those stirs. This Peace was scarce concluded, when Francis the young King of France died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother Charles, who was guided altogether by the Queen-Mother, and molested with the Civil Diffensions between the Princes of Guise and Conde: for whose reconciliation, the Queen sent Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales; and shortly after an Army, under the leading of the Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; who arriving at Newhaven, was received into the Town; which having kept eleven months, he was then constrained, by reason of a Pestilence, to surrender again upon Composition, and so returned.

Francis King of France dieth, and leaveth Mary Qu. of Scots a Widow.

Newhaven taken by the English, but soon surrendered.

About this time, when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the House of Commons, to move the Queen to marry, that she might have Issue to succeed her. To which purpose Thomas Gargrave, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely desired; seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince than out of her Loyns. Whereunto the Queen answered in effect thus; That she was already married, namely, to the Kingdom of England; and behold (saith she) the Pledge of the Covenant with my Husband: and therewith she held out her finger, and shewed the Ring, wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, she gave her self in Wedlock to the Kingdom. And if (saith she) I keep my self to this Husband, and take no other, yet I doubt not but God will send you as good Kings, as if they were born of me; forasmuch as we see by daily experience, that the Issue of the best Princes do often degenerate. And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Marble-Stone declare, that a Queen having reigned such a time, lived and died a Virgin. Indeed, before this time, many Matches had been offered her. First, King Philip: and when he was out of hope of matching with her himself, he then dealt with the Emperour Ferdinand his Uncle, to commend his younger Son Charles, Duke of Austria, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then John Duke of Finland, second Son to Gustavus King of Sweden, was sent by his Father, to solicit for his eldest Brother Ericus; who was honourably received, but the Match rejected. Then Adolphus Duke of Holst, Uncle to Frederick King of Denmark, came into England, upon a great hope of speeding; but the Queen bestowed upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension, but not her self. Then James Earl of Arran was commended to her by the Protestants of Scotland, but neither the man nor the motion was accepted. Of meaner Fortunes, there were some at home

The Parliament moves the Queen to marry.

And her Answer.

The many matches that had been offered to her.



home that pleased themselves with hopes of her Marriage. First, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate: but what most commended him was his studiousness of Letters, and sweet demeanor. Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of an excellent feature of face, and now in the flower of his age. But these might please themselves with their own conceit, but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonies of her Princely favour, but never pledges of her Nuptial love.

Great offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

About this time the Earl of *Feria*, (who had married the Daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) being denied leave of the Queen for some of his Wives friends to live out of *England*; grew so incensed, that he made means to *Pius* the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicate as an Heretick and Usurper. But the Pope inclining rather to save than to destroy, and knowing that gentle courses prevail more with generous minds, than roughness and violence, in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church; and, as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hearken to his counsel: particularly, that he would recal the Sentence pronounced against her Mothers Marriage, confirm the Book of Common Prayer in *English*, and permit to her people the use of the Sacrament in both kinds. But Queen *Elizabeth*, neither terrified with the Earl of *Feria*'s practices, nor allured with the Popes great offers, according to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, persisted constant in her resolution, to maintain that Religion which in her Conscience she was perswaded to be most agreeable to the word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

But she persisted constant in her Religion.

*Joh. Oneal*, Earl of *Tyrone*, began to rebel.

Whilest these grounds of troubles are sowing in *England*, *France* and *Scotland*, it is not likely that *Ireland* will lie fallow; though indeed it be a Country that will bring forth troubles of it self, without sowing: but howsoever, to make the more plentiful Harvest of troubles at this time, *John Oneal* (whose Father *K. Henry* the eighth made Earl of *Tyrone*) to prevent the punishment of a private Outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince: and though his attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely opposition; yet this was he that in the beginning of the Queens Reign sowed the seeds of that trouble in *Ireland*, which afterward took so deep root, that till the ending of her Reign it could never thoroughly be rooted out; though this man a year or two after came into *England*, and casting himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.

Qu. Eliz. requires the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, to be confirmed by the Queen Dowager. And her Answer.

The Treaty of *Edenburgh* should by promise have been confirmed by *Francis* the French King while he lived; but he not having done it, Queen *Elizabeth* requires his Dowager, the Queen of *Scots* to confirm it: but she, solicited often to it by *Throgmorton* the Queens Leiger in *France*, made always answer, she could not do it without the Counsel of her Nobility in *Scotland*. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* suspecting that this Answer was but to hold her in amazement, while some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir

*Thomas Randol* into *Scotland*, to perswade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her and other Protestant Princes; and further, by no means to permit their Queen, now a Widow, to marry again to any Foreign Prince; for which she alledged many great Reasons. In the mean while the Queen of *Scots*, purposing to return into *Scotland*, sent before-hand Dr. *Oysotte* a French Lord, to entreat Queen *Elizabeth*, that with her leave she her self might pass by Sea into *Scotland*, & Dr. *Oysotte* might pass by Land. But Queen *Elizabeth* openly denied both the one and the other, unless she would confirm the Treaty at *Edenburgh*; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of *Scots* courtesie, if the Queen of *Scots* would not do her right.

The Queen of *Scots*, much troubled with this Answer, expostulates the matter with her Leiger *Throgmorton*, & much complains of the unthankfulness: but in the mean time providing shipping, she loosed from *Callice*, and under covert of a mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in *Scotland*; where she intreated her Subjects in so loving a manner, that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom, as well to the Protestant Party, as the other: and then sent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, proffering all observance & readiness to enter League with her, so she might by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor; which was but her right. To this Queen *Elizabeth* answered, That though she would no way derogate from her Right; yet she should be loth to endanger her own security, and as it were to cover her own eyes with a Grave-cloth while she was alive; then fell again to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*. And now, to shew the respect she bore her, when her Uncles the Dukes *D' Aumale*, *D' Albeuse*, and other Lords of *France* that had brought her home, returned through *England*, she gave them most bountifull and loving entertainment.

The Qu. of Scots passeth safely into Scotland, though laid wait for to be intercepted. She offered all observance to Queen Elizabeth; so she might be declared her Successor. Qu. Eliz. Answer.

These two Queens indeed were both of great spirits, and both very wise; but there grew such jealousies of State between them, (the Queen of *Scots* doubting lest Queen *Elizabeth* meant to frustrate her Succession, Qu. *Eliz.* doubting lest the Qu. of *Scots* meant to prevent her Succession) that it kept them more asunder in love than they were near in blood, and was cause of many unkind passages between them: in all which, though the Q. of *Scots* were a very near match to the Q. of *Engl.* in the abilities of her mind, yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her inferior.

But now for all the courtesie which Queen *Elizabeth* shewed to the Queen of *Scots* Uncles, at their returning through *England*, yet new practices were again set on foot against her at *Rome*; the Duke of *Guise* especially laboring to have her be Excommunicated. But Pope *Pius*, still averse from such roughness, meant now to try the Queen another way; and thereupon sent the Abbot *Martinengi*; and when he might not be admitted to enter *England*, then caused the Bishop of *Viterbo*, his Nuntio in *France*, to deal earnestly with the Queens Leiger *Throgmorton*, that she (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Council of *Trent*, which he before had called. But the Queen, nothing tendering this point, made peremptory answer, That a Popish

The Pope invites Qu. Eliz. to send her Orators to the Council of Trent



The  
Queens  
Answers.

pish Assembly she did not acknowledge to be a General Council; nor did she think the Pope to have any more right or power to call it, than any other Bishop. This answer not only exasperated the Pope, but also alienated the King of Spain's mind from her, that he was never after so kind a friend to her as he had been; and none of her Embassadors ever after had any great liking to be employed to him. And now at this time, as the Abbot *Martinengi* was the last Nuntio that ever was sent from the Pope into England, so Sir *Edward Carne*, now dying at Rome, was the last Leiger that was ever sent to the Pope from the Kings of England.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* knowing well that she had drawn many ill-willers against her State, she endeavored to strengthen it by all the means she could devise. She caused many great Ordinance of Brasse and Iron to be cast; She repaired Fortifications in the Borders of Scotland; She encreased the number of Ships, so as England never had such a Navy before; She provided great store of Armour and Weapons out of Germany; She caused Musters to be held, and Youth to be trained in exercises of Artillery; &, to please the people, (whose love is the greatest strength of all) She gave leave to have Corn & Grain transported, and called in all base Coins and brasse Money.

All base  
moneys  
called in.

It was now the fifth year of Qu. *Elizabeth's* Reign, when divers great persons were called in question. *Margaret* Countess of *Lenox*, Niece to King *Henry* the Eighth, by his eldest Sister, and her Husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for having had secret conference by Letters with the Queen of *Scots*, were delivered prisoners to Sir *Richard Sackville*, Master of the Rolls, and with him kept a while in custody. Also *Arthur Poole* and his Brother, whose great Grandfather was *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the fourth, *Anthony Fortescue*, who had married their Sister, and others, were arraigned for conspiring to withdraw themselves to the Duke of *Guise* in France, and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, to declare the Queen of *Scots* Queen of England, and *Arthur Poole* Duke of *Clarence*. Which particulars they confessed at the Bar, and were thereupon condemned to die; but had their lives spared, in regard they were of the Blood-Royal. Also the Lady *Katharine Gray*, Daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, by the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, having formerly been married to the Earl of *Pembroke's* eldest Son, and from him soon after lawfully divorced, was some years after found to be with child by *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*: who being at that time in France, was presently sent for; and being examined before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and affirming they were lawfully married, but not being able within a limited time to produce witnesses of their marriage, they were both committed to the Tower, where she was brought to bed; and after, by the connivance or corruption of their Keepers, being suffered sometimes to come together, she was with child by him again. Which made the Queen more angry than before; so that Sir *Edw. Warner* Lieutenant of the Tower was put out of his place, and the Earl was fined in the Star-Chamber five thousand pounds, and kept in Prison nine years after. Though in pleading of his Case, one *John Hales* argued, they were lawful Man and Wife,

1563.  
Divers  
great per-  
sons ques-  
tioned  
and con-  
demned,  
but had  
their lives  
spared.

by vertue of their own bare consent, without any Ecclesiastical Ceremony. The Lady a few years after, falling through grief into a mortal sickness, humbly desired the Queens Pardon, for having married without her knowledg, and commending her children to her clemency, died in the Tower.

At this time (the King being under age) dissensions amongst the Peers grew hot in France, of which there were two Factions, both pretending the cause of Religion. Of the one, the Duke of *Guise*, a Papist, was Head; of the other, the Prince of *Conde*, a Protestant. But while *Delirant Reges, plebuntur Achivi*; while these Princes are at variance, the people suffer for it; and chiefly (as being under the weaker protection) the Protestant party. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth*, (having well learned the Lesson, *Tum tuas res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*, and fearing lest the flame of their dissention might kindle a fire within her own Kingdom) sent over Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord President of *Wales*, into France, to endeavour by all possible means their reconciliation: which when he could not effect, (and perhaps it was never meant he should effect it, but only to see what Invitations would be made to the Qu. for her assistance) she thereupon at the moan of the afflicted Protestants, sent over an Army of six thousand Soldiers under the Conduct of the Earl of *Warwick*, in assistance of the Prince of *Conde* and other Protestant Lords, who delivered to him the Town of *Newhaven*, to hold in the King of France his name, until such time as *Callice* was restored. But the Prince of *Conde* marching to joyn with the English Forces, was by the Duke of *Guise* intercepted and taken prisoner; which had been a great disappointment to the English, but that the Duke of *Colen* joyned with him, besieged *Caen* in *Normandy*, and took it, together with *Bayeux*, *Falaise*, and *Saint Lo*. The French Hostages that were pledges for the payment of five hundred thousand Crowns, if *Callice* were not restored, were remaining still in England; who perceiving there was like to be War with France, prepared secretly to get away; but being ready to take shipping, were discovered, and brought back again.

Queen  
*Elizabeth*  
sends over  
an Army  
to assist  
the Prote-  
stants in  
France.

In the mean while the Prince of *Conde*, drawn on with a hope to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and to have the chief Government in France during the Kings Minority, concluded a Peace with the King and with the *Guises*; so as now all French, as well Protestants as Papists, required to have *Newhaven* delivered up. But the Earl of *Warwick*, perceiving the sickness of the French Protestants, first to make suit to draw him into France, and now upon so slight occasion to require him to be gone, he shutteth all French, both Protestants and Papists, out of the Town, and lays hold of their Ships: the French on the other side make ready to set upon the Town, saying, they fought not now for Religion, but for their Country; wherefore it was meet that both Protestants and Papists should joyn their Forces, seeing they had already concluded a Peace betwixt themselves. And hereupon the Duke of *Memorancy* sent a Trumpeter to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him to yield the Town: who making answer by Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, that he would never yield it without the Queens leave; he thereupon besieged the Town, and with a great violence of Battery, sought to get it by force.

The Prince  
of *Conde*  
concludes  
a Peace  
with the  
King of  
France.  
*Newhaven*  
delivered  
up to the  
French  
with the  
Queens  
leave.

Which



Which Queen *Elizabeth* hearing of, she sent a Commission to the Earl of *Warwick* to yield it up, if upon honourable Conditions; which soon after was accordingly done, after the *English* had held it eleven months: & then the Earl, without any dishonour for yielding up a Town, which the Pestilence made him no less unwilling than unable to hold, returned into *England*. But that which was more doleful than the loss of *Newhaven*, he brought the Pestilence with him into *England*. The recovery of this Town not only made the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellour of *France* pronounced openly, that by this War the *English* had lost all their Right to *Callice*, and were not to require it any more, seeing it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations should make war upon the other: which was the Point stood upon by the King of *France* and his mother, when Queen *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Thomas Smith* to demand *Callice* to be restored.

At this time there were such cross designs amongst the Princes of Christendom, that a very good Politician could hardly understand their aims. The Duke of *Guise* being slain in the Civil war, the Queen of *Scots* Dowry was not paid her in *France*, and the *Scots* were put off from being the Kings Guard. This exceedingly displeased the Queen of *Scots*. But then to please her again, and for fear lest hereupon she should apply her self to the friendship of the *English*, her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorraine* solicited her afresh, to marry *Charles* Duke of *Austria*; offering her for her Dowry the County of *Tyrol*.

The Queen of *Scots*, to make use of her Uncles fear, and perhaps to bring Queen *Elizabeth* into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion, and therein requires her advice. Queen *Elizabeth*, not willing she should marry with any forein Prince, perswades her to take a Husband out of *England*, & particularly commended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley*, (whose Wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck;) promising withal, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor, in case she died without Issue. But when her Uncles and the Queen mother were informed of this motion, they so much disdained the Marriage with *Dudley*, that so she would refuse that Match, and persevere in the Friendship of the *French*, they offered to pay her the Dowry-money that was behind, and to restore the *Scots* to all their former liberties in *France*. And as for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Embassador here in *England*, but rather by way of Complement, and to watch advantages, than for any sincere love; which he began to withdraw from the *English*, as suspecting them to intend a Trade to the *West-Indies*.

At the marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* was the great Massacre of the Protestants in *France*. And now the *French* Protestants may see what they brought upon themselves, by leaving the *English* at *Newhaven*, and by trusting to their Country-men the *French* Papists; for their peace was but a snare, and the Marriage of *Henry* of *Burbon*, Prince of *Navarre*, with *Margaret* of *Valois*, the *French* Kings Sister, was but a bait to entrap them. For upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into *Paris*, they were the readier for the slaughter: and a few

days after the Marriage, which were all spent in Feasts and Masks, to make them the more secure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloody Faction fell upon the Protestants, and neither spared age, nor sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and sense of humanity, slaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thousands.

It was now the sixth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, a year fatal for the death of many great Personages. First died *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Governour of *Barnwick*; a man famous for his great Services in War: then *William* Lord *Paget*, a man of as great Services in Peace, who by his great deservings had wrought his advancement to sundry Dignities and honourable places: and though zealous in the *Roman* Religion, yet held by Queen *Elizabeth* in great estimation to his dying day: then *Henry* Mannors Earl of *Rutland*, descended by his Mother from King *Edward* the fourth: and lastly, *Frances* the Dutcheß of *Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles* Brandon Duke of *Suffolk*, and Mother to Queen *Jane*.

And now Queen *Elizabeth*, finding how fickle the *French* Protestants had carried themselves towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end sent Sir *Thomas Smith* into *France*, joyning *Throgmorton* in Commission with him. And in conclusion, a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles, this was one, That the Hostages in *England* should be freed, upon the payment of Six hundred thousand Crowns. And this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*.

About this time the *English* Merchants were hardly used both in *Spain* and in the *Netherlands*, upon pretence of Civil differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion: whereupon the *English* removed the Seat of their Trading to *Embsden* in *Friesland*. But *Gusman*, the *Spanish* Leiger newly come into *England*, finding the great damages that the *Netherlands* sustained by these differences, endeavoured by all means to compose them: and thereupon Viscount *Mountague*, *Nicholas* *Wotton*, and *Walter* *Haddon* Master of the Requests, were sent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who after many interruptions brought the matter at last to some indifferent agreement.

It was now the seventh year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when making a Progress, she went to see *Cambridge*; where after she had viewed the Colledges, and been entertained with Comedies and Scholastical Disputations, she made her self a *Latine* Oration, to the great Encouragement of the Scholars, and then returned. Presently after her return, she made the Lord *Robert Dudley*, Master of her Horse, first, Baron of *Denbigh*, (giving him *Denbigh* and all the Lands belonging to it) and then, Earl of *Leicester*, to him and the Heirs-males of his body lawfully begotten: which Honor was conferred upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. And now *Leicester*, to endear himself to the Queen of *Scots*, accused Sir *Nicholas* *Bacon*, Lord Keeper, for being privy to the Libel of *Hales*, who affirmed the right of the Crown to belong to the Family of *Suffolk*, in case the Qu. should die without Issue: & thereupon was *Bacon* cast into Prison;

1564.  
Many great Personages die.

A Peace made with the King of *France*, and upon what Conditions.

1565.  
Qu. *Eliz.* makes a Progress to *Cambridge*. She makes the Lord *Robert Dudley*, first, Baron of *Denbigh*, and then Earl of *Leicester*.



soon; till afterward, upon his purgation, and the mediation of Sir *William Cecill*, he was set at liberty, and restored to his place.

And now for a while we must cast our eyes upon *Scotland*, for that was now the Stage where all great businesses of State were acted. *Matthew Stuart* Earl of *Lenox*, who had married *Margaret Douglas* King *Henry the Eighth's* Niece by his eldest Sister, had been kept as an Exile in *England* now twenty years. Him the Queen of *Scots* invites to come into *Scotland*, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darley*; for he being reputed Heir to the Crown of *England*, next after her self, she thought, by matching with his Son, to strengthen her own Title, and to prevent the hope of any other. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon suit made by his Wife, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of *Scots* intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the proceeding, sent Sir *Tho. Randoll* to her, to let her know, that if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the *English*, that she was fain to prorogue the Parliament, lest upon dislike thereof, there should something be enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of *Leicester*, she should then by Parliament be declared her next Heir. Hereupon, in the month of *November*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randoll* for Queen *Elizabeth*, the Earl of *Murray* and *Liddington* for the Queen of *Scots*, at *Barwick* entered into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*. The *English* Commissioners urged the great benefits that by this Match would accrew both to the Queen of *Scots* her self, and to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Scottish*, on the other side, urged the great disparagement it would be to the Qu. of *Scots*, if, refusing the offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a Person as the Earl of *Leicester*. This matter held long debate, partly for that the *English* Commissioners were so appointed by Q. *Elizabeth*; and partly for that the *Scottish* Commissioners had a good mind to hinder her from marrying at all: and perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of *Leicester*, being verily perswaded he should at last obtain Queen *Elizabeth* her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of *Bedford* not to urge the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* too far; and was thought for this cause to favour *Darley* under-hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole years together; the Queen of *Scots*, impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her mind what she would do, used means, that the Lord *Darley* got leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to go into *Scotland* for three months only, under colour to be put in possession of his Fathers Lands. (Though it be strange, the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she really intended to hinder the marriage: but such was the destiny, if there were not a plot in it.) And so in *February* he came to *Edenburgh*: who being a young man, of not above nineteen years of age, of a comely countenance, and most Princely presence, the Queen of *Scots*, as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him; yet

modestly dissembling it for the present, she thought to get a Dispensation from *Rome*, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now, her inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent *Liddington* to Qu. *Eliz.* desiring her consent. But she through the suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induced to believe that the Qu. of *Scots* intention was, by this Marriage to get the Crown of *England*, and to bring in Popery, entered into consultation with her Privy Council, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage: who all concluded, that these were the best ways: First, to have a Company of Souldiers levied for terror sake about the Borders towards *Scotland*; then to commit to Prison the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darley's* Mother; and to recal from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox*, and his Son *Darley*, upon pain of the loss of all their goods in *England*; then that the *Scots*, who were known to be averse from the Marriage, should be relieved and assisted; and lastly, that *Katharine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hartford*, should be received into some grace, about whom only (it was thought) the Queen of *Scots* was most solicitous, as being her Rival to the *English* Crown. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to counsel her in the Queens name not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many inconveniences that would accrew unto her by it. But she returned answer, that the matter was too far passed to be recalled; & that Queen *Elizabeth* had no cause to be displeased with it, seeing herein she followed her advice, not to match with a stranger, but with an *English*-man born.

Queen *Elizabeth*, being informed of her Answer, calleth home the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darley* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return. The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself: the Son humbly intreateth her not to be a hindrance to his preferment; which he vows to employ in her Majesties Service, to the uttermost of his power.

And now, to make him the fitter match for her, the Queen of *Scots* honoured him first with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukedom by Birth pertaineth to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, when he had not been above five months in *Scotland*, she married him; and, with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this the Earl of *Murray*, and others whom he drew to his party, extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawful to admit a Papist King; Whether the Queen of *Scots* might chuse a Husband at her own pleasure; and Whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their own Authority impose one upon her. But however, they raised Arms, and had disturbed the Nuptials, but that the Queen levied an Army to encounter them: with which she pursued them so closely, that they were fain to fly into *England* for protection. Where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of *Scots* had received *Yardley*, *Standon* and *Walsh*, that were fled out of *England*; but the Earl of *Murray* especially, who had alwayes been found addicted to the

The Queen of Scots seeks to marry the Lord Darley, Son to the Earl of Lenox.

Queen Elizabeth dissuades her from it, & perswades her to marry the Earl of Leicester.

Hereupon Commissioners are sent to treat of this Marriage.

But the Commissioners cannot agree.

The Queen of Scots impatient of delay, gets the Lord Darley to come to Scotland.

At first sight she falls in love with him.

And then sends to Qu. Eliz. for her consent to marry him.

Qu. Eliz. opposeth it.

The Queen of Scots makes the Lord Darley Duke of Rothsay, and marries him.

The Earl of Murray raiseth an Army against him.

But being encountered, he flies into England, whom Qu. Eliz. receives.



the *English*. Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps was not much troubled at the Marriage; partly, as knowing the mild disposition of the Lord *Darley*, and how little access of strength it brought to the Queen of *Scots*; but most of all, as plainly seeing there would troubles arise in *Scotland* upon it, and the troubles of *Scotland* would be the quietness of *England*, which as a good Mother of her Country, was the mark she aimed at: yet she made a shew of being offended with it; but rather to conceal her aim, then that she was offended with it indeed.

Qu. Eliz. is moved again to marry Charles the Emperors Brother.

At this time the Emperor *Maximilian* sent to Queen *Elizabeth* his Ambassador, *Adam Smiricote*, renewing the former suit for his Brother *Charles* of *Austria*; for which Marriage the Earl of *Suffex* was very earnest; the Earl of *Leicester* as much against it: so as it grew to a quarrel between them, and the Court was divided into factions about it: but the Queen, who never liked the dissention of her Peers (though it be a Rule with some, *Divide and Reign*) made them friends, at least in countenance.

Cecill Sister of the King of Sweden, comes into England of purpose to see the Qu.

We may now leave *Scotland* a while, and see the Honour done at this time to Queen *Elizabeth*, not much inferior to the Honour done to *Solomon* by the Queen of *Sheba*; for now *Cecill*, the Sister of *Erick* King of *Sweden*, and Wife of *Christopher* Marquess of *Baden*, being great with Child, came from the farthest part of the North (a long Journey) thorow *Germany*, of purpose to see her, for the great fame she had heard of her Wisdom: At her being here, she was delivered of a Child, to whom, in requital of her kindness, Queen *Elizabeth* was God-mother, and named him *Edwardus Fortunatus*; giving to her and her Husband, besides Royal Entertainment, a yearly Pension. At this time also, for the great Fame of her Wisdom, *Donald mac Carti More*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and delivered up into her hands all his most ample Territories; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs-males lawfully begotten; and for want of such Issue, to remain to the Crown of *England*. The Queen in requital invested him with the honour of Earl of *Glenkare*, and Baron of *Valence*; and besides many Presents given him, paid the charges of his Journey.

Also Mac Carti a great Potentate of Ireland.

An. Reg. 8. 1566.

The Governors of Ireland what Titles they had.

A President of Munster when first ordained.

It was now the eighth Year of *Elizabeths* Reign, when Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, a Knight of *Gloucester-shire*, governing *Ireland* under the Title of a Justice, was called home, and Sir *Henry Sidney* placed in his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of *Ireland*, after it came under the *English*, were at first called Justices of *Ireland*; afterwards, Lieutenants, and their Vice-gerents were called Deputies. Afterwards at the Princes pleasure, sometimes Deputies, sometimes Justices, and sometimes Lieutenants; which last Title, though it be of greatest honour, yet in power is in a manner but the same. Sir *Henry Sidney* at his coming into *Ireland*, found the Province of *Munster* in much disorder, by reason of strife between *Gyrالد* Earl of *Desmond*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*: whereupon the Queen sending for the Earl of *Desmond* into *England*, ordained a new Government in that Province, appointed a President to administer Justice, together with an

Assistant on the Bench; two Lawyers and a Notary: and the first President she made in this place, was Sir *William Sent-leger*.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* in a Progress went to *Oxford*; where she took pleasure in viewing the Collidges, in hearing Orations, in seeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of *Palemon* and *Arcett* turned into a Tragedy; for by the fall of a wall, through the multitude of people that pressed in to see it, three men were slain. At her coming away, she made an Oration in *Latine* to the Scholars, a sufficient recompence for all the Orations they had made to her. And this year was a call of seven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at *Grayes-Inn* in *Holbourn*.

Qu. Eliz. makes a Progress to Oxford.

A call of seven Serjeants at Law.

In a Parliament at this time, the Queen is moved again to marry.

Upon the Queens return from *Oxford*, the Parliament began, where they presently fell upon the matter of succession, and moving the Queen to marry; in which points some went so far, that they spared not to accuse the Queen, as one careless of Posterity; to defame *Cecill* with Libels and reproaches, as if he were her Counsellour in this matter; but above all, to curse Doctor *Huic*, her Physitian, who was thought to dissuade her from Marriage, by reason of I know not what womanish insufficiency. At least in the Upper-House it was agreed, That Sir *Nich. Bacon* Lord Keeper, their Orator, should in all their names beseech the Queen to marry; and withal, to declare a Successour in the Crown, if she should happen to die without Issue; for which he gave many Reasons, declaring what mischiefs were likely to befall the Kingdom, if she should die before a Successour were designed. But in the Lower-House there were some, amongst whom were *Bell* and *Mounson*, (two Lawyers of great account) *Dutton*, Sir *Paul Wentworth*, and others, who grew to far higher terms, disparaging the Queens Authority, & saying, That Princes were bound to design a Successour; and that in not doing it, the Queen should shew her self no better than a parricide of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear with words spoken in Parliament, which spoken out of Parliament, she would never have endured; but not willing to expostulate the matter with the whole number, She commanded that 30 of the Higher House, and as many of the Lower, should appear before her, to whom She delivered her mind to this effect; That she knew what danger hangeth over a Princes Head, when a Successour is once declared; She knew that even Children themselves, out of a hasty desire of bearing Rule, had taken up Arms against their own Fathers, and how could better Conditions be expected from Kindred? She had by reading observed, That Successors in a Collateral Line have seldom been declared; and that *Lewis* of *Orleance*, and *Francis* of *Angoulesme*, were never declared Successors, and yet obtained the Crown without any noise.

And to declare a Successor.

The Queen answer to their motions.

Lastly, She said, Though I have been content to let you debate the matter of Succession, yet I advise you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Princes patience. With these and the like Reasons, she gave so great satisfaction, that they never after troubled her with making any such motion: and though she consented not in plain terms to declare a Successor, yet soon after



She gave some intimation of it; for one *Thorn-ton*, a Reader of the Civil Law in *London*, who in his Lectures called the Queen of *Scots* Right in question, was clapped up in Prison for his labour.

1567. In the begining of her ninth year, *Charles* the 9th King of *France*, sent his Ambassadour *Ramboulet* into *England* to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint *Michael*, to bestow upon which two of her Nobility she pleased; and she making choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, they were by *Ramboulet* invested with them; an Honour that had never been conferred upon any *English*, but only King *Henry* the 8th, King *Edward* the 6th, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, though afterward prostituted almost to any, without difference.

The Qu. of Scots is delivered of a Son. And now to return to the affairs of *Scotland*: The nineteenth of *June* last past, the Queen of *Scots*, in a happy hour, was at *Edenburgh* Castle delivered of a Son, that was afterward *James* the sixth of *Scotland*; and the first Monarch of *Great Britain*; whereof She presently sent word to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *James Melvyne*; who thereupon sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her safe deliverance, and her young Son, with all demonstration of love and amity. But now the love of the Queen of *Scots* to her Husband the *L. Darley*, was not so hot at first, but it was now grown to be as cold; and she had not heaped honours on him so fast before, but now as fast she taketh them off: for where before in publick Acts, she had used to place her Husbands name first, now she caused it to be placed last, and in the coyning of Mony began to leave it quite out.

David Rizie an Italian, grows a great Favourite to the Qu. of Scots. This unkindness between them, was fomented by one *David Rizie* an *Italian*, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, first, as a Musician, and then taking a liking to him, made him her Secretary for the *French* Tongue; by means whereof, he had oftentimes secret conference with her, when the King her Husband might not be admitted. This indignity the King himself being given to his pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, resented not so much, as some Lords that were his friends; who told him plainly, that it stood not with his Honour to suffer this fellow to live. By whose instigation, the King drawn to plot his death; one day taking with him the Earl of *Renven*, and others, he rushed into the Queens Chamber at her Supper time, where finding *David Rizie* at a Cupboard, tasting some meat that had been taken from the Table, he seized upon him, dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murdered him, the Queen at that time being great with Child, and like by that affright to have miscarried: But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, assuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Person. The man that had animated the King to do this Fact, was especially the Earl of *Murray*, of whom it is necessary to say something, because his part will be the greatest of all the *Scottish* Actions of this time. He was the base Son of King *James* the Fifth, and so the base Brother of the Queen; made at first Prior of Saint *Andrews*: But not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather some Temporal Honour; which when the Queen, being then in *France*, denied him, then in an angry mood he returned into *Scotland*, where

The King set on by his Lords, murders him.

Especially by the animation of the Earl of *Murray*.

The Earls Rising and Carriage.

by the advice of *Knox*, whom he held for a great Patriarch, he brought the matter so to pass, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was altered, and the *French* were banished out of *Scotland*; Yet afterward, as soon as the Queen was a Widow, he posted into *France*, and so insinuated with her, that she created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an Honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he returned into *Scotland*; where, for the growth of his ambitious designs, he sowed seeds of Sedition, affirming often, what a misery it was to be under the Command of a Woman; and that Royalty was not to be tied to any Stock or Kindred, but to Vertue only, whether the Parties were legitimate or no: By this course, making way to the Kingdom for himself. To this end, he used all the means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then sought ways how to make discord between her and her Husband; for which cause he had caused the King to murder *Rizie*. Of the foulness of which Fact, when the King after a while grew sensible, he meant to be revenged of *Murray*, who had counselled him to do it: Which *Murray* understanding, prevented it with causing the like to be done to him, as will presently be seen. For the Queen having been delivered of a Son, and the day appointed for the Christning being come; where the Godfathers were *Charles* King of *France*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; Queen *Elizabeth* being requested to be God-mother, sent thither the Earl of *Bedford* as her Deputy, and a Font of Massie Gold for a present, in value 1043 l. but gave him express Command, That he should not honour *Darley* with the Title of King. But before a month or two, after the Christning, were passed, the King in a stormy and tempestuous night was strangled in his Bed, and then cast forth into the Garden, and the house immediately blown up with Gun-powder.

The rumour of this Murder being spread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, and their Confederates; *Murray* and *Morton* upon the Queen: But we must not here give ear to that which *Buchanan* writes, who to curry favour with the Earl of *Murray*, lays most impudent scandals upon the Queen; whereof, before his death, he repented himself extremely. The King thus murdered, and the Queen left alone to her self, she is counselled to marry with some that might be able to assist her against all her opposites: *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* being then greatly in her favour, and of great eminency for his valour; and though he were the man that had acted the murder, yet is he by *Murray* and his Confederates commended to the Queen: To which motion, as being destitute of friends, and not knowing whom to trust, she at last consents; but upon these Conditions, That above all things, respect might be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* might be legally quitted, both from the bond of his former marriage, and also of the Kings murder. Hereupon a course is plotted, by which *Bothwell* is called to the Bar; and *Morton* being his Advocate, by the Sentence of the Judges he is clearly acquitted. Upon this he is created Duke of *Orkeney*, and by consent of many of the Nobility, he is married to the Queen; which bred a suspicion in many,

The King intends to be revenged on him.

But the Earl prevents him, and the King is strangled in his Bed. The death of the King is by common fame laid upon *Murray* & *Morton*, by them upon the Queen.

Who to strengthen her self, marries the Earl *Bothwell*.



Against whom Murray takes Arms, and forceth him to fly, and then seizeth up on the Qu.

Qu. Eliz. hearing of it, sends to expostulate with the Confederates about it; & their Answer.

The Queen of Scots out of fear, sets her hand to three Instruments, to her own prejudice.

many, that the Queen was conscious of the murder; which was the thing that by marriage they intended: And the suspicion once raised, they seek by all means to increase, that they may have the better colour against her; & so, the very same man who had absolved *Bothwell*, and consented to the marriage, now takes Arms against her, as a Delinquent in both; force him to fly, and then seize upon the Qu. whom, clad in a very homely Garment, they thrust into prison in *Locheleven*, under the Custody of *Murray's* Mother, who had been the Harlot of King *James* the Fifth; but boasting her self to have been his lawful Wife, & her Son his lawful Issue. Queen *Elizabeth* having at length notice hereof, sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland* to expostulate with the Confederates, touching this insolent usage of the Queen; and to consult by what means she might be restored to her liberty. But *Throgmorton* coming into *Scotland*, found the Confederates in more insolent terms than had been reported; being divided in Opinion, what to do with the Queen, some would have her banished perpetually into *England* or *France*; some would have her questioned before the Judges, committed to perpetual custody, & her Son proclaimed King: Others, more inhumane, who would have her at once deprived of Princely Authority, of life and all; and this *Knox* and some other Ministers thundred out of the Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other side, alledged many passages out of the holy Scriptures, touching Obedience to the higher Powers; maintaining, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunal, but that in Heaven; That no Judge upon Earth might call her in question; That there was no Office, nor Jurisdiction in *Scotland*, which was not derived from her Authority, and revokeable at her pleasure. They again opposed the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that in extraordinary cases, they were to proceed besides order: taking up *Buchanan's* Arguments, who in those days, by instigation of *Murray*, wrote that damned Dialogue, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, wherein, against the verity of the *Scottish* History, he endeavours to prove, That the people have power both to create, & to depose their King. After all their debating, all that *Throgmorton* could get of them, was a Writing without any subscription, wherein they protested, They had shut up the Queen for no other intent, but to keep her apart from *Bothwell*, whom she loved so desperately, that to enjoy him, she regarded not all their ruines; willing himself to rest satisfied with this Answer, till such time as the rest of the Peers met together. And notwithstanding all he could say, they shut up the Queen daily in more strait custody, though with tears she besought them to deal more mildly with her, & to let her but once have a sight of her Son: which would not be granted her. At last, when fair persuasions would not serve to make her freely give over the Kingdom, they threatened to question her openly for incontinent living, for the Kings Murder, and for Tyranny, so as through fear of death, they compelled her, unheard, to set her hand to three Instruments: In the first whereof, she gave over her Kingdom to her young Son, at that time scarce thirteen Months old. In the second, she constituted *Murray* Voice-Roy during the mino-

rity of her Son. In the third, in case he refused the Charge, these Governours were nominated; *James* Duke of *Chastean* Herald, *Giles* Spike Earl of *Argyle*, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, *John* Earl of *Atholl*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, and *John* Earl of *Marr*. And presently she signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by *Throgmorton*, That she had made these Grants by compulsion through the Counsel of *Throgmorton*, telling her, That a Grant extorted from one in Prison (which is a just fear) is actually void, and of no effect.

Five days after the Queen had made this Resignation, *James* the sixth, the Queens Son, was Anointed and Crown'd King, *John* *Knox* preaching at the same time; but a Protestation was then put in by the *Hamiltons*, That all this ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of *Chastean* Herald, in his right of Succession against the Family of *Lenox*; but Queen *Elizabeth* had forbidden *Throgmorton* to be at the Action, that she might not seem by the presence of her Embassadour, to approve their proceeding in displacing of the Queen.

Fifteen days after this transaction, *Murray* himself returned out of *France* into *Scotland*, and within three days went to the Queen with some other of the Confederates, who charged her with many Crimes, and wished her if she tendered her Life and Honour, to observe these Prescriptions: Not to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, nor desire to be at Liberty; Nor to stir up the Queen of *England*, or the King of *France* to molest *Scotland* with any War; nor to think any more of *Bothwells* love, or meditate Revenge upon *Bothwells* Adversaries.

*Murray* being now proclaimed Regent of *Scotland*, he bindeth himself under his Hand and Seal to do nothing which shall concern War or Peace, the Kings Person or his Marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the consent of the Confederates; and then gives *Throgmorton* warning by *Lydington*, not to make any further intercession for the Queens Liberty, for that he & the rest had rather run any hazard than to suffer it. Soon after he puts to death *John* *Hepburn*, *Daglas*, and others that were *Bothwells* Servants, for having a hand in the Murder of the King: But they (which he little expected) when they were at the Gallows, ready to die, protested before God and his holy Angels, that *Bothwell* had told them, that *Morton* and *Murray* were the first Authors of the Murder. The freed the Queen from all suspicion, like as *Bothwell* himself being Prisoner in *Denmark*, both living and dying, often protested with deep asseverations, That the Queen was innocent. And fourteen years after, *Morton* going to Execution, confessed that *Bothwell* dealt with him to consent to the murder of the King; which when he refused utterly, unless the Queen under her hand-writing would allow of it; *Bothwell* made answer, That could not be, but the fact must be done without her knowledge.

A little before this time, upon one and the same day died two of the Privy-Council, Sir *John* *Mason* Treasurer of the Queens Chamber, a Grave and Learned man, but a great Usurper and Encroacher upon Ecclesiastical Livings; and Sir *Richard* *Sackville* Vice-Treasurer of the

*Murray* is proclaimed Regent of *Scotland*.

*Bothwell's* Servants at the Gallows, protest that *Murray* & *Morton* were the first Authors of the Kings Murder, and that the Queen was innocent.

Sir *John* *Mason* and Sir *Rich.* *Sackville* die.



Exchequer, a man both Prudent and Provident, and allied to the Queen by her Mother *Anne Bolen*. In his room succeeded *Walter Mildmay*, a man of Wisdom and Integrity: In *Masons* Office came Sir *Francis Knolles*, who married *Katharine Carie*, the Daughter of *Mary Bolen*, the Queens Mothers Sister.

The Marriage of Qu. Elizabeth with the Emperors Brother is again treated of; but after seven years breaks utterly off.

It was now the year 1567, and the tenth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when the Earl of *Stolberg* came into England from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of the Marriage of the Queen with the Arch-Duke *Charles*, upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had sent the Earl of *Sussex* to the Emperour, with the Order of the Garter. But in the treaty of Marriage there fell out so many difficulties about Religion, Maintenance of the Duke, about the Royal Title, and concerning Succession, that after it had been treated of seven whole years together, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke not long after married *Mary* Daughter to *Albert* the Fifth Duke of *Bavaria*; yet both he and the Emperour continued ever after a good correspondence with the Queen.

The Muscovia Company have their Privileges enlarged by the Emperour of Muscovia.

About this time there came from *John Basil* Emperour of *Russia* and *Muscovia*, *Stephen Twerdico*, and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a Present of rich Furs of Otter, Miniver, and the like, tending all service and obsequiousness to the Queen and the English. The Merchants by vertue of a Grant from Queen *Mary*, had combined themselves into a Society, which they called the *Muscovia* Company; and having large Privileges granted them from the Emperour, went thither with a Navy yearly, making a very gainful voyage: but then it proved most gainful, when for the Queens sake they obtained at the Emperour's hands in the year 1569. That none but the English of that Company should Traffick in the North-parts of *Russia*. With these Russian Embassadors there returned into England, *Anthony Jenkinson*, who in his Travels had made curious Observations of *Russia*, set forth a Geographical Description of it, and was the first of the English that failed through the *Caspian* Sea. And this year the eighth of June, Sir *Thomas Sackville* was created Baron of *Buckhurst*, at *Whitehall*.

Sir Thomas Sackville is created Baron of Buckhurst. The Queen of Scots after eleven months Imprisonment escapes and raiseth an Army, but is defeated by Murray.

We have seen before the first Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy: Now comes in the second, having been eleven Months kept a Prisoner, at last, by the help of *George Dowglas*, to whose Brother she was committed, she made escape from *Loch-leyn* to *Hamilton's* Castle; where upon the testimonies of *Robert Melvyn*, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a Sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in Prison, (which is *Justus metus*) was actually void from the beginning. Upon which Declaration, great multitudes flocked to her, so as within a day or two she had gotten an Army of at least six thousand; but when they joyned Battel with *Murray*, being but raw and unexpert Souldiers, they were soon defeated. In this case the Queen sought to save her self by flight, journeying in one day threescore miles, and coming at night to the House of *Maxwell* Lord *Heris*, from thence she sent *John Beton* to Queen Elizabeth, with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutual amity; intima-

ting, that she would come into England, and implore her aid, if her Subjects offered to prosecute her any further. Queen Elizabeth returned answer, that she should expect from her in abundant manner, all loving and friendly Offices.

But before the Messenger was returned, she, contrary to the advice of her friends, entred into a small Bark, and with the Lords, *Heris* & *Flemming*, and a few others, landed at *Wickinton* in *Cumberland*, near the mouth of the River of *Derwent*, the 17th day of May; and the same day wrote Letters to the Queen in French with her own hand, the effect whereof was, That having made an escape from the hands of her insolent & rebellious Subjects, she was now come into England, upon certain hope of her approved clemency, and therefore humbly desiring, she might forthwith be conducted to her Presence. Queen Elizabeth sending Letters by Sir *Francis Knolles*, comforted her, and promised her aid & defence, according to the equity of her cause; but denied her access, for that she was held guilty of many Crimes, giving command to have her brought to *Carlisle*, as a place of better safety. The Queen of Scots receiving this answer, and finding access to the Queen denied her, making request again by Letter, that she might have leave both to unfold the Injuries she had received, and to answer the Crimes objected, in her own presence; humbly intreating her, that either she might be admitted to have conference and assistance, or else have free leave to depart out of England, to gain supply elsewhere, and not to be held a Prisoner in the Castle at *Carlisle*; for as much as she came voluntarily into England, relying upon her love so often professed. Upon these Letters, Qu. Eliz. exceedingly commiserated her case, and could have found in her heart to admit her to her presence, but that her Counsellors conceived it to be matter for consultation, what to do in this case. To detain her in Engl. had many mischiefs attending on it; to send her into France, as many; to send her back into Scotland many more; so as in conclusion, the most were of opinion to have her detained, as one taken by right of War, and not to be dismissed, till she had made satisfaction for assuming the Title of England, & for the death of *Darley* her husband, who was born one of the Queens Subjects. In this diversity of opinions Qu. Eliz. out of her own judgment, sent word by *Middlemore*, to the Regent of Scotland, that he should come himself in person, or else depute some fit persons to answer the Complaints of the Queen of Scots against him and his Confederates, and render sufficient reasons wherefore they had deprived her, otherwise she would forthwith dismiss her, & with all the forces she could, settle her in her Kingdom. To this Summons, *Murray* obeys and comes to *York*, the place appointed for this Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his intimate friends, who stood Delegates for the Infant King, namely, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Bishop of *Orkeneys*, *Robert* of *Dunferm*, *Patrick* Lord of *Lyndsey*, *James* Mack-gilly, and *Henry* Badinary; and with these *Lyndington* the Secretary, and *George Buchanan*. And the very same day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *Ralph Saeler* a Privy Counsellour, appointed Com-

Whereupon she flies into England, and requires access to Qu. Eliz. presence.

1568.

Qu. Eliz. promiseth her aid, but denieth access, yet commands her to be brought to Carlisle.

Reasons for detaining the Queen of Scots.

Qu. Eliz. appoints Commissioners to hear the cause of the Qu. of Scots.



Commissioners for Queen Elizabeth. For the Queen of Scots, (who took it hainously that Queen Elizabeth would not hear the cause, her self, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not tied to their proceedings) there appeared John Lesley Bishop of Ross, William Lord Levenston, Robert Lord Boyde, Comen of Kilwinnin, John Gourdon, and James Cockburn. Being met, Lydington turning himself to the Scots in a wondrous liberty of Speech gave them this advice, Maturely to consider, what prejudice they should draw upon themselves, by accusing the Queen of Scots, and calling her Reputation in question publickly before the English, professed enemies of the Scottish Nation. Likewise, what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper years, and shall see what an injury this was to the Kingdom, his Mother, and his own Person. Wherefore (said he) it seemeth requisite to forbear this business altogether, unless the Queen of England will enter into a mutual league of Offence and Defence, against all those, which under this pretence, shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, the Delegates of the Queen of Scots made Protestation, That although it pleased the Queen of Scots to have the cause between her and her disloyal Subjects, debated before the English, yet she being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yield her self subject to the Jurisdiction and command of any person. On the contrary, the English protested, That they did in no wise admit that Protestation, in prejudice to the right which the Kings of England have anciently challenged as superiour Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland. The day after, the Queen of Scots Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of Morton, Murray, Marre, Glencarn, Humes, and others against the Queen; and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. Murray and his Confederates make answer, That they had done nothing, but by consent of the Peers in Parliament, and that in prosecuting of Bothwell, the Author of the Kings murder, whom the Queen protected; and as for her resignation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of Scots Delegates answered and confuted, affirming in particular, That where there are one hundred Earls, Bishops and Barons, (more or less) that had voyces in the Parliament of Scotland, there were not in that tumultuous assembly they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons; wherefore their earnest Request was, that the Queen of England would be sensible of these indignities offered her; and take some course for a speedy redress.

The Queen of Scots requires to have the French & Spanish Ambassadors to be added to the Commissioners.

After this, some new Commissioners from Queen Elizabeth were added to the former, to some of whom the Queen of Scots took exception; unless the French and Spanish Embassadors might be taken in, and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publickly to defend her own innocency; and that Murray might be detained and cited, whom she affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murder of her Husband Darley. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke

of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundell, Suffex, Leicester, and the Lord Clinton. But Queen Elizabeth waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of Scots should never want an Advocate as long as Norfolk lived: It was seen here, which is said, that the heart of the King is inscrutable; for how Queen Elizabeth stood affected in this case of the Queen of Scots, no man could well discern; she detested the insolency of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to restore her.

After long agitation of this business, and nothing concluded, Murray a little before his return into Scotland, slyly propounded the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk; which he with a modest answer rejected as a thing full of danger. But withal, Murray the more to alienate Queen Elizabeths mind from the Queen of Scots, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of Andyn her Right to the Crown of England, and that the transaction was confirmed at Rome; he shewed Letters also which the Queen of Scots had written to some Friends whom she trusted; wherein she accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and boasting of succours she expected from some others. This last clause something troubled Queen Elizabeth, neither could she conjecture from whence any such succour should come; seeing both France with the Civil Wars, and the King of Spain in the Low-Countries had enough to do at home. But at last it brake out, that one Robert Ridolph a Florentine, under the habit of a Merchant in London, was suborned by Pope Pius the Fifth, to make a secret commotion of the Papists in Engl. against the Queen, which he performed indeed with a deal of secrecy, and much cunning; whereupon the Queen of Scots was removed from Bolton (a Castle of the Lord Scroops) where all the neighbouring people were Papists, to Tutbury more toward the heart of the Country, under the Custody of George Earl of Shrewsbury.

About this time the Guises in France, and the Duke D'Alva in the Low-Countries began to endeavor the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In France, the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen Elizabeth forgetting the fickleness of the Protestants at Newhaven, once again takes upon her their protection, supplies them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and with all humanity receives the French that fled into England; therather, for that they made solemn protestation, they took not up Arms against their Prince, but only stood upon their own defence. In the Low-Countries likewise, the Duke D'Alva breathing nothing but slaughter and blood, made the Dutch come flocking into England, as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesie they were received.

And here it will be fit to shew how the War in the Low-Countries began first, which was thus: At which time the King of Spain brought in the Spanish Inquisition, a small number of the meaner sort of people, in tumultuous manner, cast the Images out of Churches, and brake them in pieces: and although that tumult was soon quieted, yet the King of Spain taking advantage at the rash-

Murray proponds the Marriage of the Qu. of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

Ridolph a Florentine, incites the Papists in the behalf of the Qu. of Scots.

The Protestants persecuted in France by the Guises, fly into England.

How the War in the Low-Countries first began.



rashness of a few, to charge the whole nation with Rebellion, sent amongst them *Ferdinando Alvarez*, Duke *D'Alva*, a bloody and fierce man, who (contrary to the Ordinances and Customs of the Country) took away all authority from the ordinary Courts of Justice; erected new Consistories; condemned and put to death the Peers, without tryal by their lawful Judges; placed Garrisons of *Spaniards* throughout all their Cities and Villages, and by force exacted the 20th part of the Fruits of the Earth, and the tenth of the moveables upon every Alienation. At that time a mighty mass of money borrowed from the *Genoways*, and other *Italian Merchants* was sent out of *Spain* into the *Low-Countries*, there to be imployed to interest, which being brought by Shipping, was pursued by the *French*; and forced to fly for succour into the Havens of *England*, whom the *Qu.* commanded to be succour'd; as conceiving the money to be the King of *Spains*, as it was given out: But at the same time, Cardinal *Odette* coming out of *France* into *England*, and giving notice to the Queen, that the money was not the King of *Spains*, but belonged to certain Merchants of *Genova*, from whence the Duke *D'Alva* had taken it against their will, with a purpose to imploy it to the ruine of the Protestants; and information also being given her by one that had a property in the money that it was so; she determined to put in security, & to borrow the money of the Merchants her self, which is an usual thing with Princes, when Goods are taken in their Ports; and the King of *Spain* himself had lately done the like. The Duke *D'Alva* being informed of this dealing of the Queens, by *Gerard de Spese*, the King of *Spains* Embassador in *England*, seizeth presently upon all the Goods of the *English* in the *Low-Countries*, and kept the men prisoners; The Queen did the like with the *Dutch Merchants* in *England*; Letters of Mart were granted on both sides, and this grew to such a quarrel between the Nations, that being nourished with other differences afterward, it brought forth in Eighty Eight that *Spanish* Invasion, which is, and will be memorable in all future Ages.

Letters of Mart granted against Spain.

1569.

Sir William Cecil accused by the Duke of Norfolk & others, is protected by the Queen.

Upon occasion of this money detained, certain Peers of *England*, amongst whom were the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Leicester*, and others, accused Sir *William Cecil*, for sending away money into *France*, making this their colour, but done indeed out of envying his great favour with the Queen, and suspecting him to incline to the House of *Suffolk* in the matter of succession. Hereupon they consult secretly how to get him imprison'd; and *Throgmorton* (who envied him as much as they) suggesting that if he were once clapp'd up, they might soon find out a way to crush him; But the Queen (by what means it is uncertain) coming to have notice hereof, gave a check to their purpose, and protected *Cecil* against their combined practices.

The Earl *Murray* being returned into *Scotland*, makes the Lords believe that he desires a meeting at *Edinburgh*, to consult about restoring the Queen to her Liberty, but as *Hamilton* Duke of *Chasteau Herald* (appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdom by the Queen) and the Lord *Heris*

were coming thither, he circumvented them, and before any of the rest came, cast them into Prison; and forthwith in an open War oppresseth all her Favoures. It may be thought, the Earl *Murray* could have been content the Queen should have been set at liberty; but that he knew, her liberty could not be without his servitude; and Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps would willingly have had her restored to her Kingdom, but that she doubted, such restoring would indanger her own security: And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the first place, and hers but in the second, she had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happiness to be relieved; and all she could do her self, was but to tie the knot of her bonds the faster; if she could have fate still, they would perhaps have loosened of themselves; but now, the more she stirred, the more she was intangled.

And now the Destiny of the Duke of *Norfolk* began to work: It was in every ones mouth, that the Duke should marry the Queen of *Scots*; and it is true, there had been motions made; but the matter not so forward, as the Voice of the People, which commonly presageth what will follow. It had been motion'd to the Duke at *Tork*, by the Bishop of *Rosse*; and afterward (in pretence at least) by *Murray* himself at *Hampton-Court*; but the Duke, before he would resolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earl of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Suffex*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and *Leicester* himself, who all judged it fit, he should acquaint the Queen with it first, and then leave the matter to her liking. Within a few days, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* meeting the Duke in the Palace at *Westminster*, advised him, to move the Earl of *Leicester* himself to embrace the Match, seeing he had formerly sued for it: but if he refused it, then at least to take him along with him, for that himself alone would hardly be able to procure the Queens consent. A day or two after, the Earl of *Leicester* propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicateth it to the Earls of *Arundell* and *Pembroke*, who thereupon, together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, commending the Duke of *Norfolk* to her for a Husband; the Duke himself likewise writeth to her, tending his singular love and respect unto her. Upon this, Articles are drawn, written with *Leicesters* own hand, & sent to the Queen of *Scots*; to which if she consented, they then promised to procure, that Queen *Elizabeth* should give her assent, and that forthwith she should be re-invested in her Kingdom, and the Succession of *England* should be confirmed upon her. We may easily believe, the Queen of *Scots* was not hardly drawn to give consent to her own desire; but in the mean time, the Duke had imparted to the Lord *Lumley* the whole proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of *Leicesters* consent that he might advise of it with some other of his Friends; yet a little after, he opened the matter to *Cecil* also.

The Duke of Norfolk first proceeding about the Marriage with the Queen of Scots.

Articles between them are drawn by Leicester.

The rumour of this Marriage was soon come to the Queens Ears; which the Duke understanding, he dealt earnestly with the Earl of *Leicester*, to have the matter propounded to the Queen out of hand. *Leicester* makes delays, and pretends causes to put it off; which *Cecil* seeing, he adviseth the Duke to go and acquaint the

*Leicester* promiseth to acquaint *Qu. Eliz.* with the matter, but delays.



the Queen with it himself. This Counsel *Leicester* opposed, promising to open it to the Queen as she went in Progress. At length, at *Farnham*, the Duke standing by as the Queen sat at Table, she gave him a tart Admonition, That he were best take heed upon what Pillow he rested his Head. After this, at *Titchfield*, *Leicester* fell sick, or at least counterfeited; to whom the Queen coming, and bidding him be of good cheer, he with sighs and tears craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to her the whole story from the very beginning. Whereupon, the Queen called the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him sharply, for going about the Marriage, without acquainting her; and commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to desist. The Duke made her a free and hearty promise of obedience, and spared not to say (as if he little regarded the Queen of Scots) that his Revenues in *England* were not much less than hers in *Scotland*; and that when he was at his House in *Norwich*, he thought himself in a sort not inferior to some Kings; but notwithstanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving *Leicester* to be in a manner quite alienated, and most of the Nobility also, as scarcely saluting him when they met him; he grew extremely dejected, and prepared presently to leave the Court, meaning to stay at *Norwich*, till by his friends intercession, and his own submissive Letters, the Queens heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was suspiciously fearful, lest he should raise Rebellion, and (they say) it was concluded, that if he did so, the Queen of Scots should presently be made away. And now the Duke, who held secret commerce by Letters with the Bishop of *Rosse*, *Throgmorton* and *Leicester* (for they were sent to and fro in bottles) being examined touching the marriage of the Queen of Scots, and certain secret conferences with the Bishop of *Rosse*, confessed most of the Objections, and was thereupon committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir *Henry Nevill*; within two days after the Bishop of *Rosse* likewise is examined, and together with the Florentine *Robert Ridolph* is delivered to the custody of Sir *Francis Walsingham*; the Earl of *Pembroke* is confined to his house, and examined privately; but his confession was not committed to writing: It being his Request, because he could not write himself. At this time, the rumour of Insurrection in the North begun in Autumn before, grew very strong, by reason of some frequent meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance, sent for to repair presently to the Queen, make delays (for they stayed waiting for supplies, both from the Scots, and from the Duke *D'Alva*) when the Earl of *Northumberland* doubting what to do, was frightened of purpose by his servants, telling him, that men in Arms were near at hand to apprehend him; Who thereupon in a tempestuous night, riseth out of his Bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at *Topcliffe*, and the night following to *Branspeth*, to the Earl of *Westmerlands* House, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterprize: Here they brake forth in an open Rebellion, being pressed forward by one *Nicholas Morton* a *Romish* Priest, sent by the Pope to

pronounce *Queen Elizabeth* an Heretick; and therefore to have utterly lost all Right of Sovereignty: By and by they send forth a Writing, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-Fathers might be restored, wicked Counsellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of *Norfolk* and others of the loyal Nobility relieved, who were now in disgrace; but towards the Queen, professing themselves most dutiful Subjects; withal they send Letters to the Papists all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their assistance; but they were so far from joyning with them, that many sent both the Letters and the Bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aids and purses against them, no less then the best Protestants; even the Duke of *Norfolk* himself was not backward in it.

These Rebels go first to *Durham*, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common Prayer they could find in Churches of the *English* Tongue: when they had been twelve days in Rebellion, they numbred their Army, and could not reckon above six hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot: whereupon being certainly informed, that the Earl of *Suffex* with seven thousand, and the Earl of *Warwick* with twelve, were setting out against them, they betook themselves to *Rabie*, the chief House of the Earl of *Westmerland*; going from thence, they besieged *Bernards* Castle, which for lack of Provision, was yielded to them. At which time being proclaimed Traytors, and hearing a-fresh of the great Forces that were coming against them, the two Earls with a small Company get presently into *Scotland*, hard by where the Earl of *Northumberland* hid himself at *Harclow* in a poor Cottage, amongst the *Grayhams* (famous Robbers) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl of *Murray*: *Westmerland* made a shift to get into the Low-Countries, where he had a slender Pension from the King of *Spain*, & there lived even to old age. Of the rest, for terror and examples sake, there were hanged at *Durham* threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom, *Plomtree* a noted Priest. At *York* were executed, *Simon Digby*, *John Fulthorp*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Robert Penyman*; and at *London* a few months after, *Christopher* and *Thomas*; and some other in other places. After this, the Heads of the Rebels being convicted of High-Treason, were proscribed; namely *Charles* Earl of *Westmerland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Anne* Countess of *Northumberland*, *Edward* Dacres of *Morton*, *John* Nevill of *Leversege*, *John* Swinborn, *Thomas* Markensfield, *Egremond* Ratcliff, Brother to the Earl of *Suffex*, *Christopher* Nevill, *Richard* Norton, *Christopher* Marmaduke, *Robert* and *Michael* Tempest, *George* Stafford, and forty others of good account. Out of the ashes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at *Naworth* in *Cum-berland* by *Leonard* Dacres, second Son to the Lord Dacres of *Gyllisland*; He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner than he expected, & he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kiss the Queens hand, tendred his service to go against them; and to that purpose, was sent home; but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the Rebels, and encouraged

But pursued by the Queens Army, they fly.

*Westmerland* in the Low-Countries, where he lived poorly to old age.

*Northumberland* was taken and proscribed.

After this, *Leonard* Dacres raiseth an Army, but is defeated, and fleeth into the Low-Countries.

But coming at last to her knowledge, she commands the Duke upon his Allegiance to desist, which he promiseth.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* raise Arms in the North, and why.



encouraged them to go on; & by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castle of *Greystock*, and other Houses of the *Dacres*, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountred by the Baron of *Hunsdon*, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into *Scotland*, from whence soon after he passed over to the *Low-Countries*, and in great misery and poverty died at *Louvayn*.

Qu. Eliz.  
assisteth  
the Prote-  
stants in  
France.

But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not careless of the afflicted Protestants in *France*: for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause; supplied them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of *Navarr's* Jewels; and gave leave to *Hen. Champernon* to lead into *France* a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries; amongst whom were *Philip Butshed*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Raleigh*, a very young man, who now began to look into the World. But as the Queen of *England* assisted the *French*, so in revenge thereof, the King of *France* meant to assist the *Scots*, but that he was taken away by death.

There was at that time a Rebellion in *Ireland* also, raised by *Edmund* and *Peter*, Brothers to *Boteler* Earl of *Ormond*, but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl of *Ormond* first by perswasions, obtained of them to submit themselves; and when notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be attainted of Rebellion. The rest of the Rebels were pursued by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and soon dispersed.

The Earl  
of Murray  
Regent of  
Scotland, is  
murdered  
riding in  
the street.

And now the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, when he had brought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at *Lithquo*, riding along the Streets, was shot into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navil, and there fell down dead. The Actor was a *Hamilton*, who did it upon a private revenge, for that *Murray* had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

After *Murray's* death, the Country being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders. *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal men amongst the *Scottish* Borders, and devoted to the Queen of *Scots*, made Inrodes into *England*, wasting all places with Fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Suffex*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were defeated: In whose pursuit, three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Mannors*, Sir *George Carie*, Sir *Robert Constable*, and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked Counsel of Queen *Elizabeth* in the matter; but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of *Scots*, whose case was not yet tried,

they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Regent; which Queen *Elizabeth* did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King, being his Grand-child.

Matthew  
Earl of Le-  
nox is  
made Re-  
gent in his  
place.

But while Qu. *Elizabeth* favoured the Kings Party in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, (the Queen of *Scots* Lieutenants) imploy the Lord *Seton* to the Duke D' *Alva*, requiring him for many great Reasons, to vindicate the Queen of *Scots* liberty, alledging how acceptable a Work it would be to all Christian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church: Whereunto the Duke made Answer, They should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their request. At which time also the *French* King dealt earnestly with Queen *Elizabeth* to the same purpose; and the *Spanish* Embassadour in his Masters name urged it no less extreamly: but Queen *Elizabeth* assaulted with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour required at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, out comes Pope *Pius Quintus* with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the night-time upon the Gate of the Bishop of *London's* Palace, wherein all her Subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty; and all that obey her, accursed with *Anathema*. He that fastned up the Bull was one *John Felton*, who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the Fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged near the place where he had fastned the Writing.

Many Prin-  
ces intreat  
Qu. Eliz.  
to set the  
Queen of  
Scots at li-  
berty;  
and her  
Answer.

A Bull of  
Pius Quin-  
tus against  
Queen Eli-  
zabeth, for  
detaining  
the Queen  
of Scots.  
Felton that  
brought  
the Bull,  
hanged.

The same day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* seeming now extream penitent for his fault, and utterly to abhor the Marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of Sir *Henry Nevill* still. Indeed *Cecil* being a good Friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the law of 25 of *Edward* the Third could not take hold upon him: and now being in a kind of liberty, *Cecil* deals earnestly with him to marry speedily some other, thereby to take away all suspicion in that behalf; yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

The Duke  
of Norfolk  
upon his  
penitence  
is deliver-  
ed out of  
the Tower,  
and Cecil's  
counsel to  
him.

At this time died *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Grand-child of an Earl of *Pembroke*, yet the Son but of an Esquire, and Grandfather to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery* now living, who lieth buried in *Pauls* under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription, testifying his great deservings while he lived.

Many Conspiracies were at this time to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty; amongst others, there Conspired *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons of the Earl of *Derby*, with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the Lords

Many Con-  
spiracies to  
set the Qu.  
of Scots at  
liberty.



Lords of the Queen of Scots Party continuing to protect the English Rebels, the Earl of *Suffex*, once again, accompanied with the Lord *Scroop*, entred *Scotland*, burneth the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compelleth the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing signed with their own Hands and Seals, to forsake the English Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of *Suffex* returning home, made these Knights, *Edward Hastings*, *Francis Russel*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Carwen*, and *Simon Musgrave*.

Queen *Elizabeths* mind being now in great suspension, by reason of that Bull from *Rome*, and the late conspiracy in *Norfolk*, sent Sir *William Cecil* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of Scots, who was then at *Chattsworth* in *Derbyshire*, to consult with her by what means the breach in *Scotland* might best be made up, she re-invested in her former dignity, and her Son & Queen *Elizabeth* might be secured. The Queen of Scots did little deplore her own afflicted condition, putting her self wholly upon the Queens clemency: when the Commissioners made unto her certain Propositions of Agreement: First, That the Treaty of *Edenburgh* should be confirmed: Then, that she should renounce her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeths* life, or any Children of her Body lawfully begotten: Then, that she should send her Son for a Hostage into *England*, with other six Hostages, such as the Queen should nominate: Then, that the Castles of *Humes* and *East-castle* should be held by the English for three years: with some other. To which Propositions the Queen of Scots for the present gave a provident answer; but referred the fuller Answer to the Bishop of *Ross*, her Ambassador in *England*, and some other Delegates; who afterwards allowing some of the Propositions, and not allowing others; the Treaty came to nothing, but the matter rested in the state it was before.

At this time *Philip* King of *Spain* had contracted a Marriage with *Anne* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, his own Niece by his Sister; who was now seeing Sail from *Zealand*, towards *Spain*, when Queen *Elizabeth*, to testifie her love and respect to the House of *Austria*, sent Sir *Charles Howard* with the Navy-Royal, to conduct her through the *British* Sea.

And now was the twelfth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign finished; which certain Wizards had made Papists believe should be her last: but contrary, as if it were but her first, a new Custom began, of celebrating the seventeenth day of *November* (the Anniversary day of her Reign) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings and Bonfires: which Custom, as it now began, so it was never given over as long as she lived, and is not yet forborn so long after her death.

At this time in *Ireland*, *Connagher O'Brien*, Earl of *Thowmond*, not brooking the severe Government of *Edward Fitton*, President of *Connaght*, entred into consultation with some few, to raise a new Rebellion; which, being at the point ready to break forth, was strangely discovered: for the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, sent the

Earl word in a friendly manner, that the next day he and a few friends with him would be his Guests. The Earl convinced by his own Conscience, imagined that his Intendments were revealed; that *Fitton* would come as an Enemy, rather than a Guest. Out of which fear, he presently set sail into *France*; where repenting him seriously of his fault, he confessed the whole business to *Norris* the Queens Ambassador in *France*; and by his intercession, was afterward pardoned and restored.

In *January*, the thirteenth year of her Reign, Queen *Elizabeth* in Royal pomp entring the City of *London*, went to see the Burse which Sir *Thomas Gresham* had lately built for the use of the Merchants; and with sound of Trumpets, and the voice of a Herald, solemnly named it the *Royal Exchange*. A few dayes after, for his many great Services, she made Sir *William Cecil* Baron *Burghley*.

There were now about the Scottish affairs, in the name of the King of Scots, the Earl of *Morton*, *Pernare* Abbot of *Dumfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gray*; whom when Queen *Elizabeth* required to shew more clearly, for what causes they had deposed the Queen; they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary; wherein, with a certain insolent liberty, they endeavoured to prove, by the ancient Right of the Kingdom of *Scotl.* that the people of *Scotland* were above the King: and urged *Calvins* Authority also, that Popular Magistrates are constituted for the moderation of the licentiousness of Princes: and that it is lawful for them, both to imprison Kings, and upon just causes, to depose them. This Writing the Queen could not read without indignation; but to the Delegates, she gave this Answer; She saw no just cause yet, why they should handle the Queen in such manner; and therefore willed them to think upon some course out of hand, how to allay the dissensions in *Scotland*. Hereupon in Sir *Nicholas Bacons* house, Keeper of the Great-Seal, a Proposition was made to the Bishop of *Ross*, the Bishop of *Galloway*, and Baron *Levingston*, Delegates for the Queen of Scots, that for the security of the Kingdom, and the Queen of *England*, it were requisite, that before the Queen of Scots should be set at liberty, the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Humes*, *Heris*, and another of the Barons should be delivered for Hostages, and the Castles of *Dumbrition* and *Humes*, yielded up into the hands of the English for three years. But they made answer, that to yield up great Personages, and such Fortifications as were demanded, were nothing else, but to leave the miserable Queen utterly destitute of faithful friends, and naked of all places fit for guard and defence: yet they offered, to give two Earls and two Barons for Hostages, till two years were expired: which not being accepted, they straightway gathered, and spoke it openly; That now they plainly perceived the English meant to keep the Queen of Scots perpetually prisoner, and likewise to break off the Treaty; seeing they rigorously demanded such security as *Scotland* was not able to make good. And now Queen *Elizabeth* seeing that nothing could be done for her own, the King and Queen of Scots safety, unless both Factions in *Scotland* consented; she held it fit

1571.

Sir Will. Cecil is made Baron of Burghley.

Qu. Eliz. requireth the Scottish Lords to shew for what cause they had deposed their Qu. and what was done in it.

Propositions made to the Qu. of Scots, for setting her at liberty.

But came to nothing.

1570. The 17th day of November began to be celebrated in honour of Qu. Elizabeth's coming to the Crown. The Ea. of Thowmond intending Rebellion, is strangely discovered. A guilty Conscience betrays it self.

C c c

that



that the Lords of *Scotland* should themselves appoint some chosen persons to compound the matter.

While matters in *England* proceeded in this sort, the Queens Party in *Scotland* was hardly used. *Dumbrison Fryth*, the strongest Castle in *Scotland* was taken: and *J. Hamilton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, the Duke of *Castle-Heralds* Brother, as an accessory to the murder of *Darley*, was hanged without being arraigned according to Law. In *England*, the Queen of *Scots* had all her Servants taken from her, except ten only, and a Priest to say Mass: with which indignities the Queen of *Scots* provoked, causeth a large Commentary of her Counsels, with certain love-Letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carried to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolphus*; wch being brought first to the Duke; *Higford* (one that waited on the Duke in his Bed-chamber) had copied out: but being commanded to burn them, he hid them under a mat in the Dukes Bed-chamber; and that (it should seem) purposely. *Ridolphus* to draw on the Duke to be Head of the discontented Party in *England*, aggravated to him the wrongs he had suffered: how against all Law he had been kept a long time in Prison, and now to his great disgrace was not summoned to the Parliament: he exhibited to him a Catalogue of such of the Nobility, who had vowed to assist him: he shewed how the Pope (so the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himself undergo all the charge of the War, & had already laid down an hundred thousand Crowns; whereof himself had distributed twelve thousand among the *English* that were fled: he promised, that the K. of *Spain* would send four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to his Assistance; to these Reasons the Bishop of *Ross* added, that it was an easie matter for him to surprize the Queen; whom when he had in hands, he might set the Q. of *Scots* at liberty, and might easily obtain of Queen *Elizabeth*, a toleration of Religion. The former Reasons took somewhat with the Duke, but this point of surprizing the Queen, he abhorred, as an impious Fact, and therefore rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

In *France*, a little before this, was the Marriage solemnized between *Charles* the Ninth King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*; in gratulation whereof, Queen *Elizabeth* sent into *France*, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurst*, who with great magnificence was received, and perhaps the more, in regard of a motion now intended to be made: for the Lord *Buckhurst* having in his retinue, one *Guydo Cavalcanti*, a Noble man of *Florence*; the Queen-Mother of *France*, as being a *Florentine* her self, had often conference with him, when she would many times say, What a happiness it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of *England*, & her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*; and at last desired him to commend the motion to the Queen of *England*, both from her, and from her Son the King of *France*, as a thing they both exceedingly desired. The Lord *Buckhurst* returned, having for a present from the King of *France* a Chain weighing a thousand *French* Crowns; and *Cavalcanti* at his return made the motion to the Queen, who

A motion of a Match between Qu. Eliz. and the D. of Anjou.

seemed not unwilling to harken to it; for by this Match, there should be added to the Kingdom of *England* the wealthy Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Burbon*, *Averne*, and in possibility, the Kingdom of *France* it self. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the *French* propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another, concerning the Joynt Administration of the Kingdom; a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion: to which it was answered, That the two first Articles might in some sort be composed, but the third, scarce possibly; for though a contrary Religion might be tolerated between Subjects of the same Kingdom; yet between a wife and her Husband it seemed very incongruous and inconvenient: Yet the matter at last came to this conclusion, That if the Duke would afford his presence with the Queen at Divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he should not be compelled to use the *English* Rites, but at his pleasure use the *Roman*; not being expressly against the Word of God. But upon these *Punctilios* they could not accord: and so the Treaty, after it had continued almost a year, brake utterly off. It was indeed generally thought, that the Match was never really intended on either side, but that they both pretended it, only for their own ends; for the Earl of *Leicester* (who knew more of the Queens mind than any man) wrote at this time to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Queens Ambassador in *France*, that he found the Queens inclination so cold in the matter, that though the point of Religion were fully accorded; yet she would find one point or other to break it off.

At this time the Continuance of the Duke of *Norfolk*s affection towards the Queen of *Scots*, came to be discovered by a Packet of Letters, sent by *Ridolphus* to the Bishop of *Ross*, and by *Bayliff*s confession (who brought the Letters) being set upon the Rack: so as the Bishop of *Ross* was confined to the Isle of *Ely*; *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rolston*, were cast into the Tower; and *Henry Howard*, who had an aspiring mind to be Archbishop, was committed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*s keeping. At the same time the Queen of *Scots* sent money to her Confederates in *Scotland*, which being by *Higford* delivered to one *Brown* to carry, and told it was Silver, when he found by the weight that it was Gold, he began to suspect something; and therefore went and delivered both the money and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this *Higford* being examined, confessed the whole matter; and withal gave notice of that Commentary also of the Queen of *Scots*, which is mentioned before; two daies after, the Duke himself being examined, and knowing nothing what his Servants had confessed, denied every particular; and thereupon was brought again to the Tower, by *Ralph Sadler* *Thomas Smith*, *Henry Nevil*, and Doctor *Wilson*: And after him *Bannester*, who was the Dukes Counsel at Law: The Earls of *Arundell* and *Southampton*; the Lord *Lumly*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Henry Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powel*, *Goodyer*, and others, are committed to Prison, who upon hope of Pardon, confessed all they knew concerning the matter: when these things & especially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were shewed

The Articles of the Match.

But could not be agreed; and so the Treaty brake utterly off.

The Duke of Norfolk's affection to the Queen of Scots, is discovered to continue; and by what means.

He is committed again to the Tower.



shewed him, he then cryed out, I am betrayed by my own Servants; not having learned to be distrustful, which is the very sinew of Wisdome. And then with all submission, he besought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he protested he never had the least thought of doing any hurt.

And now seeing it appeared, that the Bishop of Ross had been the whole contriver of the business, it was deliberated what to do to him, because he was an Ambassador. Hereupon divers Civilians are called; as David Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones; of whom these questions were asked:

First, *Whether an Ambassador who raiseth Rebellion against the Prince to whom he is an Ambassador, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambassador, and is not liable to punishment?*

They answered, *That such an Ambassador hath forfeited the Priviledges of an Ambassador, and is liable to punishment.*

Secondly, *Whether the Minister or Proctor of a Prince, who is deposed by publick Authority, and in whose room another is Inaugurated, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambassador?*

They answered, *That if such a Prince be lawfully deposed, his Proctor cannot challenge the Priviledges of an Ambassador, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes, and such as have Right of Majesty, can appoint Ambassadors.*

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Princes Country, and held in Custody, may have his Proctor; and if he shall be held an Ambassador?*

They answered, *If such a Prince have not lost his Sovereignty, he may have his Proctor; but whether that Proctor shall be reputed as an Ambassador or no, this dependeth on the Authority of his Delegation.*

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince gave warning to such a Proctor, and to his Prince who is under Custody that this Proctor shall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambassador; whether that Proctor may by Law challenge the Priviledge of an Ambassador.*

They answered, *A Prince may forbid an Ambassador to enter into his Kingdom, and may command him to depart the Kingdom, if he contain not himself within his due limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambassador.*

Upon these Answers, the Bishop of Ross is warned by the Lords of the Council, That he shall no longer be esteemed an Ambassador, but be punished as his fault shall deserve. The Bishop alledged for himself, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambassador *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti* (to use his own words) and therefore advised them, not to use harder measure to him than was used to the English Ambassadors,

*Throgmorton in Fance, Randol and Tamworth in Scotland*; who had raised Rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the same; and yet had no greater punishment, then to be gone at a time limited. When they began to urge him what the English had testified against him, he lovingly requested them to give no credit to it; forasmuch as by a received custom, which hath the force of a Law, the Testimony of an English man against a Scot, or of a Scot against an English man is not to be admitted: But after some altercations, the Bishop is led away to the Tower, and kept close Prisoner.

At this very season, Matthew Earl of Lenox, Regent of Scotland, the Kings Grandfather, was by the adverse party set upon at unawares; who having yielded himself to David Spense, of Worcester, (that was then careful to defend him) together with him, was slain by Bell and Caulder; when with great Industry he had governed the Kingdom for his Grand-Child about fourteen months. In whose room, John Ereskin Earl of Marre, by common consent of the Kings Faction, was chosen Regent of Scotland; who being a man of a quiet disposition, through extreme grief of the many troubles he sustained in the place, departed this life, when he had governed thirteen months.

And now a Parliament was held at Westminster; wherein, besides a Law for preventing of the treacherous endeavors of seditious Subjects, another Law was made, That if any one during the Queens life, by Books written or printed, shall expressly affirm, That any is, or ought to be the Heir or Successor of the Queen, (besides the natural Off-spring of her Body) or shall to that purpose publish, print, or disperse any Book or Schedules; he, and his favourers, shall for the first offence suffer a years Imprisonment, and the loss of one half of his Goods: and if they offend again, they shall be in a *Framunire*. A Law also was made, by which to be reconciled to the See of Rome, was made Treason; and it was pronounced against the Queen of Scots, That if she offended again against the Laws of England, it might be lawful to question her, as the Wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of England. But here the Queen interposed her Authority, and would not suffer it to be enacted. About this time, in May, a solemn Tilting was performed at Westminster; where the Challengers were Edward Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton Esquire; who all did very valiantly, but the Earl of Oxford best.

As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, a Consultation was held, Whether John Story, Doctor of the Laws, the Duke D'Alva's Searcher (who some time before, was by a wile brought into England) being an English man born; and having in Brabant consulted with a forain Prince about the invading of England, were to be held guilty of High-Treason? It was resolved affirmatively: Whereupon he his called to the Bar, and indicted of Treason; That he had consulted with one Preshall a Conjurer, to make away the Queen; That he cursed her daily, when he said Grace at Table: That he shewed a way to the Secretary of Duke D'Alva, how to invade England, &c. Where he affirming, that the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he

The Civilians deliver their opinions what may be done with an Ambassador, if he prove a Practicer against the State.

Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent of Scotland is murdered.

In his place is set the Earl of Marre, who died within thirteen months.

To be reconciled to the See of Rome made Treason.

John Story Dr. of the Laws, executed for Treason, and why.

What the Bishop of Ross pleaded for himself.



belonged not to the Queen of England, but was the King of Spains sworn Subject; is nevertheless condemned by the Form of *Nihil dicit* (forasmuch as no man can renounce the Country wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for John Perrot President of Munster, had brought James Fitz Morris to submit himself, and crave pardon. Sidney, the Lord Deputy, returned into England, and Sir William Fitz Williams, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his room.

1573. It was now the fifteenth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign; when Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, on the sixteenth day of January, was brought to his Tryal at Westminster-Hall, where sate as Commissioners, George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (made high Steward of England for that day) Renold Gray Earl of Kent, Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Sussex, Henry Hastings Earl of Huntington, Francis Russel Earl of Bedford, Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Edward Seymour Earl of Hartford, Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester; Walter Devereux Viscount of Hereford, Edward Lord Clinton, Admiral; William Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain; William Cecill Lord Burley, Secretary; Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, James Blunt Lord Mountjoy, William Lord Sands, Thomas Lord Wentworth, William Lord Borough, Lewis Lord Mordant, John Paulet Lord St. John of Basing, Robert Lord Rich, Roger Lord North, Edmond Bruges Lord Chandos, Olinier Lord St. John of Bletsho, Thomas Sackvyle Lord Buckhurst, and William West Lord de la Ware. After silence bidden, Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, was commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clark of the Crown said, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, late of Keningale, in the County of Norfolk, Hold up thy hand; which done, the Clark with a loud Voice readeth the Crimes laid to his Charge: That in the eleventh year of the Queens Reign, he had trayterously consulted to make her away, and to bring in foreign Forces for invading the Kingdom: Also that he dealt with the Queen of Scots concerning Marriage, contrary to his promise made to the Queen under his hand-writing: Also, that he relieved with money the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, that had stirred up Rebellion against the Queen: also, That in the 13th year of the Queens Reign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope Pius the Fifth, the Queens professed Enemy, of the King of Spain, and the Duke D'Alva, for the freeing of the Queen of Scots, and restoring of the Popish Religion: And lastly, that he sent supply to the Lord Heris, and other the Queens Enemies in Scotland.

No Coun-  
fel to be  
allowed in  
case of  
Treason.  
These Indictments being read, the Clark demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these Crimes, or not? Here the Duke requested he might be allowed to have Counsel. But Catiline chief Justice, made answer, That it was not lawful. Yet (said the Duke) I have heard that Humphry Stafford, in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in a Case of Treason, had one assigned to plead for him. To which Dyer chief Justice of the Common pleas, made answer, That

Stafford had Counsel assigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary from whence he was taken by force; but in the Indictment of Treason, he pleaded his own cause. After this, the Duke yielded to be tryed by the Peers; first Barham, Serjeant at Law, then Gerrard the Queens Attorney, and lastly, Bromely, the Queens Solicitor, enforced the Crimes objected against him: to all which, the Duke made colourable answers; but most of them being proved by sufficient testimony, he asked upon occasion, Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted Enemies? to which Catiline answered, They were; and that the Queen of England might wage War with any Duke of France, and yet hold firm peace with the French King. When it grew towards night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any more to say for himself: who answer'd, I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord Steward beginning at the lowermost, asked them, My Lord de la Ware, Is Thomas Duke of Norfolk guilty of these Crimes of High Treason, for which he is called in question? he rising up and laying his hand upon his breast answered, Guilty: in like manner they answered all. After this, the Lord Steward with tears in his eyes, pronounced sentence in form as is used. A few days after were Barnes and Mather executed, who conspired with one Herle, to make away certain of the Counsellors, and to free the Duke; but Herle revealed the business presently, to whom Barnes (when he saw his Accuser brought forth) smilingly said, Herle, thou wert but one hour before me, else I had been in thy place for the Accuser, and thou in my room to be hanged: At the same time with them was hanged also Henry Rolf, for counterfeiting the Queens hand. But though the Duke was now condemned, yet the Queen was so tender of his case, that it was four months after before he was executed; at last, on the second of June, at eight of the clock in the Morning he was brought to the Scaffold upon Tower Hill, and there beheaded.

The Duke  
is behead-  
ed.

At this time, and upon this occasion, a Parliament was Assembled, wherein, amongst other Laws, it was Enacted; That if any man should go about to free any person imprisoned by the Queens Commandment, for Treason or suspicion of Treason, and not yet arraigned, he shall lose all his Goods for his life-time, and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure; if the said person having been arraigned, the Rescuer shall forfeit his life; if condemned, he shall be guilty of Rebellion.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created Walter Devereux E. of Essex, being before but Viscount Hereford; because he was descended by his Great-grand-mother, from the Bourchiers, and made the Lord Clinton (who had large Revenues in Lincoln-shire) Earl of Lincoln; Also she called forth John Pawlet of Basing, the Marquess of Winchesters Son, Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, and Henry Norris, for Barons by Summons.

Walter De-  
vereux is  
created  
Earl of Es-  
sex, and  
by what  
right.

The Lord  
Clinton is  
made Earl  
of Lincoln.  
Hen. Com-  
pton, Henry  
Cheyney, &  
Henry Nor-  
ris are  
made Ba-  
rons by  
Summons.

Within ten days after the Dukes death, William Lord de la Ware, Sir Ralph Sadler, Thomas Wilson, Doctor of the Laws, and Thomas Bromley



Qu. Eliz. sends the Lord de la Ware and others to the Qu. to charge her with many Crimes; & what she answer'd.

ley the Queens Solicitor, were sent to the Queen of Scots, to expostulate with her, That she had usurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of England, and had not renounced the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty at Edenburgh; That she had endeavoured the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk, without acquainting the Queen, and had used all forcible means to free him out of Prison, had raised the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in Scotland and in the Low-Countries; had implored Aids from the Pope, the King of Spain, & others; had conspired with certain of the English, to free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of England: Lastly, That she had procured the Popes Bull against the Queen, and suffered herself to be publicly named the Queen of England in Foreign Countries: All which Accusations she either absolutely denied, or else fairly extenuated: and though (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any Creature; yet she was contented, and requested, that she might make her personal answer at the next Parliament.

How the Dutch got possession of their Sea-Towns.

About this time, the King of Spain by his Embassadour here, complained to the Queen, that the Rebels of the Netherlands were harboured and entertained in England, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation, That all the Dutch, who could any ways be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turned little to D'Alva's or the King of Spain's benefit: For hereupon, Count Vander-Mark, and other Dutch going out of England; surpris'd the Brill first, then Flushing, and afterwards drew other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excluded the Duke D'Alva in a manner from the Sea. And this error, to suffer the Protestant Party to get possession of the Sea-Towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of Spain. And now many Military men having little to do at home, got them into the Netherlands, some to Duke D'Alva; but the far greater number to the Prince of Orange: The first of whom was Thomas Morgan, who carried three hundred English, to Flushing; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of Humphry Gilbert; and afterward it became the Nursery of all our English Souldiers.

A League concluded between Qu. Eliz. and the K. of France.

At this time Charles the French King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the Low-Country War, concluding a Peace, entred into a League with Queen Elizabeth; which was to remain firm, not only during their two lives, but between their Successors also, if the Successor signifie to the Survivor within a year, that he accepteth it, otherwise to be at liberty. It was likewise agreed, that aid by Sea or Land they should each of them afford to other upon occasion. And for ratification of this League, Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln and Admiral of England, was sent into France, with whom went the Lords Dacres, Rich, Talbot, Sands, and others. The French King likewise sent the Duke of Memorancy and Paul Foix into England, with a great Train; that the Queen in presence of them, and the Embassadour in Ordinary, might

swear to the League, which she did at Westminster the seventeenth of May, in the year 1572. The day after she made Memorancy Knight of the Garter.

Memorancy whilst he tarried in England, made intercession in his Kings name, that what favour could be without danger, might be shewed to the Queen of Scots; and then made much ado again about the marriage with the Duke of Anjou; but being hopeles to make conclusion thereof, by reason of the diversity of Religion, he return'd into France; for now was great provision making ready for the marriage between Henry K. of Navarre, and the Lady Margaret the French Kings Sister; to which Solemnity, with notable dissimulation, the Queen of Navarre, & the chief of all the Protestants were allured, being born in hand, that there should be a renovation of love, and a perpetual Peace established. The Earl of Leicester likewise and the Lord Burleigh were invited out of England, and out of Germany, the Sons of the Prince Elector Palatine, under colour of honour, but indeed that they might be intrapped, and they, and together with them the Protestant Religion, at one blow, if not clean cut off, yet receive a deadly wound: For the marriage being celebrated, there presently followed that cruel Massacre at Paris, and the terrible slaughter of the Protestants throughout all the Cities of France; but to set a shew of equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were presently set forth, that the Protestants had plotted a wicked conspiracy against the King, the Queen-Mother, the Brethren, the King of Navarre, and the Princess of the Blood-Royal; and to keep the thing in memory, Coyn was presently stamped, upon one side whereof was the Kings Picture with this Inscription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, on the other side *Pietas excitavit justitiam*; But the King of France, notwithstanding all the shew he made of Piety, escaped not the Divine revenge; for before the year came about, he fell sick of a Bloody-Flux, and afterwards with long and grievous torments ended his life.

Great preparation for the marriage of Henry King of Navarre with the French K. Sister. At which Marriage was the cruel massacre of the Protestants at Paris, and throughout all the Cities of France.

The K. of France for this shedding of blood, falls himself into a bloody Flux, & in grievous torments ends his life.

A little before this, Mota Fenell, Embassadour to the King of France, being in England, by virtue of an order from the Queen-Mother of France, propounded to Queen Elizabeth at Kenel-worth (two days before the Massacre in that Kingdom) the marriage of her youngest Son Francis Duke of Alanson (for the Queen-Mother had been told by some cunning-men, that all her Sons should be Kings, and she knew no way for it but this.) But Queen Elizabeth, by reason of the disparity of age, modestly excused her self, (for he was scarce seventeen years old, and she was now past eight and thirty) yet she promised to consider of it, and Alanson did not leave to prosecute the Suit.

A motion is now made to Qu. Eliz. to marry Francis D. of Alanson, and her Answer.

At this time, Thomas Piercy Earl of Northumberland, who first rebelled, and afterwards fled into Scotland, was for a sum of money delivered by the Earl of Morton to the Lord Hunsdon Governour of Berwick; and a while after was beheaded at York. And now as these two great Personages the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Northumberland were taken away by violent death; so three other great Personages were at this time taken away by a natural death: First, William Paulet, who from a private man came by degrees

Thomas Piercy E. of Northumberland is beheaded.



Will. Paw-  
let Mar-  
quess of  
Winchester  
dies, his  
great age,  
and nume-  
rous Issue.

degrees to be Marquess of *Winchester*: lived to the Age of within three years of a hundred, and could reckon a hundred and three of his Children, and his Childrens Issue, after he had held the place of Lord Treasurer of *England* above 20 years; in whose room succeeded Sir *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*: then died *Edmund E. of Derby*, famous as well for his Hospitality and good House-keeping, as for his skill in Chirurgery and Bone-setting: then died Sir *William Peter*, who being descended from an honest stock at *Excester* in *Devonshire*, was Privy-Counsellor and Secreatry to King *Henry the Eighth*, King *Edward the Sixth*, Queen *Mary*, and Qu. *Elizabeth*: who planted himself in *Essex*, where he purchased great possessions; whose Son *John* was by King *James* made Baron of *Writtle* in that Country.

Some  
good acts  
of Qu. E-  
lizabeth.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrowed money of her Subjects, she thankfully repaid it, which won her no less love, than if she had given it; and more love she gained also at this time by two Proclamations, by one of which she commanded Noble men to observe the Law of keeping retainers; by the other, she restrained Informers, who under colour of spying out Crown-Land, concealed by private persons, sacrilegiously seized upon the Lands of Parish-Churches & Alms-houses, piously endow'd by the Queens Ancestors. And more Love and Honour also she gained at this time by two Acts of Justice; the one, that she satisfied the *English* Merchants out of the goods which were detain'd belonging to the *Dutch*, and restored the rest to Duke *D' Alva*, and made a full transaction with the Merchants of *Genova* for the money intercepted; the other, that she freed *England* at this time, of the debts which her Father and her Brother had run into in foreign parts and were increased by yearly interest, and caused the obligations of the City of *London*, which had so often been renewed, to be given in, to the great rejoicing of the Citizens.

The *Spanish* affairs growing now very turbulent in the *Netherlands*, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Holland* revolted, and the *Spanish* Navy vanquished by the *Zealanders*, Duke *D' Alva* against his will began to shew more kindness towards the *English*, so as in the month of *January*, the Trade which in *Anno 1568*. had been forbidden, was now allowed again between the *Dutch* and the *English*, for two years; but those two years expired, the *English* removed their Trading to the Confederate States.

The Earl  
of Worces-  
ter sent as  
Deputy for  
the Queen,  
to Christen  
the King  
of France's  
Daughter.

The last year in the month of *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requested Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon sent *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester* into *France*, with a Font of massy Gold to stand as her Deputy at the Christning. Hereupon, and for that the Queen promised to observe the League strictly, the *French* King and Queen-Mother began to affect her more and more, and the Duke *D' Alanson* wrote sundry Love-letters to her, and the *French* King and his Mother interceded for the marriage with all earnestness. It is true the Queen conceived divers Reasons why it was fit for her to marry; but the Courtiers for their own ends dissuaded her as much from it: at last the Queen-Mother

of *France* was wonderfully importunate, that her Son *Alanson* might have leave to come to see her: whereupon being wearied with continual Letters & Messages, she gave her consent; but upon condition that he should not take it for any disgrace to him, if he returned without obtaining his Suit: But as soon as Qu. *Elizabeth* had notice, that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was very sick, she gave intimation to *Alanson* by *Edward Horsey* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, that he should not make too much haste into *England*; but should first procure a Peace by some means or other in *France*, and declare by some notable Argument, his good will towards the Protestants, thereby to be the more welcome Guest into *England*. Hereupon a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in certain places the Protestants were allowed to exercise their Religion: and then again the *French* King and the Queen Mother used all their endeavour to have the Marriage go forward (for they were very desirous that *Alanson* who was of a crooked and perverse disposition, and prone to raise tumults) might be removed out of *France*; and withal they requested of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea, he might have publick caution to sail through the *British* Ocean. To this last Request, she not only consented with all alacrity, but also made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while, *Alanson* fell sick of the Meazels, which his Mother signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Rhets*, excusing him thereupon for not coming into *England* as he had determined. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, where she gave him Royal entertainment: and *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Royal entertainment to them both.

The Duke  
D' Alanson  
may come  
and see  
her, but  
with con-  
dition.

In hope of  
this match,  
the Prote-  
stants are  
better used  
in *France*  
then be-  
fore.

All this while, since the death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent in *Scotland*, but now by the procurement of Qu. *Elizabeth* chiefly, *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton* is made Regent; who when is Authority in a Parliamentary Assembly was established, Enacted many profitable Laws for the defence of Religion against Papists and Hereticks, in the name of the King. But the protection and keeping of the Kings Person, he confirmed to *Alexander Ereskin* Earl of *Marre* (to whom the custody of the Kings in their tenders years, by especial priviledg belongeth) though he were himself in his Minority: upon these Conditions, That no Papists, nor factious persons should be admitted to his presence: An Earl should come with only two Servants attending him: A Baron, with only one: All other, single: and every one unarmed. The *French* King in the mean time, sent his Embassadour *Monsieur Vyrriar* to corrupt the Earls of *Atholl* and *Huntley*, with large Promises, to oppose the Regent: Queen *Elizabeth* as much laboured to defend him; but though by the Ministry of *Killigrew*, she had drawn *James Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herald* and *George Gourdon* Earl of *Huntley*, and the most eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Rircald*, Lord *Granange* (whom *Murray* when he was Regent had made Governour of *Edinburgh* Castle) the Lord *Humes*, *Lydington*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*,

*James Douglas*  
Earl of  
*Morton* is  
made Re-  
gent of  
*Scotland*,  
but is op-  
posed by  
divers of  
the Lords.

It belongs  
to the  
Earls of  
*Marre* to  
have the  
custody of  
the Kings  
person in  
his mino-  
rity.



*Dunkeld*, and others, would by no means admit of the Regents Government, but held that Castle, and fortified it in the Queen of Scots name, having *Lyddington* for their Counsellour herein, and trusting to the natural strength of the place, and to the Duke *D'Alva's* and the French King's promises, to send them supplies both of men and money. Now when these persons could by no means be drawn to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to deliver up the Castle to the Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* (who could in no case indure the French in Scotland) suffered her self at length to be intreated by the Regent, to send Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for assaulting the Castle, upon certain Conditions, whereof one was, that ten Hostages should be sent into England, to be security for returning the Men and Ammunition, unless by the common hazard of War they should chance to miscarry. The Conditions being agreed on; *William Drury* Marshal of the Garrison at *Barwick*, with some great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Souldiers (amongst whom were some Noble Volunteers, *George Carie*, *Henry Carie*, *Thomas Cecil*, *Henry Lee*, *William Knowls*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *Will. Killebrew*, and others) entred into Scotland, and besieged the Castle, which after three and thirty dayes siege, was delivered up to the Regent for the Kings use, with all the persons that were in it; amongst whom, *Kircald* Lord *Grange* & *James* his Brother, *Musman* and *Cook* Goldsmiths (who had counterfeited Coyn in the Castle) were hanged; although to redeem *Granges* life, an hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* offered themselves to be in perpetual Servitude to the Regent, besides an annual Pension of 3 thousand marks, and twenty thousand pounds of Scottish money in present; and to put in caution, that from thenceforth he should continue in duty and homage to the King; but it would not be accepted. *Humes* and the rest were spared, through Qu. *Elizab.* merciful intercession; *Lyddington* was sent to *Leith*, where he died, & was suspected to be poisoned: A man of the greatest understanding in the Scottish Nation, and of an excellent wit, but very variable; for which *George Buchanan* called him the Chamælion.

And now from this time Scotland began to breathe, after long Civil Wars, and as well the Captains of both Parties, as the Souldiers, betook themselves into *Sweedland*, *France*, and the Low-Countries, where they valorously behaved themselves, and won great commendation. As for *John Lesley* Bishop of *Rosse*, he was now set at liberty, but commanded to depart presently out of England, and being beyond the Sea, he continued still to sollicite his Mistress the Queen of Scots cause, with the Emperour, the Pope, the French King, and the German Princes of the Popish Religion; who all led him on with fair promises but performed nothing: For indeed he, in whom he had greatest confidence, which was the Duke *D'Alva*, was at that time called away, partly out of Jealousie of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion that by his cruelty he made the people to revolt; and therefore in his place was sent *Ludovicus Zuinga*, a man of great Nobility in Spain, but of a more peaceable disposition than *D'Alva*; and now this man did all good Offices

to win Queen *Elizabeth* to him, and minding his own affairs only, would not intermeddle with the Scottish or English matters.

About this time, a frantick Opinion was held by one *Peter Bourchet*, a Gentlem. of the Middle-Temple, that it was lawful to kill them that opposed the Truth of the Gospel; and so far was he possessed with this opinion, that he assaulted the famous Seaman Captain *Hawkins*, & wounded him with a dagger; taking him for *Hatton*, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen, and of the Privy Council, whom he had been informed to be a great Adversary to innovations. The Q. grew so angry hereat, that she commanded Martial Law should be executed upon him presently, till her Counsel advised her, that Martial Law was not to be used, but in the field, and in turbulent times; but at home, and in time of Peace, there must be legal proceedings: Hereupon *Bourchet* was sent to the Tower, where taking a brand out of the fire, he stuck it into the brains of one of his keepers, named *Hugh Longworth*, and killed him; for which fact he was condemn'd of murder, had his right hand cut off & nail'd to the gallows, & then himself hang'd.

After the violent death of this Varlet, we may speak of the natural death of two great persons: First *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Son of the warlike *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by his second Wife *Agnes Tilney*. This *William* was made a Baron by Queen *Mary*, and Lord High Admiral of England, and by Queen *Elizabeth* Lord Chamberlain, till such time that being taken with age, he yielded up that place to the Earl of *Suffex*, and was then made keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the fourth degree of Honour in England. His Son *Charles* succeeded him in the Dignity of his Barony, who was after made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and then Lord High Admiral of England. A while after him died *Reginald Gray* Earl of *Kent*, whom the Queen a year before of a private man had made Earl of *Kent*, when as that Title, from the death of *Richard Gray* Earl of *Kent*, who had wasted his Patrimony, and was Elder Brother to this mans Grand-Father, had lien asleep for fifty years together.

At this time many particular Rebellions were in Ireland; The *O-Conors* and *O-Moors* took Arms, and committed many outrages: in Munster *James Fitz-Morris*, and *Fitz-Edmund* did the like; but by the industry of Sir *John Perrot* President of Munster were suppressed. In Ulster, *Bryan Mac Philym* burnt *Knockfergus*, and many others joyned in Rebellion with him. Against these *Walter Devereux* (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of *Essex*) desired leave to go; which Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of Ireland opposed, as fearing that the glory of so great an Earl would eclipse his light. But for this, the Queen finds a remedy, by appointing *Essex* to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of Ulster. But this remedy for *Fitz-Williams* might have made a fore in the mind of *Essex* (to receive his Authority from his inferiour) but that the Nobleness of his mind made him more to regard the Vertue, than the Glory. And so, in the end of August, he landed at *Knockfergus*, having with him the Lords *Darcy* and *Rich*, and Sir *Henry Knowles* & his

A frantick opinion of Peter Bourchet.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal, the fourth degree of Honour in England.

Reginald Gray of a private man made Earl of Kent.

Many Rebellions are in Ireland.

Walter Devereux E. of Essex is made Governour of Ulster, by a Patent from the Deputy.

Qu. Eliz. sendeth aid to the Regent of Scotland, with which he reprefsed the adverse Faction.

Lyddington for his variable disposition called the Chamælion.

The Duke D'Alva is called home, and Zuinga sent Governour in his place.



his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Carnes*, *Henry*, *William*, and *John Norrises* : At his landing *Bryan Mac Phelym* Welcomed him, tendering unto him all manner of dutiffulness and service ; but presently after falls from him, and joyns with *Turlogh Leynigh*. After this revolt, the Earl of *Essex* finding many difficulties in the business, & himself not well provided of skilful Souldiers, makes suit to the Queen for leave to come home ; which the Earl of *Leicester* ( who liked his room better than his Company ) opposed ; still after expence of a years time and much treasure, he at last obtained leave, and returned home.

1574.  
A. Reg. 17.  
The Duke  
of Alanfon  
continues  
his Suit to  
Qu. Eliz.

The next Year, being 1574, and the 17th year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, the Duke *Alanfon* grew more importunate in his Suit, than at any time before ; so he obtained of the Queen to come into *England*, any time before the 20th of *May* ; and this she the rather did, because she perceived him now to be really bent against the *Guises* her sworn Enemies. But before this Answer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Doctor of the Civil Law, the Qu. Embassador in *France*, gave intimation to the Queen, That *Alanfon* and *Navarre* were in restraint, and committed to Keepers : for the *Guises* had suggested that *Alanfon* held intimate friendship with Admiral *Colen*, the chief Leader of the Protestants in *France* ; and indeed, *Alanfon* being examined, freely confess'd, that he had now for a good while desired the marriage of the Queen of *England*, and conceiving that good correspondence with *Colen* might be useful to him to that end, he had thereupon had conference with him thereabout, and concerning the *Low-Countrie* War. In the mean time *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dales* Secretary, got cunningly to *Alanfon*, and in the Queens name made promise both to him, and to *Navarre*, that she would omit no opportunity of procuring their inlaregment. For which the subtil Queen-Mother so complained of him to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he was fain to go into *France*, and there crave pardon for his fault. But *Navarre*, not un mindful of this kindness in *Wilkes*, when above five & twenty years after, being King of *France*, he saw him in *Normandy*, he Knighted him. Hereupon the Queen sent *Thomas Randol* into *France*, to the Queen-Mother, that if it were possible, he might gain Reconciliation for *Alanfon* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*. But before he was landed in *France*, *Charles* the then French King dyed, whose Funeral Rites were solemnly performed in *St. Pauls Church* in *London*.

Charles  
the French  
King dies.

Henry the  
new King  
of France  
solicites  
the Qu. for  
Alanfon.

As soon as *Henry* the Third King of *France*, was come from *Poland*, *Roger Lord North* was sent into *France*, to congratulate his return and happy Inauguration into the Kingdom ; who thereupon together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith send their joynt Letters into *England*, strongly soliciting the business of Marriage between *Alanfon* and the Queen. In the mean time notwithstanding, they used all possible devices (& left no means unsought) to get the young King of *Scotland* to be sent into *France*, and to deprive *Morton* who was the Regent, of his Authority, whereof the Queen of *Scots* also was desirous ; she being perswaded, that if her Son were once gotten safely into *France*, she and the Catholics in *England* should be more mildly used. At which time, an aspersion was cast upon the

Queen of *Scots*, as if she had made the match between *Charles* Uncle to the Qu. of *Scots* ( who had lately the Earldom of *Lenox* confirmed to him by Parliament ) and *Elizabeth Cavendish* the Countess of *Shrewsburies* Daughter by a former Husband ; upon which ground, both their Mothers, and some others also were kept in prison for a time, and being doubted whereunto this Marriage should tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, President of the Council in the North, is authorized with secret Instructions to examine it. It will be fit here to say something of this place of Government in the North ; which from small beginnings is now become so eminent as it is at this day ; whereof this was the Original. When as in the Reign of *Henry* the 8, after that the Rebellion in the Northern parts, about the subversion of Abbies was quieted, the Duke of *Norfolk* tarried in those quarters, and many complaints of injuries done were tendred unto him, whereof some he composed himself, and others he commended under his Seal to men of wisdom to determine : Hereof when K. *Henry* heard he sent down a peculiar Seal to be used in these cases, & calling home the Duke, committed the same to *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and constituted Assistants with Authority to hear and determine the complaints of the Poor, and he was the first that was called President ; and from that time, the authority of his successors grew in credit.

How the  
President  
of the  
North  
came first  
to be or-  
dained.

It was now the year One thousand five hundred seventy five, and the 18th year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *Henry* the third King of *France* being returned from *Poland*, and crown'd at *Rheimes*, was careful to have the League of *Blois* confirmed : which in the year 1572. had been concluded between his Brother *Charles* & the most illustrious Qu. *Elizabeth* ; Now therefore he confirmed it with his own Subscription, and delivered it to *Dale* the Queens Legier, as the Queen likewise ratified it at *S. James's* near *Westminster* : But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutal defence against all persons mentioned in the League was intended to comprehend the case of Religion also ? where- unto she answered, that it did comprehend it : he thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began presently to prepare War against the Protestants, and *Alanfon* being drawn to the Adverse party, there was no speech of the Marriage for a long time.

1575.  
A. Reg. 18.

Henry King  
of France  
prepares  
War a-  
gainst the  
Prote-  
stants.

In the *Netherlands* at this time, *Lodovick Zuinga*, who was successor unto Duke *D'Alva*, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which *D'Alva* had neglected ; but not being sufficiently provided of a Navy, he sent *Boischoit* into *England*, that with the Queens leave, he might take up Ships and Mariners to go against the *Hollanders* & *Zealanders*, but this he would not grant : Then he made suit that the Queen would please not to take it in evil part, if the banished persons of the *Engli.* in the *Low-countrie* served the King of *Spain* in a Sea-fight against the *Hollanders* ; and that they might have free access to the Ports of *England*, to buy provision for ready money ; but this she would not grant neither : Then he made request, that the *Dutch*, who were Rebels against the K. of *Spain*, might be put out of *England*, but neither would she grant this, as being an Action void of Humanity, & against the



the Laws of Hospitality; yet because she would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian* law, she commanded by Proclamation, that the Ships of the *Dutch* which were made ready, should not go forth of the Haven; nor yet the *Dutch*, who had taken up Arms against the K. of *Spain*, enter into the Ports of *England*, & by Name, the Prince of *Orange*, & so other the prime of that Faction: & this she did the more willingly, because *Zuinga* at the intercession of *Wilson* the *English* Ambassador, had removed the E. of *Westmerland*, & other *English* Fugitives out of the Dominions of the K. of *Spain*, and had also dissolved the *English* Seminary at *Doway*; though instead thereof, the *Gui- ses* through the procurement of Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, set up another Seminary at *Rhemes*.

The *Eng- lish* Semi- nary at *Doway* is dissolved, and ano- ther set up at *Rhemes*.

The States of the *Low Coun- tries* make choice of *Qu. Eliz.* to be their Protector, and why.

And at this time the Prince of *Orange* perceiv- ing his Forces but small, and thinking himself too weak for the King of *Spain*, and little hope of aid from *England*, he entred into Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose protecti- on they were best and in the most security to betake themselves: The Princes of *Germany* they knew were not all of one mind, parted from money very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by any means possible accord and concur with them in their Religion; and there- fore they were not so fit. Then the *French* they saw, were intangled in a Civil War, and so had enough of their own to do; besides the old grudges and heart-burnings that were between the *French* and *Dutch*; and therefore neither were they so fit. There remained then the *Eng- lish*, as fittest of any (if it might be obtained) see- ing they were Neighbours; of the same Religi- on, and of a Language not much different, strong in shipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (considering the commodiousness of the *English* Nation) they sent into *England* *Philip Marnize* of Saint *Aldegond*, *Janus Dowsa*, *William Nyvell*, and Doctor *Melsen*; who in an honourable Ambassage, offer the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be possessed and prote- cted by the Queen, for as much as she was descen- ded from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Philippa* wife of *Edward* the third, Daughter of *William* of *Ba- varia*, Count of *Hanonia* and *Holland*: by whose other Sister, the hereditary Right of those Pro- vinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer; and at last, ha- ving maturely advised of the matter, her Answer was this; That as yet she conceived not how with the safety of her Honour, and an upright Conscience, she could receive those Provinces in- to her Protection, much less assume them into her possession; but promised she would deal ear- nestly with the K. of *Spain*, that a well condition- ed Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this *Zuinga* Governour of the *Low-Countries* died; after whose death, the States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration and Authori- ty in the Commonwealth; which the King of *Spain* was fain to confirm to them, till such time as *John* of *Austria* were come, whom he deter- mined to make Governour there. In the mean time, Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*, sent *William Davison* in Ambassage to those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable & quiet, which yet by reason of the *Spanish* Soul-

The Qu. Answer to their offer.

*Zuinga* dying *Jo. of Austria* is sent Go- vernour into the *Nether- lands*.

diers were so outrageous little prevailed.

In *England* all was calm and quiet for all this year, only a difference fell out between Sir *John Foster* Governour of *Berwick*, and *John Cormickill* Keeper of *Liddisdale* in *Scotland*: In compos- ing whereof, the Regent of *Scotland*, having given Queen *Elizabeth* some discontentment, was fain to come unarmed before the Earl of *Huntington*, appointed the Legate for *England* at *Bonderod*, and so the matter was taken up, & the Regent ever after continued constant in observ- ing the Queen; and to his great commendation, restrained the Free-booters of the Borders, to the great good of both Kingdoms.

This year there dyed in *Scotland*, *James Ham- iltion* Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and Earl of *Arran*, who was great Grand-child of *James* the Se- cond, King of *Scots*, by his Daughter, appoint- ed Tutor to *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, and design- ed Heir and Governour of the Kingdom, during her minority.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* is come into *Ire- land* again, where having done good Services, & being in the midst of Victory, he was on a sud- den commanded to resign his Authority in *Ul- ster*: and as though he were an ordinary Com- mander, is set over three-hundred Souldiers: which disgrace was wrought by his Adversaries at Court, to the continual perplexing of his mild spirit. And now is Sir *Hen. Sidney* the third time sent Deputy into *Ireland*; who going into *Ul- ster*, there came to him & submitted themselves *Mac Mahon*, *Mac Gnyre*, *Torlogh Leynigh*, the *O-Conors* and *O-Moors*, the E. of *Desmond*, & the rebellious Sons of the E. of *Clanriccard*, all whom he recieved into favour, and with great com- dation administered the Province.

The Earl of *Essex* going into *Ireland* a- gain, is dis- graced with being made an ordinary Comman- der.

At this time the *Spaniard* in the *Low-Countries* began to deal roughly with the people, & harried the Inhabitants with all manner of spoil and in- jury: *Antwerp* the most famous town of *Traffick* in all *Europe*, was miserably pillaged, the *English* Merchants houses rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Queen *Elizabeth* was sent *Monsieur Aubigny*, both to shew her upon how necessary and just causes they had taken up Arms, and also to bor- row of her a great sum of Money, the better to enable them to resist the *Spaniard*. But she be- ing certainly informed, That they first sued to the *French*-King for help, denied the Request, yet promised to intercede earnestly with the K. of *Spain* for Peace. And in that imployment, she addressed into *Spain*, *John Smith*, cousin german to King *Edward* the sixth, a man of *Spanish* be- haviour, and well known to the King of *Spain*, who was liberally received by the King, & with such wisdom retorted the contumelious speech of *Gasper Quirago* Archbishop of *Toledo* and the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who would not admit in the Queens Title the Attribute of *Defender of the Faith*; that he gained great thanks from the King of *Spain* himself who requested him not to speak of it to the Queen, and gave severe com- mand, that the Title should be admitted.

*Jo. Smith* Ambassa- dour into *Spain*, his stout car- riage.

And now by this time was *John* of *Austria*, come into the *Low-Countries* with a large Com- mission: for he was the Natural Son of the Em- perour *Charles* the fifth, to whom the Queen sent



Edward Horsey, Governour of the Isle of Wight, to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help if the States called the French into the Netherlands; yet at the same time, *Smevingham* being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, she sent them twenty thousand pounds of English money, (so well she could play her game of both hands) upon condition they should neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the French into the Low-Countries, nor refuse a peace, if *John of Austria* should condescend to indifferent conditions; but if he embraced a peace, then the money should be paid back to the Spanish Souldiers, who were ready to mutiny for lack of pay. So careful she was to retain these declining Provinces in Obedience to the King of Spain.

Martin Forbisher sent to discover the North-part of America.

At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to try if there could be found any Sea upon the North part of America, leading to the wealthy coast of Cathaia, whereby in one commerce might be joyned the riches of both the East & West parts of the world, in which voyage was employed *Martyn Forbisher*, who set sail from Harwich the eighteenth of June, and the ninth of August, entered into that Bay, or Sea, but could pass no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand, two years after with no better success.

About this time dyed the Emperour Maximilian, a Prince that deserved well of Queen Elizabeth, and the English, who thereupon sent Sir Philip Sidney to his Son Rodolphus King of the Romans to condole his Fathers death, and congratulate his succession: as likewise to do the like, for the decease of the Count Elector Palatine, named Frederick the third, with his surviving Son.

Walter Devereux E. of Essex out of discontentment dieth in Ireland.

And now *Walter Devereux* Earl of Essex, who out of Leicesters envy, had been recalled out of Ireland, was out of Leicesters fear, (as being threatened by him) sent back again into Ireland, but with the empty title of Earl Marshal of Ireland; with the grief whereof, he fell into a bloody Flux; and in most grievous torments ended his life: When he had first desired the standers by to admonish his Son (scarce ten years old at that time) to have alwaies before his eyes the six and thirtieth year of his age, as the utmost term of his life, which neither himself, nor his Father before him could out-go, and the Son indeed attained not to it, as shall hereafter be declared. He was suspected to be poysoned, but Sir Henry Sidney Deputy of Ireland, after diligent search made, wrote to the Lords of the Council, That the Earl often said, It was familiar to him upon any great discontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part he had no suspicion of his being poysoned: yet was this suspicion encreased, for that presently after his death, the E. of Leicester with a great sum of Money and large promises, putting away *Dowglas Sheffield*, by whom he had a Son, openly married Essex his widow. For although it was given out, that he was privately married to her, yet Sir Francis Knolles her Father, who was well acquainted with Leicesters roving loves, would not believe it, unless he himself were present at the marriage, & had it testified by a publick Notary. At this time also dyed Sir Anth. Cook of Gyddy-Hall in Essex,

The Earl of Leicester marries his Widow.

who had been School-master to King Edward the sixth, and was no less School-master to his own Daughters, whom he made skilful in the Greek and Latin Tongues; married all to men of great Honour; one to Sir William Cecill, Lord Treasurer of England; a second to Sir Nicholas Bacon, L. Keeper of the Great Seal; a third to Sir Thomas Hobby, who dyed Ambassador in France; a fourth to Sir Ralph Lowlet; and the fifth to Sir Henry Killigrew.

Sir Anthony Cook dies, and how his learned Daughters were bestowed.

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of Clanriccard, who scarce two months before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again; but were by the Deputy soon suppressed; and William Drury newly made President of Munster, reduced the whole Province to good Order, except only the County of Kerry, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, trusting to the Immunities of the place. For K. Edward the third made Kerry a County Palatine, & granted to the Earls of Desmond all the Royal Liberties which the K. of England had in that County, excepting four Pleas, viz. of Burning, Rape, Forestall, and Treasure Trove. The Governour notwithstanding wisely judging that these Liberties were granted for the better preservation of Justice, & not for maintenance of outrageous malefactors, entered into it, and violently put to flight and vanquished the mischievous Crew, which the E. of Desmond had placed there in ambush. The E. in the mean while made great complaints of Drury to the Deputy; and particularly, of the Tax which they call *Ceasse*, which is an exacti-  
The County of Kerry in Ireland, a County Palatine.  
The Tax in Ireland called the Ceasse.

on of Provision of Victuals at a certain rate for the Deputies Family; and the Souldiers in Garrison. This Tax not he only, but in *Lemster* also many Lords refused to pay, alledging that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examined in England, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, That this Tax was anciently imposed; and that by a certain Right of Majesty, a Prerogative Royal, which is not subjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wise Civilians have observed. Yet the Queen commanded to use a moderation in exactions of this nature, saying, She would have her Subjects shorn, but not devoured.

It was now the year 1577, and the twentieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when *John of Austria*, pretending to Queen Elizabeth nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal secretly with the Pope, to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himself to marry the Queen of Scots, and invade England: of wch his practices the Prince of Orange gives Queen Elizabeth the first Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep dissembling) she enters into a League with the States, for mutual defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (because she would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as though she meant to foster a Rebellion in the Netherlands) she sent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of Spain with these Informations, That she had alwaies endeavoured to keep the Low-Countries in Obedience to the King of Spain; had perswaded (even with threatnings) the Prince of Orange to accept of Peace; but withall, if the King of Spain would have his Subjects obedient to him, she then requests him to restore their Priviledges, and to remove *Jo. of Austria* from the Government, who not

1577.



not only was her deadly enemy, but labored by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into utter servitude. If this be granted by the K. of *Spain*, she then faithfully promiseth, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him; as by their Promise to her they are engaged to do, she will utterly forsake them, and bend her self with all her Forces to compel them. While *Wilkes* in *Spain* unfoldeth these matters, *John* of *Austria* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, in most grievous manner accusing the States for disobedience, & making a large Declaration of the Causes for which he had taken up Arms again. Thus Qu. *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princess) sate as an Honourable Arbitress between the *Spanish*, the *French*, and the States; insomuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, that *France* and *Spain* were Ballances in the Scale of *Europe*; and *England* the Beam to turn them either way; for they still got the better, to whom she adhered.

An. Reg. 19. A sudden Mortality at the Assizes at Oxford. About this time, when the Judges sate at the Assizes in *Oxford*, and one *Kowland Jenkes* a Book-seller was questioned for speaking opprobrious words against the Queen, suddenly they were surprised with a pestilent savour; whether rising from the noysome smell of the prisoners, or from the damp of the ground, is uncertain, but all that were there present, almost every one, within forty hours dyed, except Women and children; and the Contagion went no further. There dyed *Robert Bell*, Lord chief Baron, *Robert D' Oylie*, Sir *William Babington*, D' Oyle Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Weyman*, *Phetiplace*, the most of them men in this Tract; *Barham* the famous Lawyer; almost all the Jurors, and three hundred other more or less.

The Lord Latimers Family in Issue Male extinct, & how his 4 Daughters were bellowed. This year the title of the Lord *Latimer*, (which had flourished in the Family of the *Nevills*, even since the days of King *Henry* the sixth) was extinct in *John Nevill*, who dyed without issue male, and left a fair estate to four Daughters, whereof the Eldest married *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, the second *Thomas Cecil*, who was afterward Earl of *Exeter*; the Third Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, Sir *John Davers*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moors* and *O-Conors*, and others, whose Ancestors the Earl of *Suffex* in Queen *Maries* dayes, had for their Rebellion deprived of their Patrimony in *Leyse* and *Ophalie*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the Conduct of *Rorie Oge*; that is, *Roderick* the younger; set on fire the Village of *Naasse*, assault *Locklins*, from whence being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governour, he was afterward slain.

English Volunteers go into the Low Countries, and do valiantly. Out of *England* at this time there went into the *Low-Countries*, *John North* the Lord *Norths* Eldest Son, *John Norris* second Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan* Colonels, with many Volunteers to learn Military Experience. Thither also come *Casimire* the Elector *Palatines* Son, with an Army of *German* Horse and Foot, at the Queens Charges; upon these *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, flyeth furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to break through the Hed-

es and Brakes where the *English* and *Scottish* Volunteers had placed themselves, was again repulsed; for the *English* and *Scottish* were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their garments, by reason of the hot weather, they fought in their shirts, which they made fast about them. In this Battel *Norris* fought most valiantly, and had three Horses slain under him, as also *Steward* the Scot, *Bingham*, and *William Markham*.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at that time into the *Netherlands*, the Count *Swarzemberg* from the Emperour; *Monsieur Bellieure* from the *French* King; and from the Queen of *England*, the Lord *Cobham* and *Walsingham*, with Commission to procure conditions of Peace, but returned without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refused to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refused to return into *Holland*.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* E. of *Suffex*, by his second Wife, who had been a prime man in the Rebellion of the North, and served now under *Don John*, was accused by the *English* fugitives, that he was sent underhand to kill *Don John*; which whether true or false, he was thereupon taken and put to death. The *Spaniards* had affirmed, That *Ratcliffe* at his last end confessed voluntarily, That he was freed out of the Tower of *London*, and moved by *Walsinghams* large promises to do this Fact; but the *English* that were present at his death, deny that he confessed any such thing, though the *English* Rebels did all they could to wrest this confession from him.

At this very time, *Don John*, in the flower of his Age, died of the Pestilence, or (as some say) of grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a man of an insatiable Ambition, who aimed first at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and after of *England*; and who, without the privity of the *French* King, or King of *Spain*, had made a league with the *Guises*, for the defence of both Crowns.

*Alarson* although very busie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to pursue the Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; for renewing of which suit, first was *Bacherville* sent to the Queen, and soon after *Ramboulet*, from the *French* King; and within a month after that, *Simier*, a neat Courtier, and exquisitely learned in the Art of Love, accompanied with a great number of the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertained in such loving manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite blasted. Certainly, a little before, when *Ashley*, a Lady of the Queens Bed-chamber, mentioned the E. of *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she with an angry countenance replied; Dost thou think me so unlike my self, and so forgetful of Majesty, as to prefer my Servant, whom I my self have advanced, before the greatest Princes of the Christian World?

But it is now time to return to the *Scottish* Affairs. The Earl of *Morton*, Regent of *Scotland*, though a man of great wisdom & valor, yet was now so overcome with covetousness, that he grew universally hated; and thereupon with the joynt consent of the Nobility, the administration of the Common-wealth was translated to the King, though he was yet but twelve years old, and twelve

*Egremond Ratcliffe* is put to death in *Flanders*, and why.

*John* D' *Austria* dieth.

*Alarson* solicites his suit with the Queen afresh.

The Earl of *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, is removed, and the King though but twelve years old is admitted to govern.



twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him in Council, three of them by course for three months; amongst whom, the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not seem to cast him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great deserts towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, agreed on in the year 1559, to be confirmed, for the more happy restraining the Robbers about the borders; and withal that his ancient Patrimony in *England*, namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, and the Countess his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands who was the next Heir. The Queen really promised the former demands, but stuck a little at the last, concerning the Patrimony; For she would not grant, That *Arbella*, the Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scots* Uncle, born in *England*, was the next Heir to the Lands in *England*; neither would she grant the Ambassadors proof out of History, That the King of *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did antiently (without question) hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands, by *Burleigh* Master of the Wards; and willeth the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*, satisfaction might be made to his Grand-mothers Creditors here. For she took it in ill part, that the King had recalled the Enfeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Uncle *Charles* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of *Arbella*; although indeed it be a Privilege of the Kings of *Scotland*, That they may recal Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while, not enduring the disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the Prescript form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this presumption the Lords growing angry, made the E. of *Arbol* their Capt. & in the Kings Name levied a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*; but by the Intercession of *Robert Bowes*, the English Ambassadour, they were stayed from fighting; and *Morton* presently betook himself home; and the Earl of *Arbol* soon after dyed, not without suspicion of being poysoned.

The King of Spain & the Pope conspire against Qu. Eliz.

At this time the King of *Spain*, and Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth held secret Consultation, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the absolute ruine of Queen *Elizabeth*; The Pope to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Buon* of *Campagno*, whom he had made Marquess of *Vincola*; The King of *Spain* secretly to relieve the *Irish* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* did the *Dutch*, while Friendship in Words was upheld on both sides: and it being known, that the greatest strength of *England* consisted in the Navy Royal, and Merchants Ships, it was advised, that the *Italian* and *Dutch* Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages; to the end, that while they were absent, the Queens Navy might be surprized with a greater Fleet: and at

that time *Thomas Stukeley*, an English Fugitive, should joyn himself to the *Irish* Rebels with new Forces. For he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Popes Bastard Son, had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adorned him with the Titles of Marquess of *Lemster*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterlogh*, Viscount *Morogh*, and Baron of *Rosse*, (the principal Dignities of *Ireland*) and made him Commander over Eight hundred *Italian* Souldiers, to be employ'd in the *Irish* war. With which Forces *Stukeley* setting sail from *Civita Vecchia*, arrived at length in *Portugal*, where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another way. For *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* (to whom the chief Command in this Expedition against *Engl.* was assigned) being first to dispatch a War in *Africa*, in aid of *Mahomet Abdall*, Son to the King of *Fesse*, perswaded *Stukely* to go along with him into *Mauritania*, together with his *Italian* Souldiers, and then afterwards they would go together against *Ireland*. To this motion *Stukely* soon agreed, and therein agreed with his destiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were slain, both he and *Sebastian* lost their lives.

At this time Sir *Henry Sidney* (who had been Deputy of *Ireland* at several times eleven years) delivered up his Deputyship to Sir *William Drury*, President of *Munster*; Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equalled him, none have exceeded him.

It was now the year 1579, and the two and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *John Casimire*, Son of *Frederick* the third, Count Palatine of the *Rhyne*, came into *England*; where after he had been entertained with Tiltings & Jests, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tying the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yearly Pension, he returned. And now was *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, made Governour of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*, and Queen *Elizabeth* supplies the States with a great sum of mony, for which *William Davison* brought into *England* the ancient pretious Habilliments of the Family of *Burgundy*, and their Costly Vessels, laid to pawn by *Matthew* of *Austria*, and the States.

*Simier* in the mean time here in *England* ceaseth not by all amorous devices to perswade the Queen to marry *Alanson*; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of *Leicester* gave out, he crept into the Queens affection by Love-Potions and unlawful Arts: and *Simier* on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down *Leicester*, discovering his marriage with the Earl of *Essex* his Widow: whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at *Greenwich*, & meant to have him committed to the Tower, but that the Earl of *Suffex* (though his greatest Adversary) dissuaded her: telling her, That none ought to be molested for contracting lawful Matrimony. But *Leicester* notwithstanding was so provoked for his Confining, that he was bent to revenge it; and if it be true, as some said, he had suborned one *Tinder* a Yeoman of the Guard to murder *Simier*. Sure it is, the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no person should offer injury to the Ambassadour or any of his Servants. At which time it fell out, that as the Queen,

*Thomas Stukeley* is by the Pope honoured with the greatest dignities, and sent into *Ireland*. But diverted by the K. of *Portugal*, is slain in *Africa*.

1579.

*Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma* is made Governour of the *Netherlands*.



Queen, together with *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, were rowed in a Barge to *Greenwich*, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a Boat, shot one of the Rowers in the Queens Barge through the Arm with a Bullet, who was presently taken and led to the Gallows; but upon solemn Protestation that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malicious intent, he was let go and pardoned. Some would have perswaded the Queen, that he was purposely suborn'd to shoot either her or the French Ambassador: but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects, that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them, which a mother would not believe against her Children.

*Alanson* comes privately into England, and hath secret Conference with the Queen. *Burleigh* and others are enjoined to consult the Marriage Covenants

After a few daies *Alanson* himself came privately into England with only one or two attendants, and came to the Queen at *Greenwich* at a time when she thought not of it; they had secret conference together, all parties being sent away: after which, being seen of very few, he returned home; but within a month or two after the Queen enjoined the Lord *Burleigh* Treasurer, the Earl of *Suffex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the Commodities likely to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with *Simier* concerning the marriage Covenants.

The Title of Lord D' Aubigny, from whence it came.

As in England there was some fear of this French-man; so in Scotland at this time of another French-man, called *Esme Steward*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who came now into Scotland to visit the King his Cousin. He was the Son of *John Steward* Brother to *Matthew Steward* E. of *Lenox* the Kings Grand-father, and had denomination from *Aubigny* in France, which Title *Charles* the Seventh King of France had antiently conferred upon *John Steward* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being Constable of the Scottish Army in France, vanquished the English in one Battle, & was slain by them in another: and from that time the Title belonged to the younger descent of that House. This *Esme Steward*, the King embraced with exceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, and Captain of the Castle of *Dumbarton*, and created him first Earl and then Duke of *Lenox*. The fear from this man was, Because he was devoted to the *Guises* and the Popish Religion; and that which increased the fear from this man, because he applied himself to *Morrison* Adversaries: and mediated to have *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Fernishurst* called home, who of all men was most addicted to the Queen of Scots.

*Esme Steward* made first Duke of *Lenox*.

The Turkey Merchants when set up.

About this time Queen Elizabeth, at the request of *William Harbouzne* an English-man, procured a Grant from the Turkish Emperour, for the English Merchants to exercise free Traffick in all places of his Dominions, as well as *Venetians*, *Polanders*, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up first the Company of Turkey Merchants; managing a most gainful Trade at *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Asia*, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapestry, Indico, Currants, and the like.

This year died Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; but who by vertue of an Act of Parliament, alwaies exercised the Jurisdiction of Lord Chancellor: a very fat man, but

singularly wise, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Council: In whose place succeeded Sir *Thomas Bromely* the Queens Solicitor, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of England.

In Ireland at this time, in the Province of *Munster*, *James Fitz-Morris* kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his knees, vowing all obedience to the Qu. he stole away into France, and promised the French King if he would lend him assistance, to make him King of Ireland. But being by him slighted he went into Spain, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of Spain sent him to the Pope, from whom by means of *Nicholas Sanders*, an English Priest, and *Alan* an Irish man, (both Doctors in Divinity) he obtained a little money, a Legates Authority for *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholick King. And returning from Spain with those Divines, three Ships, & a few men, he landed at *Smerwick Kerry*, a demy Island in the West-part of Ireland, about the first day of July, where (the place being first of all consecrated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the ships close under it, but these were presently set upon and carried away by *Thomas Courtney*, and thereby the Spaniards deprived of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now *John* and *James*, brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a small number of Irish, joyn themselves presently with their Kinsman *Fitz-Morris*. Yet the Spaniards seeing that but a very few Irish, and those unarmed, came unto them, began to distrust the state they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone; whom *Fitz-Morris* heartned the best he could, telling them that Supplies were presently to come. And going himself to get more company, he passed through the Land of his Cousin *William a Burgh*, who though he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown Loyal, so as there fell out a Skirmish between them; in which *Fitz-Morris* being stricken through with a Pike, and shot into the head with a Leaden bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but withal, two of *William Burghs* Sons were in that skirmish slain also; when the Queen to comfort him for the loss of his Sons, adorned him with the Dignity of Baron of *Castle Conell*; and rewarded him with a yearly Pension besides: which Favour so overwhelm'd him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now Sir *William Drury* the Deputy growing very sick, appointed Sir *Nicholas Malby*, then Governour of *Connaught*, to be President of *Munster*, and General of the Army; at which time the Earl of *Desmond*, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now *Drury* the Deputy dying at *Waterford*, by his death *Malbyes* Authority ceasing, Sir *William Pelham* is by the Council chosen Justice of Ireland, with the Authority of Vice-Roy, until such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of *Ormond* is made President of *Munster*. *Pelham* goeth into *Munster*, and sendeth for the Earl of *Desmond*, who refusing to come is thereupon proclaimed Traytor, and an enemy to the State; and this being published, the Justice committed the following the War to the Earl of *Ormond*, who slaying most of the Spaniards and adherents

*Fitz-Morris* raiseth a Rebellion in Ireland, but is by *William a Burgh* encountered and slain.

The Earl of *Desmond* Rebels.

Sir *William Pelham* made Justice of Ireland.



rents to *Desmond*, compelleth him to send his wife to the Justice, to beg his pardon.

The Lord Gray is made Deputy of Ireland.

The Lord Justice *Pelham* now certified, That *Arthur Lord Gray* was landed with authority to be Deputy of *Ireland*, at *Munster* delivereth the Army to *Geor. Bourchier* the Son of *John*, second Earl of *Bath* of that name, and himself returneth to *Dublin*, to deliver up the Province to his Successor. The Lord *Gray* at his landing, before he received the Sword, hearing where the Rebels had their Rendezvous, marched towards them, who presently betake themselves to *Grandilough*, a grassy Valley, and beset thick with trees, where they who dwell near, scarce know the winding out; yet the Deputy (taking one *Cosby* an old man, well acquainted with the place, to be his leader) entred into it, where he lost divers of his men, namely, *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Andely*, and *Cosby* himself, that was his Leader.

*San Joseph* an Italian with seven hundred Souldiers landeth in Ireland.

A short time after, there landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, under the command of *San Joseph* an Italian, about seven hundred Italian Souldiers, who fortified the place, and named it *Fort del Or*. Whereupon the Deputy sent a Trumpeter to the Fort to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, and who sent them; withal commanding them to depart immediately. But they replied, That some of them were sent from his Holiness, others from the Catholick King, upon whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for that *Queen Elizabeth* (by reason of Herelie) hath forfeited the Right due unto her; and therefore what they had gotten, they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for battery, lets fly his Ordnance four days together; in which time the *Spaniards* once or twice make Sallies out, to their own loss much, but not an English man slain, but only *John Cheek*, a courageous young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek*, a learned Knight. And now *San Joseph*, who commanded the Fort, a white-liver'd Souldier, terrified with the continual Battery, and having no hope of relief, either from the King of *Spain* or *Desmond* (contrary to the will of all his Souldiers) set up a white Flag, and desired Parlee; but Parlee was denied, because he had combined with Rebels, with whom it is not lawful to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his Company might pass away with their Baggage, but neither would this be granted. Then he required that some of the chieffer sort might have leave to depart; but neither could this be obtained. At last when they could prevail in nothing, they hanged out the White Flag again, and submitted themselves absolutely, without any condition, to the Deputies mercy, who presently consulted how to deal with them; and this was the Case; Their number was well near as great as the English; there was present fear of danger from the Rebels; and the English were so destitute of meat and apparel, that they were ready to mutiny, unless they might have the spoil granted them; and besides, there were no ships to send them away if they were spared: For these Reasons it was concluded, the Deputy gainfaying, and letting tears fall, That only the Leaders should be saved, the rest slain, and all the Irish hanged up; which was presently put in execution, to the great disliking of the Queen,

No Parlee to be allowed to Rebels.

*San Joseph* yields himself to the Deputy without condition.

His men are all slain, and why.

who detested the slaughter of such as yield themselves, and would not accept of any excuses or allegations.

And yet more cruelty than this was at that time committed in the *Netherlands*; for *John Norris*, and *Oliver Temple* English Commanders, together with some Companies of Dutch, setting out early one morning, took *Mechlyn* a wealthy Town of *Brabant*, at an assault with Ladders; where they promiscuously murdered both Citizens and Religious persons, offering violence even upon the dead, taking away grave-stones, which were sent into *England* to be sold.

About this time certain English Priests, who were fled into the *Netherlands*, in the year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen* an Oxford Scholar, joyned themselves to study at *Doway*, where they entred into a Collegiat Form of Government; to whom the Pope allowed a yearly Pension. But Tumults arising in the Low Countries, and the English Fugitives being commanded by the King of *Spain*s Deputy to depart from thence, other the like Colledges, for the training up of the English Youth, were erected; one at *Rheims* by the *Guises*, and another at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, which alwaies afforded new supplies of Priests for *England*, when the old fail'd, who should spread abroad the seeds of the Romish Religion here amongst us; from whence those Colleges had the name of Seminaries, and they called Seminary Priests who were trained up in them. In these Seminaries, amongst other Disputations, it was concluded, That the Pope hath such fulness of Power, by Divine Right, over the whole Christian World, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof it is lawful for him to excommunicate Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From these Seminaries at this time, there came two into *England*, *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both of them English-men, and Jesuits. *Parsons* was born in *Somersetshire*, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow: *Campian* was a Londoner, of a milder disposition. They had been both brought up in *Oxford*; *Campian* a Fellow of *St. Johns College*, & had been Professor in the year 1569. and when he was made Deacon, counterfeited himself to be a Protestant, till such time as he slipped out of *England*. *Parsons* was of *Bayliol Colledge*, where he made open profession of the Protestant Religion, till for dishonest carriage, he was expelled the House, and then fled to the Popish Party. Both these came privily into *England*, in the disguise onewhile of Souldiers, another while of Noble-men; sometimes like English Ministers, and sometime in the habit of Apparators. *Parsons* who was made the Superiour, brake forth in such open words amongst the Papists, about deposing the Queen, that some of themselves had a purpose to complain of them to the Magistrates. *Campian*, though something more moderate, yet in a writing provoked the Engl. Ministers to a dispute; and published in *Latine* an elegant Book of his Ten Reasons, in maintenance of the Doctrine of the Romish Church; as *Parsons* in like manner, set forth another violent Pamphlet against *Clark*, who had written modestly against *Campians* Provocation.

What Colledges were called Seminaries, and why.

*Parsons* & *Campian* Jesuits come into *England* in disguise, & of their education.



vocation. But Doctor *Whitaker* foundly confuted *Champion*, who being after a year apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought out to a disputation; where he scarcely made good the great fame that went of him.

Captain Drake's return from his Voyage about the World.

His Parentage and education.

The Passages of his Voyage.

Doughty beheaded by Drake.

In this year was the return of Captain *Drake* from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which *Magellan* had before attempted, but dyed in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular Accidents, would require a large Volume: It may suffice in this place, to deliver some special passages. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, yet had a great man (*Francis Russel*, after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His Father, in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, being persecuted for a Protestant, chang'd his Soyl, and lived close in *Kent*. King *Henry* being dead, he got a place among the Mariners of the *Queens* Navy, to read Prayers, and afterward bound his Son *Francis* to a Ship-master, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commodities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, training him up to pains and skill at Sea, took such a liking to him, that afterwards dying, he bequeathed his Barque to him by his Will: This Barque *Drake* sold, & then in the year 1567, went with Sir *John Hawkins* into *America*; in wch Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five years after having gotten again a good sum of money, by Trading and Piracy, (wch the Preacher of his ship told him was lawful) he bought a Ship of War, and two small Vessels, with which he set sail again for *America*, where his first Prize was great store of Gold & Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules; whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground: after this he fired a great place of Traffick, called, *The Cross*, at the River *Chiruge*; when roaming to & fro upon the Mountains, he espied the South Sea; where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to find out that passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage; and for the present, having gotten much riches, he return'd home. Afterwards in the year 1577, the thirteenth day of *November*, with five Ships, & Seamen to the number of 163, he set sail from *Plymouth*, for the Southern Sea; and within five and twenty daies came to *Cantyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sailed along the Isle of *Fago* which sends forth flames of Sulphur; and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ship blood. The sixteenth of *April*, entring into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Sealves; in which place *John Doughty*, the next to *Drake* in Authority, was called in question for railing Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That *Drake* had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, That the E. of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester*. The twentieth of *August*, two of his Ships he turneth off, & with the other three came to the Sea which they call the Strait of *Magellan*. The sixth of *September*, entring into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, *The Pacifique* Sea, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests disperfed; in one of which

*John Winter* was Master, who returned back into *England*; *Drake* himself with only one Ship, coasted along the shore, till he came to the Isle *Moucha*, from whence loosing, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a *Spanish* ship laden with Treasure lay; *Drake* making towards it, the *Spaniards* thought him to be their own Countryman, and thereupon invited him to come on; but he getting aboard, presently shut the *Spaniards* (being not above eight persons) under hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of Gold. At *Taurapsa*, going again to shore, he found a *Spaniard* sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty bars of massie Silver, to the value of four thousand Ducats, which he bid his followers take amongst them, the *Spaniard* still sleeping. After this going into the port of *Africa*, he found there three Vessels without any Mariners in them; wherein besides other wares, were seven & fifty silver bricks, each of wch weighed twenty pound: From whence tiding it to *Lime*, he found twelve ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of money coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy aboard; (such security there was in that Coast:) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called the *Cacofogo*; & by the way met with a small Ship without Ordnance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeraulds of a fingers length. The first day of *March*, he overtook the *Cacofogo*, set upon her and took her; and in her besides Jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold; thirteen Chests of Silver ready coyned, and as much Silver as would ballast a Ship. And now thinking he had gained wealth enough, he resolved to return home; and so on the 3 of *Nov.* 1580. he landed at *Plymouth*, having sailed round about the World; in the space of three years; to the great admiration of all that know what Camps the World is of.

1580.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a sequestration of the Goods, that they might be ready if the King of *Spain* required them; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on shore near *Debitford* for a Monument (where the Carcass of it is yet to be seen) and her self feasted in it; at which time she Knighted Captain *Drake*. But *Bernardine Mendoza*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassadour in *England*, began to rage; and earnestly demanded Restitution of the Goods, and complained, that the *English* sailed upon the *Indian* Sea. To whom it was answered, That the Goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, although the Queen had expended against the Rebels, whom the *Spaniard* had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more Money than that which *Drake* brought home. And as for sailing on the *Indian* Sea, That it was as lawful for the *Queens* Subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Notwithstanding, to *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain's* Agent in this business, a great sum of Money was repaid; which was not restored to them to whom it belonged, but employed to the *Spaniards* wars in the *Low-Countries*, as was known after, when it was too late.

But



But at this time, when *Jackman* and *Pett*, two skilful Pilots were sent forth with two ships by the *Londoners*, to find out a shorter cut to the *East-Indies*, by the North-West passage, they had not the like success; for a few Leagues beyond the *Iles of Vaygato*, they met with such uncertain Tydes, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no farther, and had much ado to return home.

Henry Fitz Alan Earl of Arundel dies, in whom ended the Sirname of that Noble Family. The possession of Arundel Castle gives the Title of that Honour.

About this time, *Henry Fitz Alan*, Earl of *Arundel* died, in whom the Sir-name of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from *Richard Fitz-Alan*; who being descended from the *D'Albeney*s (antient Earls of *Arundel* & *Sussex*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the first) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel* Castle, without Creation. He had three Children by his Wife *Katharine*, Daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquess of *Dorset*, all whom he out-lived; *Henry* a young man of great hope, who died at *Brussels*; *Joan*, wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, brought forth *Philip*, in her right, Earl of *Arundel*.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* the Deputy going against the *O-Conors*, who raised stirrs in *Ophalie*, putteth to death *Hugh O Moley*, quieteth all that Quarter, even the Families of the *Mogobigans* and *O Charles*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a Conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting to death the Lord *Nogent*; who being confident in his own innocency, when the Deputy promised to save his life, if he would but confess himself guilty, chose rather to die & be held guiltless, than to live in infamy, by betraying his own innocency. With whose death the Queen was extremely displeased, as by which she was made a Patroness of Cruelty to her great dishonor. But the Deputy knew with what kind of people he dealt, and by this example of Severity, brought *Turlough Leynigh* to accept conditions of Peace, and the *O Brians* and *Cavenaghs* (rebellious Families in *Leinster*) humbly to crave leave also, and to offer Hostages.

The Earl of Morton is beheaded as accessory to the murder of the Kings Father.

General Norris raised the siege at *Stenwick*. But is afterward vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain.

In *Scotland*, at this time great jealousy was had of *Lenox*, L. of *Aubigny*, left being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into *France*, and bring into *Scotland* the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and proffered himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to sequester him from the King, but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton* (who among all other was most addicted to the English) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into Prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be accessory to the murder of the Kings Father. Whereupon the Earl of *Angus*, and others who labored for *Morton*, fled straightwayes into *England*.

In the *Low-Countries* about this time, the Count *Rheinberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of *Spain*, and beleaguer'd *Stenwick* in *Freezland*; against whom the States sent *Norris* General of the Field, who put the *Rheinbergs* Company to the worst, and raised the Sieges but afterward joyning Battle with *Verdugo* the Spa-

niard at *Northbone*, even when the Victory was almost gotten (*Roger Williams* having put the Enemies to flight) the fortune of the war turn'd, *Norris* is vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain; amongst whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams* and *Bishop*, stout Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the English (who of all the dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto the least Drinkers, and deserved praise for their Sobriety) in these Dutch wars learned to be Drunkards; & brought the Vice so far to overspread the Kingdom, that Laws were said to be enacted for repressing it.

But now whilst the States and the King of *Spain* contend about a few Towns in the *Low-Countries*, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*. For the last year *Henry* King of *Portugal* dying, many Competitors challenge the Kingdom; as the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Parma's* Son, *Katharine Bracant*, and the Queen of *France*. But *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Son of *Henries* eldest Sister, putting the Case to his Divines and Lawyers, and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of right it belonged, they pronounced for him; whereupon he sent Duke *D'Alva*, who put to flight *Antonio*, whom the people had elected King, and within seventy dayes subdued all *Portugal*. The Queen of *France* angry hereat, and enviously beholding the King of *Spain's* Dominions thus enlarged (being now Master of *Portugal*, the *East-Indies*, and many Islands besides) adviseth amongst other Princes, Queen *Elizabeth*, to bethink themselves in time of restraining his so excessive Dominions: whereupon the Queen received *Don Antonio*, and lovingly relieved him, which she thought might be done without any breach of the League with *Spain*, seeing *Don Antonio* was descended of English blood, and of the House of *Lancaster*, and that no Caution was in the League, That the *Portuguez* should not be admitted into *England*.

And now the Queen-Mother of *France*, and the King her Son, more eagerly then ever, pursue the Match with *Alanson* now Duke of *Anjou*, for the transacting whereof, they sent in Ambassage into *England*, *Francis Bourbon*, Prince of *Dauphine*, *Arthur* Cofferer Marshal of *France*, and many other honourable Personages, who were entertained with great respect (a House being purposely built at *Westminster* for that use, royally furnished;) Tilting and Jests proclaimed, by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick*, Baron of *Windsor*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, and *Sir Fulk Grevil*, against all Coners. The Delegates that were to confer with the French concerning the marriage, were *Sir William Cecil*, Lord Treasurer, *Edward* Earl of *Lincoln* Lord Admiral, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, and *Sir Francis Walsingham* Secretary; By whom Covenants of Marriage were at length agreed on; First, That the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Queen of *England*, within six weeks after the ratification of the Articles, should contract Matrimony, and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on in the Marriage between Queen *Mary* and King *Philip*, chiefly consisting in conferring Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, That all particulars should be ratified within two Months, by the faithful Promise and Oath of the French King,

In these Dutch Wars the English learn to be Drunkards

The K. of Spain seizeth upon the Kingdom of Portugal, and putteth Don Antonio to flight.

Whom Qu. Eliz. received & relieved.

1581.  
The Match with Alanson, now Duke of Anjou is pursued afresh.

And Articles of the Marriage are agreed on.



But the K. of France disclaimeth the Articles.

King, for him and his Heirs, and a Reservation was also added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of the Delegats, That Queen Elizabeth is not bound to finish the Marriage, until she and the Duke have given each other satisfaction in some particulars, and have certified the French King of the same within six weeks. Before those six weeks were expired, Simier, Secretary to the Council, is sent into France, to require the King of France his Confirmation: The King will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage accomplished, as it was contracted, & that nothing else was to be done. Simier on the other side sheweth by the Articles, that a League offensive and defensive must first be concluded. This the French King disclaimeth: Whereupon Walsingham is presently sent to compose this difference, who joyntly with Henry Cobham, the Ambassadour in ordinary, and Simier, alledged to the French King these Particulars, That Queen Elizabeth for no other Reason was willing to marry, but for the satisfaction of her people; and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely the Civil War in France, and the Dukes engagements in a War with Spain, which makes the wisest of her Subjects now to be against the Match; This hath made her to defer the accomplishment of it, although her affection be still constant toward the Duke. For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the French Duke be freed from the Spanish War, & a League of mutual offence and defence be agreed on. The French King willingly accepted of the League defensive, but of the offensive he would hear no speech, till the marriage were finished.

The D. of Anjou comes himself into England. And in a private Conference with the Queen she draws a Ring from off her finger and puts it upon his. The English Lords and Ladies imagining the Marriage to be confirmed, fret exceedingly. The next day she calleth the French D. to her, and after a long discourse, made him exclaim on the inconstancy of Women

Not long after, the French Duke himself came into England, having with good success raised the Siege of Cambray: he was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted whereby he might judge himself to be truly welcome: Infomuch that in November, when the Anniversary of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queen (while they were in Love-conference) drew a Ring off from her finger, and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The standers by imagined, that by this Ceremony the Marriage was confirmed between them; and Aldegond Governour of Antwerp being there, presently dispatched messengers into the Low-Countries, to give notice of it; and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shews of rejoycing. But the Earl of Leicester (who privately plotted to cross the Match) Hutton the Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary Walsingham, fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrown. The Maids of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen, made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, she called to her the French Duke, and causing all company to go aside, they privately entertain a long discourse. At length the Duke returning to his lodging cast the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclaiming against the levity and inconstancy of Women.

The Queen at this time was much troubled at

a book lately put forth, with this Title *The Gulph wherein England will be swallowed, by the French Marriage*: whereof conceiving that some Puritan was the Author, it made her highly displeased with the Puritans: Whereupon, within a few dayes John Stubbs of Lincolns-Inne, a Zealous Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whose Sister, Thomas Cartwright the father of the Puritans had married) William Page that dispersed the Copies, and Singleton the Printer were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their Right hand should be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the Reign of Philip & Mary against the Authors & Dispersers of seditious Writings, (though the chief Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of that Statute.) Hereupon Stubbs and Page were brought to the Scaffold, made of purpose; in the Market-place at Westminster, and their right hands with a Butchers knife & a mallet cut off by the wrist; the Printer was pardoned. At that time Stubbs when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cried out *God save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the Beholders.

Stubbs & Page have their right Hands cut off for writing a seditious Book against the Marriage.

At this time the Queen, upon importunate suit of her Council, gave way, that Edmund Campian, Ralph Sherwin, and Alexander Bryant, Priests, should be called to the Bar, who being accused by vertue of a Law made in the five and twentieth year of K. Edward the third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queen and Kingdom; to be adhering to the Pope, the Queens Enemy, and coming into England to raise Forces against the State, were then condemned of High-Treason, and accordingly executed. Campian after he was convicted, being demanded; First, whether Queen Elizabeth were a lawful Queen? would make no answer; afterward whether he would stand for the Queen, or the Pope, if he should send an Army against the Queen; he plainly professed, that he would be of the Popes side, and witnessed so much under his hand. After this some other Papists upon the like occasion were also put to Death, which the Queen rather necessarily, than willingly assented to, as being unwilling to force the Conscience of any. These, and the like exorbitances of Papists were cause that new and strict Laws were enacted, against them the Parliament following, which began the next January.

Campian, Sherwin & Bryant Priests are executed.

The French Duke after three months abode in England, took his Journey in February into the Low-Countries, whom the Qu. her self brought on his way as far as Canterbury; and then commanded the Earl of Leicester, the Lords Charles Howard, Hunsdon, Willoughby Windsor, Sheffield, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Fr. Russel, Sir Gorge Bourchier, and some other prime Knights to accompany him to Antwerp, where he is made Duke of Brabant, Limbourg and Lorrain; for the Dutch had long before removed the King of Spains Government, and quitted the people from their Oath of Allegiance, that it might be in their own power to choose any other Prince. Here the Duke of Anjou gave free leave to exercise the Roman Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, & abjure the King of Spains authority: but after all, having sent a great mass of money, with which he was supplied from England,

The D. of Anjou goes out of England, whom the Queen brought on his way as far as Canterbury.



and observing that only vain and empty titles were conferred upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly enterprized an assault upon *Antwerp*, and some other Towns, and shortly departed without any great matter performed.

1582.  
Sir Peregrine Bertey made Lord Willoughby of Eresby.

At this time Queen *Elizabeth*, as well to get her some friends, as she had procured herself many enemies; received into the Order of the Garter, *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark*; to whom she employed Sir *Peregrine Bertey* (whom she had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*) to invest him.

The Earl Gowry and other Lords take the King, and keep him a Prisoner.

But now to prevent the Duke of *Guyse* design in *Scotland*, which was to make use of the Duke of *Lenox* favour with the King, to withdraw his affection from the *English*: *William Reuthen*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, endeavoured with others, by all means to remove *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* from the King; and so, while *Lenox* was gone from *Perth*, (where the King at this time was) to *Edinburgh*, and *Arran* was also absent on a journey; the Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindsey* and others, taking the opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of *Ruthen*, and there detained him, not permitting him to walk abroad: all his trusty Servants they removed from about him; *Arran* they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to send away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the Kings safety readily consented; and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Letters to Qu. *Elizabeth* to approve and allow of this his thralldom. The Queen of *Scots* in the mean while, bewailing her own hard fortune, and the distress of the King her Son, laith open the same in a large Letter, written to the Qu. in *French*: With which Letter Queen *Elizabeth* being somewhat affected, sent unto her *Robert Beal* Clark of the Council, to expostulate with her concerning the querulous writing, and joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to treat of the setting her at liberty. And indeed serious consultations were held at the Council Table about it, and the most were of opinion that upon certain conditions she should have her liberty; but the *Scottish* of the *English* faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

The King of Scots frees himself from those that had surprized him.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonel *William Steward* and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, proffering all manner of respect and observance, & requesting her advice for quieting the tumults in *Scotland*, and also for his contracting of marriage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* was dead in *France*, who departing this life at *Paris*, & even at the very point of death, as oftentimes before, made open profession of the Protestant Religion; thereby confuting those who had maliciously traduced him for a Papist. After whose death, when the surprisers of the K. were lift up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough; He on a sudden (though scarce eighteen years of age) with some few others, conveyed himself to the Castle of *S. Andrews*, to whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing Armed Bands with them, as fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words he advised some of his surprizers to go from the Court, for avoiding of tu-

mult, and promising them pardon, if they would crave it. But *Gowry* only asked pardon, and submitted himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in form only; & then the King sent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, imploying him to compose the Differences amongst the Nobility, & to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from civil dissensions.

Whiles he is sedulous in these cares, comes Sir *Francis Walsingham* from Queen *Elizabeth*, to advise him not to be led away by evil Counsellors, to the destruction of both Kingdoms. He findeth the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobility, and beholdeth another manner of Majesty than he looked for in *Scotland*: Having Audience given him, he put the King in mind of what the Queen out of *Isocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admonished him, *That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, That more credit may be given to his bare word, than to anothers Oath*; and in many words advised him, to beware now in his Youth of evil Counsellors, and alwaies to be like himself. The King answered that he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should appoint him Counsellors whom he liked not; but that he had long since devoted the first-fruits of his amity to the Queen of *England* his dear Sister, and doth now willingly make proffer of the same. *Walsingham* now dealt with him further, not to lay to the Queens charge what broyls had lately fallen out in *Scotland*; sheweth, how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also, so it were not neglected; and that the same might the better be confirmed, if the variance between the Nobility were laid asleep, by a Law of Oblivion Enacted in Parliament, & the Peers which now were removed from the Court called back again, religion looked into, & a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made answer, that he gladly embraced Amity with *England*, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already established: Afterward he lovingly dismissed *Walsingham*, though he held him no good friend to him & his Mother; and carefully looking to matters with understanding, even above his years, propos'd & proffered reconciliation to those that had surprized him, if within a limited time they asked pardon; which they were so far from doing, that they entred into new consultations to surprize him again; whereupon they are commanded within a set time to leave the Kingdom, of which number *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paslet*, and some others, betook themselves into *Ireland*; *Boyle*, *Zester*, *Weeme*, *Lochlevin*, into the *Low-Countries*; *Dumferlin* into *France*; the Earl of *Angus*, is confined to his Earldom; *Gowry* only to his own ruin, stayeth behind after the limited time, hatching new devices.

About this time happened a difference, and thereupon a War between the Emperour of *Muscovia* and the King of *Sweden*; when *John* King of *Sweden*, doubting himself to be no fit Match for the Emperour, sent a Royal Ambassage to Queen *Elizabeth*, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperour; which she did without delay, and by her Ambassador drew the *Muscovian* to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. But the

*Walsingham* is sent to the K. of *Scots*, to advise him to take heed of evil Counsellors: and the Kings Answer.



the *Muscovian* shortly after dying, and *Theodorus* his Successor granting free Traffique to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither; the Queen importuned him to admit of none but *English* Merchants, requiring him to confirm the Priviledges which his Father had granted them: Where to by way of Answer, he commanded Free Trading for all the *English*, saying, it was not fit that a small Company should exercise a Monopoly, and all others be restrained: But as for Customs, he promised to take less by half of that Company then of any other, because they first opened the way thither.

1583. The next Summer, *Albertus Alasco*, a Palatine of Poland, of a comely Personage, and great learning, came into England to see the Queen, who was nobly entertained, both by her and the Nobility, as also by the Scholars of Oxford, with learned Orations, and other Recreations: but having tarried here four months, and run into much debt, he secretly withdrew himself and departed. This man I saw my self afterward in Cracow, very bare, though it was reported of him, That he had in a Dowry with a Wife, fifty Castles of great value: but what Mine can bear the charges of Prodigality?

A year fatal to divers great men. This year proved fatal to divers great men; for there died, first *Thomas Ratcliff*, the third Earl of *Suffex* of this Family; a man of a great spirit, and great faithfulness to his Countrey. There dyed also *Henry Wryothesly* Earl of *Southampton*, one exceedingly devoted to the *Romish* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scots*, which cost him Queen *Elizabeths* displeasure, and imprisonment besides. There died also *Sir Humphry Guilbert*, who was cast away at Sea, in his return from the North part of *America*, whither he lately sailed with five Ships, having sold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. There dyed also *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being blind through age, a grave, and pious Prelate, who stood highly in the Queens favour for a long time; till he lost it at last, by favouring (as was said) the Puritans Conventicles; but the true cause indeed was, for the disallowing the Marriage of *Julio* an *Italian* Physician, with another mans wife, against the Earl of *Leicesters* pleasure. *Grindall* dying, *John Whitgift* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*; being translated thither from the See of *Worcester*.

Somerville and Arden are condemned, and why. At this time, certain Popish Books written against the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly so intoxicated one *Somerville*, an *English* Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but blood and death against all Protestants, set upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword: Being apprehended, he stuck not to say, That he would murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Arden* his father-in-law (a man of an ancient House in *Warwickshire*) *Ardens* wife, their Daughter, *Somerviles* wife, and *Hall* a Priest, were brought to the Bar, and all condemned; *Somerville* as principal, the rest as accessaries. Three dayes after, *Somerville* was found strangled in the Prison, *Arden* was executed and quartered; the women and Priest were spared. Many pitied the old Gentle-

man *Arden*, as misled by the Priest, and (as it was generally believed) brought to his end through the envy of *Leicester*, whom he used to call Whore-master, Up-start, and many such opprobrious names.

In the Netherlands, the *English* Garrison at *Alost* in *Flanders* being neglected, the Governour *Pigot*, and the other Captains, for want of pay, upon Composition, yielded up the Town to the *Spaniard*, and then fearing disgrace at home, joyined themselves to the Prince of *Parma*; at whose hands finding themselves slighted, by degrees they stole all away, and came all to unlucky ends.

In Ireland the famous Rebel *Gyralt Fitz Gyralt*, the eleventh Earl of *Desmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places escaped the *English*, was now by a common Souldier found out in a poor Cottage, and slain. His head was sent into England, and set upon *London* Bridge. This end had this great Lord, descended from *Maurice*, the Son of *Gyralt* of *Windsor*, an *English* man, famous among those who first set upon Ireland, in the year 1170. He possessed whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race, at least five hundred Gentlemen at his Command: all whom, and his own life also, he lost within the space of three years, very few of the House being left alive. And this disaster he fell into, by proving Traiterous to his Prince at the instigation of certain Popish Priests. Of whom, the chief was one *Nicholas Saunders* an *English* man, who at the same time died miserably of Famine, being starved to death, when as being forsaken, and running mad upon his ill success, he roamed up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to sustain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebels, and promising large rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill success, *James Fitz-Eustace*, Viscount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he pined away with grief. He, out of zeal to the *Roman* Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebels, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond* his Neighbor to do the like, (who drew his Linage from *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*) used these words to perswade him, That if *St. Thomas* of *Conterbury* had not died for the Church of *Rome*, thou hadst never been Earl of *Ormond*: for King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the murder of *Thomas Becket*, gave large lands in *Ormond* to his Predecessors.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain *Scots*, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to surprize the King, pretending only a care of Religion, and to remove ill Councillors from him: but the King having intelligence of their practice, used means by Colonell *Steward*, to have *Gowry* taken and cast into prison: whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates fled into England, and beseech the Queen to commiserate their estate, who had incurred the Kings displeasure, to do her and the Kingdom of England service. The King on the other side, accuseth them to the Queen of heinous Crimes, and requires to have them delivered up into his hands. But Secretary *Walsingham*, who bore great good will to these men, sent



Whether a Secretary of State may not transact without special Commission from the Prince.

The Earl Gowry is arraign'd, condemned and beheaded.

Many practices are plotted against Qu. Eliz. in behalf of the Queen of Scots.

Letters with a Command, That they should be safely admitted into *Lindisferne*, otherwise called, The holy Island; where *Hunsdon* being Governour there, and greatly addicted to the King of Scots, resisted *Walsingham's* Command, alledging he could not satisfy the Secretary in this point, unless the Queen gave expresse Command. Hereupon grew a Dispute, Whether a Secretary of State might not transact business of State, without special Commission from the Prince. How this Case was determined, is uncertain; but sure it is, the Scots came not thither, though some favour they had shewed them here in England. In the mean time, *Gowry* was tryed by his Peers at *Sterlyn*, where being accused of many Treasons, though he gave colourable answers to them all, yet was found guilty, condemned, and beheaded; whose head his servants sewing to his body, committed to the Grave.

About this time were practices plotted against Queen Elizabeth, in behalf of the Queen of Scots, chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldest Son of *John Throgmorton* Justice of Chester, who came to be suspected, by reason of Letters sent to the Queen of Scots, which were intercepted. Upon his apprehension, *Thomas Lord Paget* and *Charles Arundel*, privately stole away into France, grievously complaining against *Leicester* and *Walsingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and using such wiles, as scarce any man was able to live in safety. *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, and *Philip Earl of Arundel*, were confined to their Houses, his Wife committed to the custody of *Sir Thomas Shirly*, *William Howard*, the Earls Brother and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, were examined about Letters from the Queen of Scots, and many Strategems were set on foot, dangerous to some particular persons, but necessary (as should seem) for the Queens security. Certain it is, That now the Malice of the Papists against the Queen, brake forth more violently than ever before; for in printed Books, they stirred up the Queens own servants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did on *Olophernes*. The Author of these Books could not be found, but the suspicion lay upon one *Gregory Martin* sometime of Oxford: and *Carter* a Stationer, who printed the Books, suffered for it. And whereas the Papists every where traduced the Queen for cruelty, she desirous alwayes to leave a blessed remembrance behind her, grew extremely offended with the Commissioners for Popish causes, taxing them of too much cruelty: insomuch that they were fain, in a printed Declaration, to clear themselves, protesting; That they questioned no man for his Religion, but only for dangerous attempts against the Queen and State; and that *Campion* himself was never so racked, but that he could presently walk up and down. But all this gave not the Queen satisfaction, but she Commanded the Commissioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges other Punishments; and not long after, when seventy Priests were taken, and some of them condemned, and the rest in danger of the Law, she caused them all to be shipped away, and sent out of England: The chief of whom were *Gasper Heywood*, the great Epigrammatist's Son, the first Jesuite that ever set Foot in England; *James Bosgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edmund Rishston*.

At this time *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, was thrust out of England, for joyning with *Throgmorton* in his Treason against the Queen; whereupon *Sir William Wade* was sent to the King of Spain, to satisfy him how ill *Mendoza* had discharged the Office of an Ambassadour here in England; who when the King admitted him not to his Presence, but in a slighting manner, putting him off to his Counsellors; *Wade* taking it in great disdain, boldly said, That it was a declared Custom amongst Princes (though in heat of War) to give Ambassadors audience, and thereupon stoutly refused to declare his Ambassage, and so returned into England, unheard. The greatest matters laid to *Mendoza's* charge, were gotten out of *Throgmorton's* Confession; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he sent to *Mendoza* a box of Writings; and when his Chests were searched, there were found two Scrowls, one with the names of the Ports of England, and in the other, the Names of the Nobility and Gentry in England, that favoured the Romish Religion. These, when *Throgmorton* saw brought forth, he said they were counterfeited, and stood to it upon the very Rack, but being brought to the Rack the second time, he then confessed all; That *Morgan*, by Letters out of France, had given him information, that the Catholick Princes had decreed to invade England, and with the help of the Duke of *Guyse*, to free the Queen of Scots; and that nothing was now wanting, but money and aid in England; and that for procuring of this, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit name of *Mope*, was sent into *Sussex*, where the Duke of *Guyse* intended to land; and that he had imparted all this matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the names of the Ports, and of the Noblemen that should assist. But being arraign'd at the Guild-Hall, he denied all this again, saying, he had spoken so, because he would not be Racked again. Yet being condemned to die, he flying to the Queens mercy, confessed in a manner all he had before related; and then at the Gallows went about to deny it again. So false to it self is the mind of man, when it is divided between hope and fear, and lies under the burden of a guilty Conscience.

*Sir William Wade* being returned from Spain, was employed to the Queen of Scots about the Treaty begun two years before: to whom the distressed Queen sincerely professed, That she devoted her service and her self to the Queen of England: and made solemn Promise, That if the former Treaty might go on, she would mediate with the King her Son, to receive into favour the Earl of *Angus*, & the other Scottish Lords, and would charge the Bishops of *Rosse* and *Glasco*, her Agents in France, to have no further to do with the English Fugitives. These things Queen Elizabeth heard gladly, and thereupon sent *Beal* to the Queen of Scots, who joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* should signify unto her, That if she continued still in the same mind as she had delivered to *Wade*; *Sir Walter Mildmay* should come out of hand to her, and treat concerning her liberty; but withal, she commanded *Mildmay* and *Beal* to dive into her as well as they could, to know what practices the Duke of *Guyse* had on Foot. To that which she had spoken to *Sir William Wade*, the Queen of Scots made a wary

Sir Will. Wade sent into Spain, being not admitted to have Audience of the K. comes again without doing his Message. Mendoza the Spanish Ambassadour is thrust out of England, and why.

Sir Will. Wade is sent to the Q. of Scots to treat with her about some conditions for setting her at liberty.



wary answer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guyse*, she plainly confesseth; That being sickly her self, and weak of body, she had committed her self and her Son to the Protection of the D. of *Guyse*, her dear Cousin, of whose intendments she knoweth nothing; nor if she did, would she disclose them, unless she might be sure of her own liberty. Lastly, she requesteth, that being a free and absolute Prince, she may not be worse handled, than Queen *Elizabeth* her self was, when she was a Subject, and kept in prison by her Sister. These things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a strange accident; for *Creighton* a Scottish Jesuit, sailing from the Low-Countries, and taken by Dutch Pirates, had certain papers which he tore, and threw away, which thrown over-board, and by the wind blown back unto the Ship, miraculously (as *Creighton* himself said) they were brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much labour & cunning, discovered by them some new intendments of the Pope, the K. of *Spain*, and the D. of *Guyse*, about the invading of *England*: whereupon, and upon divers other rumours, the better to provide for the safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of *Leicester* being the foremost) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other by their Oaths and Subscriptions, to persecute all those to the very death, that should attempt any thing against the Queen; which League of theirs they called the Association.

An Association of Lords and others in defence of Qu Eliz.

The Qu. of Scots offers to enter into the Association, if she may have her liberty.

To which Qu Eliz. is inclining.

But is made averse from it by Scots and English of the adverse party, and especially by Scottish Ministers.

The Queen of *Scots* who presently apprehended that this Association was entered into for her destruction; making this proposition by *Nave* her Secretary, to the Queen and the Council; That if she might have her liberty granted, and be assured of the Queens love, she would enter a strict League and Amity with her, and passing by all matters of offence, esteem and honour her above all the Princes of the Christian world: yea, and (saving the antient League betwixt *France* and *Scotland*) she would her self be comprehended in the Association, and a League defensive, against all that should go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen *Elizabeth* was wonderfully pleased, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom. But see what malice can do; for many in *England*, but especially the *Scots* of the adverse party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it: exclaiming, That the Queen should be no longer in safety, if the Queen of *Scots* were set at liberty; That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if she were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papists were admitted within the Court-walls; nor was this all, but the Scottish Ministers in their Pulpits, loaded the Queen of *Scots* with all manner of contumelies, slandering the King himself, and his Council in the most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refused, saying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regal Authority, & that Ecclesiastical persons were not to be censured by the Prince, but by their own Consistory (directly against the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all persons, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, was confirmed; and namely, That the King and

his Council were Supreme Judges in all Causes; and that whosoever refused to be tried by them, should be holden guilty of High-Treason; all Presbyters and Lay-conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the Authority of Bishops restored, whose Calling the Presbyteries had condemned as wicked and Antichristian: and lastly, all scurrilous Libels against the King and his mother prohibited; namely, the Scottish History of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

At this time, upon her Adversaries suggestion the Queen of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the custody of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that on set purpose (as some were persuaded) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts; and indeed upon this she grew more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to hasten their intendment, whatsoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some said) that *Leicester* sent out assassins to make her away, but that *Drury* detested the villainy, and would grant them no access.

The Q. of Scots is taken from the E. of Shrewsbury, and committed to the custody of Sir Amias Pawlet.

And now to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* utterly from her; it is suggested to her, that *Allen* for the Catholics of the Clergy, *Inglefield* for the Laity, and the Bishop of *Rosse* for the Queen of *Scots*, with consent of the Pope and King of *Spain*, had joyntly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his hereditary Right to the Crown of *England*, and to marry the Queen of *Scots* to an English Nobleman of the Romish Religion, and him the English Catholics should choose King of *England*, and the Pope confirm the Election: and all this upon the credit of *Hart* the Priest: but who this English Nobleman should be that should marry the Queen of *Scots*, could not be found, though *Walsingham* were busie to search it out: the same went upon *Henry Howard* the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of High estimation among the Catholics.

A Combination in the Catholics, to marry the Q. of Scots to some English Nobleman of the Romish Religion; and who he was thought to be.

This year died in exile and misery *Charles Nevil*, who was in the Rebellion in the North, the last E. of *Westmerland* of this Family; a house from whence descended many Noble Personages, six Earls of *Westmerland*, two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquess *Mountacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Ousley*, the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord of *Abergaveny*, one Queen and five Dutcheesses (to let pass Countesses & Baroneesses) an Archbishop of *York*, & a numerous company of other Lords. In *England* died none of reckoning this year, but only *Plowden* the famous Lawyer; but in *France* the Duke of *Anjou* died of grief: and in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, shot into the body with three bullets, by one *Balthasar Gerard*, a *Burgundian*.

Charles Nevil the last E. of Westmerland of this Family, dies in Exile; and of the many Noble Personages descended from that House. Plowden the great Lawyer dies. The Prince of Orange is shot and slain by a Burgundian.

It was now the year 1585. and the 28th of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, when to tie the French King more nearly to her, whom the year before she had received into the number of the Knights of the Garter, she sent the Earl of *Derby* into *France*, to invest him with the Robes and Ornaments, according to the due solemnity; which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer was invested with them.

At this time a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, wherein *William Parry* a *Welsh*-man,

a Do-



Will. Parry  
Dr. of the  
Laws, con-  
demned &  
executed;  
and for  
what cause

a Doctor of the Laws, when in the lower House a Bill was read against the Jesuits, he alone stood up, and exclaimed that it was a cruel and bloody Law: and being asked his reason, he stoutly refused unless he were required by the Lords of the Council: Hereupon he was sent to the Gatehouse, but upon submission, was received into the House again. Soon after he was accused by Edward Nevil, for holding secret consultations about making the Queen away; who thereupon apprehended, upon his examination, confessed in effect thus much, That out of discontent he went beyond the Sea, where, by the encouragement of Campegio, the Popes Nuntio at Venice, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the Queen; but coming into England to that intent, he altered his mind, and disclosed to the Queen the whole matter. After this, he received a Letter from the Cardinal of Como, perswading him to go forward with the Enterprize; and this Letter also he shewed the Queen. After this, he chanced to see a Book of Dr. Allens, written *contra Justitiam Britannicam*, wherein was declared, That Princes who were for Heresie excommunicated, might lawfully be deprived of their life and Kingdom. This Book wonderfully confirm'd him, and he read it to Nevill; who, though he took an Oath of Secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of Westmerland, betrayed him. This was his confession before Baron Hunsdon, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham: as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the L. Burleigh, and the E. of Leicester, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy. A few days after, he was called to the Bar in Westminster-Hall, where he confessed himself guilty, and thereupon was condemned. After the sentence of death pronounced, he furiously cited the Queen to Gods Tribunal: five dayes after he was laid upon a Hurdle, and dragg'd through the City to Westm. where at the Gibbet he made a vain-glorious boasting of his faithfulness to the Queen, but not so much as in a word commended himself to God; and in the great palace at Westminster, was executed as a Traytor, the Nobility and Commons sitting then in Parliament.

Laws  
made for  
safeguard  
of the Qu.

The E. of  
Arundel  
commit-  
ted to the  
Tower, and  
why.

In this Parliament the Association before spoken of, was universally approved and enacted in this Form; That 24, or more, of the Queens Privy Council, and Peers of the Realm, should be selected and authorized under the Great Seal of England, To make enquiry of all such persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any evil against the Queens Person, for whomsoever, & by whomsoever that layeth any claim to the Crown of England; and that person for whom or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether incapable of the Crown; and more to this purpose. Laws also for the Queens safety, were enacted against Jesuits, and Popish Priests, and against all that shall receive or relieve them. These Laws terrified many, and particularly out of fear of them, Phil. E. of Arundel, the D. of Norfolk's eldest Son, purposed with himself to travel beyond Sea; for having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Council, and confined to his House, and after six months set at liberty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the service of God, and his Soules health, he purposed to leave his Country, but not his loyal af-

fection towards her; but as he was taking Shipping, by his own servants treachery he was discovered, apprehended, and laid in the Tower.

At the same time lay in the Tower Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, a man of a lofty spirit, being suspected by reason of secret consultation with Throgmorton, the Lord Paget and the Guises, about the invading of England, and freeing of the Queen of Scots (whose cause he ever highly favoured) but in the month of June he was found dead in his bed, shot into the body with three bullets, under his right Pap, and the door bolted on the inside. The Coroners Inquest examining the matter, found and pronounced that he had kill'd himself. Three dayes after, the Lords meeting in the Star-chamber, Brumley Lord Chancellor, declared this fact of the Earls, and then commanded the Attorney-General to shew the cause of his imprisonment, and the manner of his death; whereupon, Popham first, and then Egerton the Queens Solicitor, in long Orations, laid open all his Treasons, and how for fear of the Law, he had laid violent hands upon himself.

And now the Queen knowing that the seeds of these Treasons proceeded from the Duke of Guise, and his adherents, she sought for the strengthening of her self, to enter into the League with the Princes of Germany; and to this end, she sent Sir Thomas Bodley to the King of Denmark, to the Count Elector Palatine of the Rhine, to the Duke of Saxony, Wittenberg, Brunswick, Lonceburgh; the Marquess of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse; and into Scotland, she sent Sir Edward Wotton, to let the King understand how sincerely she was affected towards him, and withal to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutual defence and offence, and to commend to him the Match of the King of Denmarks Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter of the League, but for the present, the business was interrupted by the death of Francis Russel, Son to the Earl of Bedford, slain at a meeting to compound a difference between the Borderers, by a sudden tumult of the Scots, but who it was that slew him, was not known. The English laid it upon the Earl of Arran, and the Lord Fernihurst Governour of the middle Borders; Whereupon, at the Queens complaint, the Earl of Arran was confined, and Fernihurst committed to prison at Dundee, where he died; a man of great valor and resolution, and one that was alwaies firm for the Queen of Scots. But Queen Elizabeth not thus satisfied, gave leave by way of connivance to the Scottish Lords that were fled into England, namely, the Earl of Angus, the Hamiltons, and John Cladius, the E. of Marre, Glames, and other, that they should steal away into Scotland, (she supplying them with money) there to master and subdue the Earl of Arran. For Maxwell, who was lately made Earl of Bothwell, Baron Humes, Goldingholls, and others in Scotland, had already promised them their assistance; even in the very Court, Sir Patrick Gray (Arrans great Rival for the King favour) Belenden, and Secretary Maitland (by Wottons craft) were made against Arran. These men upon their first entry into Scotland, commanded all persons in the Kings name, to aid them for conserving the truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the English, so as there presently joyned

Hen. Percy  
E. of Northumberland, being in the Tower, is found dead in his Bed.

Qu. Eliz.  
enters  
league  
with the  
Princes of  
Germany.

A great  
tumult a-  
mong the  
Lords in  
Scotland,  
and why.



joyned with them about eight thousand men. The E. of Arran hearing thereof, makes halt to the King, and accuseth Patrick Gray as Author of this commotion; but whiles Arran was making provision for defence of the Town, the enemies were ready to scale the Walls: whereupon Arran being advised, that only his life was fought, gets secretly away with only one Servant, the rest betook themselves to the King in the Castle. The Rebels get into the Market-place, and display their Banners against the Castle: the King sends Gray to know the reason of their coming; they answer, to submit themselves, and in humble manner to kiss the Kings hands: the King offereth restitution of all their Goods, if they would depart; They desire to be admitted to his presence, which upon these conditions the King granted, That they should not attempt any thing against his life, or those whom he should nominate, nor make any innovation in the Government. They protest, They are ready to sacrifice their lives for the Kings safety; and of any Innovation they had not so much as a thought: only, they request to have their Adversaries, and the Fortifications of Scotland delivered up into their hands. Hereupon after a daies Consultation, they are admitted into the Kings Presence, and forthwith the Earls of Mount-Rosse, Crawford and Rothsay; Colonel Steward, Downs, Arrans Brothers, and others, were delivered to them: The Earl of Arran, who was fled into the Western Islands, is called home: the Assaulters were pardoned, and pronounced good Subjects. Hamilton is set over Dumbarton Castle; Goldingknoller over Edinburgh; the Earl of Angus over Tantallon; the Earl of Marre over Sterlin; and Glames is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proscriptions and Out-lawries against all Persons, since the Kings Inauguration (saving some few proscribed for the murder of the Kings Father) are called in, and with an unanimous consent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of England is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that purpose.

A combustion in Ireland, how caused, and how pacified.

In Ireland likewise was a Combustion this year, first the Burkes (descended of the antient Family of the Burroughs in England) provoked by the severe Government of Richard Bingham Governour of Connaught, raise Rebellion; but this was soon suppressed, for Thomas Burk, dyed fighting; Meyler and Theobald Burk, were taken and hanged. After this the Clan Gibbons, Clan Donells and Joyes, combined together in great numbers, and say plainly, They will have a Mac William of their own, one of the Burkes to rule over them, or some other Lord out of Spain; they will admit of no Sheriff into their Country, nor appear before the English Courts of Justice; and thereupon harried all the Country with Fire and Sword, and neither by the persuasions of the Archbishop Tuan, nor by the Intreaties of the Earl of Clan-riccard (the chief of the House of the Burkes) would be quieted, till John Bingham the Presidents Brother, following them into the Woods drave away five thousand head of their Cattel, so as after forty dayes, half starved, they came forth and submitted themselves. But this was not yet an end; for now the President understood, That two thousand

Scottish Islanders were landed, and ready to break into Connaught; whereupon he musters his men to give them battell; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back, as though in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm ground, and then with his whole Forces set upon them, slew three thousand of them (indeed all but fourscore) amongst whom were Donell Garmy & Alexander Garmy, the Sons of James Mac-Conel, who had long disquieted this part, and those Burkes who were the first Authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the good of the present and future times; for hereby the name of the Mac-Williams in Connaught was utterly extinct, and the insolent attempts of the Scottish Islanders absolutely crushed.

The name of Mac-Williams in Connaught is utterly extinct. The States of the Low-Countries fly to Qu. Eliz. for protection, which she refuseth:

In the Low-Countries at this time the States were very hard beset, so as they held a Consultation, whither to flee for Protection, whether to the French King, or to the Queen of England. Monsieur Pruine the French Ambassador shewed many advantages, and gave many reasons why they should fly rather to the French King; the English on the other side, alledged many reasons why they should fly rather to the Queen of England; but in conclusion, they have first recourse to the King of France, and afterward being by him neglected, to the Queen of England. But then in England it was consulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein the Council was divided; some were of Opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, lest the Spaniard first conquering them, might have the better way to annoy England; others again thought, They were to be held no better than Rebels to their lawful Sovereign, and therefore unworthy of assistance. After long debating the matter, the Queen refuseth to take them into Protection, much less to exercise Sovereignty over them. Nevertheless to raise the Siege of Antwerp, which was beleagured by the Prince of Parma, she was content to supply them with four thousand Soldiers, so as the Town of Sluce, and the Ordnance belonging to it, were given up into their hands: but while this matter was discussing, the Town of Antwerp was fain to yield it self.

But at last she undertakes it.

But the Queen better bethinking her self, partly as fearing the growth of the King of Spains Power, and partly, as commiserating the afflicted of her own Religion, at last resolves to undertake their Protection, upon condition of her part, to supply them with five thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, under a sufficient General, paying them during the war; and afterward the expences to be payed back, upon condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver Flushing and the Fort of Ramekin, the Town of Brill, with the two neighbouring Forts: and for the justifying of this her action, she set forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein she incensed the King of Spain, she thought best to turn his anger further from home, and thereupon sent out Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Carlile, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were two thousand Volunteers and Mariners) toward the West-Indies; who first surprized the Town of St. Jago, afterward St. Dominick (where five and twenty thousand Crowns were given them to spare the town from burning) afterward

She sends Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Carlile to the West, and what they effected there. Carta-



Tobacco first brought into England, at this time by Ralph Lane. John Davis finds out a way to the East-Indies by the higher part of America.

The Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Qu. Forces into Holland.

The States commit to him the absolute command over the United Provinces, which the Queen is angry at.

And the States excuse it.

What was done by the Earl of Leicester at his being in Holland.

*Cartagena*, which they held seven weeks, till the *Spaniards* redeemed it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After this the *Calenture* waxing hot, and diminishing their Forces, they returned homewards, passing by *Virginia*, a Colony which Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had there planted; from whence *Drake* brings home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the first that brought Tobacco into England, which the *Indians* take against crudities of the Stomach. At this expedition were lost about seven hundred men, who for the most part died of *Calentures*: their Booty amounted to the value of threescore thousand pounds Sterling, besides two hundred and forty Brasses and Iron Pieces. These things were done under the Torrid Zone in America: when in the mean while, Captain *John Davis*, with two Ships (at the charges of *William Sanderson*, and other Citizens of London) found out a way to the East-Indies, by the higher part of America, under the Frigid Zone.

At the end of this year, the Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Qu. Forces into Holland, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Lords *Audley & North*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Tho. Sherly*, Sir *Arthur Bassett*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, & divers other Knights, besides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Flushing*, he was first by Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governor his Nephew, after by the Towns of *Zealand* and *Holland*, entertained in most magnificent manner; and coming to the *Hague* in January, the States by Patent committed to him the command & absolute Authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governor & Capt. General of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the Confederate Provinces: so as being now saluted with the title of his Excellency, he began to assume unto him Princely spirits. But the Queen took him soon off from further aspiring, writing unto him in most peremptory manner; That she wondred how a man whom she had raised out of the dust, could so contemptuously violate her commands, & therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Injunctions she sent him by *Hennage* her Vice-Chamberlain; Withall, in Letters apart, she expostulateth with the States, that to her great disparagement, they had cast upon the Earl of Leicester her Subject, the absolute command over the united Provinces, without her privity, which she herself had utterly refused; and therefore willeth them to devest him of that absolute authority, to whom she had set bounds, which he should not pass. The States return Answer, that they are heartily sorry they should incur her displeasure by conferring upon the E. that absolute Authority, not having first made her acquainted, but they beseeched her to consider the necessity of it; seeing, that for avoiding of confusion, that Authority, must needs be cast upon some one or other; Neither was there any great matter in the word *absolute*, seeing the Rule & Dominion resided still in the people. By these Letters & Leicester's own submissive writing, the Qu. was soon satisfied: Leicester all this while receiveth Contributions & Rewards from all Provinces, maketh Martial Laws, and endeavouring likewise to raise new Customs upon Merchandizes, incurred great dislike amongst the common people. His first service was to relieve *Grave* a Town in *Brabant*,

which the Prince of Parma, by Count Mansfield had besieged: hither he sent the Count *Hohenlo* a German, & *Norris* General of the Eng. Foot, but notwithstanding all the great Service they did there, the Town in the end was taken; but *Hemart* the Governor, for his cowardly yielding it up, lost his head. From hence the Prince of Parma marched into *Gelderland*, and pitched his Tents before *Venlow*, where *Skenkic* a *Friezlander*, and *Roger Williams* a *Welchman* performed great service, yet that Town in a short time was taken also. But in the mean while the L. *Willoughby* Governour of *Burgen ap Zome*, cut off the enemies Convoyes, & took away their Victuals; and Sir *Philip Sidney* and *Maurice* the Prince of *Oranges* Son, upon a sudden onset, took *Axale*, a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlow* the Prince of Parma goes to *Berke*, where there were 12000. English under the command of Colonel *Morgan*; he notwithstanding laid Siege to the Town, which the E. of Leicester came to raise, but finding his Forces too weak to raise it, he seeks to divert it by beleaguering *Duisburgh*; which before the Prince of Parma could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of Parma, fearing lest *Zutphen* should come in danger, commandeth Victuals to be carried thither, which the *Spaniards* carrying along in a fogge, the English by chance lighted on them, vanquished a Troop of their Horse, slew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers others, but then on the English side was one slain, more worth than all the English and *Spaniards* put together. Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his Horse slain under him, and getting upon another, was shot into the thigh, and 25 days after, in the flower of his age, dyed: A man of so many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valor and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity; that as he had equalled all those of former Ages, so future Ages will hardly be able to equal him. His Funerals were in sumptuous manner solemnized at *St. Pauls Church* in London. *James* King of Scotland made his Epitaph, and both Universities celebrated his death with Funeral Verses.

After this Leicester assaulted *Zutphen*, where setting upon a Fort he takes it in this manner: *Edw. Stanley* (of the *Stanlies* of *Elford*) catching hold of a *Spaniards* Launce, which was brandished at him, held it so fast, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort; whereupon the *Spaniards* being affrighted (as thinking all the enemies were coming up) forsook the place; Leicester knighted *Stanley* for this act, gave him forty Pounds in present money, and a yearly Pension of an hundred marks during his life. And now though in this forwardness to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it unseasonable to besiege it any longer (especially so many English Garisons lying round about it, which were in the nature of a Siege) but return'd to the *Hague*, where the States entertained him with complaints, that their money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the English supplies were not full, that foreign Souldiers were levied without their consent, that the Priviledges of the United Provinces were set at nought, and new devices for contribution invented; for all which evils, they intreated him to provide some present remedy. To which complaints (having a purpose to go for England) he gave a friendly answer;

Sir Philip Sidney is slain.

1586.

Leicester takes the Fort of Zutphen by the valour of Ed. Stanley, and in what manner.

The States complain of the E. of Leicester's carriage.



answer; but upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committeth the Government of the Province, to the deliberation of the States; & the same day made another private Instrument of Writing, where he reserved to himself the whole authority over the Governours of the several Provinces, Cities, & Forts; & more than this, taketh away the wonted Jurisdiction from the States Council, & Presidents of the Provinces; and came into England the third day of December. And thus passed the Affairs of the Netherlands for this year.

Philip Earl of Arundel, who had lyen in prison a whole year, was at last brought to the Star-chamber; & being charged with fostering of Priests, & having correspondence with Allen and Parsons the Jesuite, and offering to depart the Kingdom without licence, was fined ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Queens pleasure.

A league of strict Amity is concluded with the K. of Scots.

At this time, the Queen, by Sir Horatio Palavicino, supplied with a large sum of money the King of Navarre; through whose side the Guyses opposed the reformed Religion in Scotland, but her most intente care was how to unite England & Scotland in a solid friendship: To which end she sent Thomas Randall into Scotland, who making Propositions to the King, touching a League offensive & defensive, though the King at first required some additions, and though the French Ambassadour infinitely opposed it, yet at last he consented to it; & in July following, there met at Barwick, Edward Earl of Rutland, William Lord Ewer, and Thomas Randall for the Queen of England: Francis Earl of Bothwell, Robert Lord Boyde, and Humes for the King of Scots, and there the League (which was called the League of strict amity; for that the word Offensive, liked not the Scots) was upon certain points concluded; First, for the maintenance of the Reformed Religion, and then other such Articles, as commonly in Leagues are usual.

A dangerous conspiracy is at this time discovered, begun by J. Savage, but prosecuted by Anthony Babington and divers others.

The very same month that this League was agreed on, a most dangerous Conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. For first, one John Savage was by the perswasion of Gifford, Doctor of Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work, to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen Elizabeth: but to make the Queen and her Council secure, at the same time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papists in England to attempt nothing against their Prince, and to use only the Christian weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Fasting. About Whitsuntide one Ballard a Seminary Priest of Rheims, acquainted with the vow of Savage, (having dealt in France with Mendoza and Charles Paget, about invading of England) arrived here in a Souldiers habit, and by a counterfeit name called Captain Foscu; with these matters he acquainted one Anthony Babington, a Gentleman of Derbyshire, who by the Bishop of Glasco, the Queen of Scots Ambassador in France, had been commended to her as one worthy of her love; so as between them there passed often Letters in unknown Characters. In short time, Babington had drawn into the Plot, other Gentlemen as zealous of the Romish Religion as himself; namely Edward Windsor, Brother to the Lord Windsor, Thomas Salis-

bury of a good Family in Devonshire, Charles Tilney one of the Queens Pensioners, Chydieck Tichburn of Hampshire, Edward Abington (whose Father was Cofferer to the Queen) Robert Gage of Surrey, John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancashire, John Jones, Savage formerly spoken of, Barnwell of a noble Family in Ireland, and Henry Dunne a Clark in the Office of First-Fruits and Tenths; one Pollie also scrued himself into their company, a fellow thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of Scots, who was thought to have revealed all their Consultations to Walsingham day by day. To these Gentlemen, Babington communicateth his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to Ballard, Tichburn, and Dunne, he sheweth the Letters which passed between him & the Queen of Scots: with Tilney and the rest, he dealeth to be assistants; of whom, some at first loth, at last consented, and in a foolish vain-gloriousness, a Picture of the Assassins was made to the life, and Babington in the midst, with these words, Quorsum hæc alio properantibus? This Picture (they say) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face, but only Barnwell (who had oftentimes come to her in the causes of the E. of Kildare, whose servant he was.) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spied this Barnwell, and turning to Hatton, said, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a Sword by his side? Thus much Barnwell himself told the rest of his Confederacy, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesaid Gifford: This was a Gentleman of a good House at Chellington in Staffordshire, not far from Chartley, where the Queen of Scots was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the English Fugitives in France, under the counterfeit name of Luson, to put Savage in mind of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of Scots. But he, whether pricked in Conscience, or disinayed in mind, came to Walsingham privately, revealing who he was, & for what end, and by whom sent into England. Walsingham courteously entertained him, & sent him down into Staffordshire, to do the work he had undertaken. Here Gifford bribing the Brewer of the house, where the Queen of Scots lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the Wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely laid by the way, came evermore to Walsingham's hands; who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one Thomas Philips, found out the meaning of the Private Characters, and by the singular Art of Arthur Gregory, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, & ever sent them to the parties, to whom the superscription directed them. In like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of Scots to Babington intercepted; as also other Letters written at the same time to Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador, Charles Paget, the Lord Paget, the Arch-Bishop of Glasco, and Francis Englefield. The Queen as soon as she understood by these Letters of the storm hanging over

The chief discoverer of this Conspiracy was one Gifford, & by what means.

Walsingham's State-craft.



her head, both at home and abroad, commanded Ballard to be apprehended, who on a suddain is taken in Babingtons house. Babington hereupon goeth to Walsingham, with whom he had long been a suiter, for licence to go into France, promising to do great matters in discovering the practices of the Fugitives. Walsingham with fair promises drives him off from day to day; and now perswades him, that for a small space till he could get his licence sealed, he would lodge at his house in London, where they might have secret Conference without suspicion. This web Walsingham himself had spun hitherto, and no other of the Queens Counsel were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread, out but that the Queen was unwilling; left (as she said) by not avoiding danger when she might, she should seem rather to tempt God, than to trust in him. Whereupon, Walsingham sent a Note to his man Scudamore from the Court, to look carefully to Babington: This Note was delivered in such manner, that Babington sitting by a Table when Scudamore read it, overlooked him, and read it likewise: Hereupon suspecting that all was discovered, the next Night he and Scudamore, and one or two more of Walsinghams servants supping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuse that he must needs step aside, and rose up, leaving his Cloak and his Sword, and so made hast through the dark to Westminster where Gage and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themselves into St. Johns Wood near the City, whither Barnwell and Dun betook themselves. In the mean space they were proclaimed Traytors all England over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods & by-places; they shave Babingtons face, disfigure the beauty of his Countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the husks of green Walnuts; and when they were half starved, went to the houses of the Bellamies, near Harrow on the Hill, who were great Papists; There they were hid in Barns, and put into a countrey habit: But notwithstanding all their shifting, within ten days after they were discovered and brought to London. The other Complices were soon after taken, most of them in the Suburbs of the City, Salisbury and Traverser in Cheshire, and Jones in Wales, who harboured them in his house, after he knew they were proclaimed Traytors; Windsor only was never heard of. Many days were spent in the examination of them, who cut one the others Throats, with their own Confessions. All this while, the Queen of Scots and her servants are so narrowly looked to by Pawlet, that she knew nothing of all these passages; As soon as they were apprehended, Thomas George was sent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do, till she was got on Horse-back to ride a hunting, & was not then suffered to return, but in shew of Courtesie was carried up and down, to see the houses of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while John Manners, Edward Aiton, Richard Bagot, and Sir William Wade, took Nave and Curle the Queen of Scots Secretaries, and the rest of her servants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no speech between themselves, nor with their Lady the Queen of Scots. Then they broke open all dores, and such Desks & Boxes as they

Babington  
seeks to  
escape.

But is discovered &  
taken.

The Qu. of  
Scots hath  
her Closet  
broken  
open, and  
her Boxes  
searched.

found with any Papers in them, they set their seals upon, and sent them to the Court. In which being broken open before the Queen were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the Copies likewise of Letters sent to several persons, and threescore Alphabets at least of private Characters; as also, Letters to her from some of the English Nobility, containing great proffers of love and service, which the Queen notwithstanding took no notice of, but passed over in silence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I see and say nothing. Gifford now, who had all this while served their turn, is sent into France; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the French Ambassadour here in England, with Instructions that he should deliver no Letters to the Queen of Scots, or the fugitives in France, but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he sent under-hand to Sir Francis Walsingham.

The twentieth of September, seven of the forenamed Conspirators were Arraigned, and pleading guilty, were condemned of High Treason. Two days after, seven other were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithstanding were found guilty by their own confessions, & condemned; Pollie only, though he were privy to all passages, yet because he had disclosed many things to Walsingham, was not called in question. The twentieth day of the month, the first seven in St. Giles Fields, where they were wont to meet, were hanged, cut down instantly, their privy members cut off, and themselves yet living and beholding it, were in cruel manner bowelled & quartered; namely, Ballard, Babington, Savage, (who, the roap breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was presently taken by the hangman, his privy members cut off, and bowelled while he was perfectly living) Barnwell, Tichburn, Tilney, and Abington. The next day, the other seven were drawn to the same place, and executed in the same fashion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens special charge who detested the former cruelty, for they were to hang till they were quite dead, Salisbury first, then Dun, then Jones, Chernock, Traverser, Gage, and with them Hierome Bellamy, who had concealed Babington after he was proclaimed Traytor (whose Brother being guilty of the same fact, had strangled himself in prison.)

When these men were executed, Nave a French man, and Curle a Scotch man, Secretaries to the Queen of Scots, were examined concerning the Letters, the copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of Scots Closet; who under their own voluntary subscriptions acknowledged, that they were their own handwritings, dictated in French by the Queen herself, taken by Nave, turned into English by Curle and copied out in secret Characters. Hereupon Sir Edward Wotton was sent out of hand into France, to make known to the King, the order of the Treason, and to shew him the copies of the Queen of Scots Letters, confirmed by the testimony of sundry of the English Nobility, that the French King might see what dangerous plots were by Charles Paget, and the English Fugitives contrived against the Queen of England.

And now, what should be done with the Qu. of Scots, was a great consultation; wherein the Counsel-

Fourteen  
of the  
Conspira-  
tors are  
arraigned  
& hanged.

Sir Edw.  
Wotton is  
sent into  
France to  
acquaint  
the King  
with this  
Conspi-  
racy.



Consultation is held what should be done with the Qu. of Scots, and the resolution.

Commissioners are sent to the Queen of Scots to acquaint her with the resolution.

But she stood up on her innocency, & upon her exemption from answering as being an absolute Prince.

Yet at last she was brought to consent.

Hereupon she appears before the Commissioners,

Counsellours were not all of one mind: some conceived; That it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in fast Custody; both for that she was not Author of the Treason, but only conscious to it, and because she was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others, out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith arraigned and put to death according to Law; *Leicester* thought it better to have her poysoned, and sent a Divine to *Walsingham* to prove it lawful, but *Walsingham* protested against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25 of *Edward* the Third; (in which they are pronounced guilty of Treason, who plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his Dominions or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27 of the Queen Enacted a year since: Their opinion at last prevail'd who thought best to proceed against her by this latter Law, as being indeed in this case provided. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the privy Council, & others of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by vertue of that Law, and pass sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any violence against the Queen. These Commissioners therefore upon the eleventh day of *October* repaired to *Fotheringay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, where the Q. of Scots was then held prisoner; and the next day, sent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Paulet* and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary; who delivered her the Queens Letters; which having with a settled countenance read, she said, It seems to me strange that the Q. should lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an absolute Queen, no less than her self; but howsoever, I will never do any thing prejudicial to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of *Scotland*. After many meetings, she standing still upon her Innocency, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and specially for yielding to be tryed by the *English* Laws, of which, One (she said) had lately been made of purpose for her destruction: It was at last told her plainly, by the Chancellour and Treasurer, that if she refused to answer to such Crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at last with much ado to consent, the Commissioners came together in the Presence Chamber; a Chair of Estate was set for the Queen of *England*, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy; beneath over against which was placed a Chair for the Queen of Scots; on both sides of the Cloth of Estate stools were set, upon which on the one side sate the Lord Chancellour, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, & Viscount *Montacute*: On the other side sate the Lords *Aburgavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *St. John* of *Bletsho*, *Compton*, and *Cheyney*; Next to these sate the Knights that were Privy Counsellors, *Sir James Crofts*, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, *Sir Francis Walsingham*, *Sir Ralph Sadler*, *Sir Walter Mildmay*, and *Sir Amias Pawlet*; Forward before the Earls, sate the two Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other side, the two

Barons, and the other Justices; *Dale* and *Foord* Drs. of the Civil Law: at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Attorney General, *Egerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdy* her Serjeant at Law, the Clark of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Qu. of Scots was come, and had placed herself, silence being made, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to Crimes laid to her charge, assuring her, That nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, than to hear that she had proved her self innocent. Upon this, she rising up said, That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gawdy* opened every specialty of the Law lately made (against which she had taken Exception) shewing by *Babingtons* Confession, by Letters passed between them, by the Confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the Confessions of her Secretaries *Nive* and *Curle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted; the rest in hope of life might be drawn to confess that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily, That she never consented to any attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery, she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of Scots; at last, she requested, that she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this request prevailed not; for on the 25th day of *October* following at the Star-Chamber in *Westmin.* the Commissioners met again, & there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and Subscriptions, that after the first day of *June*, in the Seven and twentieth year of our Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington* & others, with the privy of *Mary* Queen of Scots, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen.

After a few dayes, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, the which was begun by Authority from the Queen derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydiock*, *Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney*, and other the Complices was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, That for the preservation of the true Religion, & safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the Sentence passed against *Mary* Queen of Scots, might according to Law be presently promulged: They put the Queen in mind of the fearful Examples of Gods Judgments extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*

And the Qu. Council open the Crimes with which she was charged.

Upon which afterward, in the Star-chamber, Sentence was pronounced against her.

And in a Parliament presently following, the Lords petition the Queen that the Sentence passed against her might presently be promulged.



And the  
Queens  
Answer.

and upon *Abab*; for not putting *Benhadad* to death. But the Queen answereth them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affection towards her, for whose sakes only she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to mind things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy, who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of *Scots* is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to ensnare her, but contrariwise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other antient Laws enough to condemn her. Nothing could have bin more grievous to me, than that a Prince, and one so near allied unto me, should deserve the sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time signifie my mind unto you; and in the mean time, would have you expect from me, whatsoever good Subjects look for from a Gracious Prince.

A while after the Qu. entreats the Lords to think of some way by which the Qu. of Scots's life may be saved, and her own not endangered. The Lords return answer, That there can be no way of her safety but the Queen of Scots's death.

Twelve dayes after, having deeply weighed the matter in her mind, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower-House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning so weighty a matter, and to bethink themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of *Scots* might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in a most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict, That the Queens life could not be in safety, while the Queen of *Scots* lived, unless she either repented and acknowledged her Crimes, or were kept in strait custody, or bound by her Oath and Obligations, or gave Hostages; or lastly departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likely to be remedies, it remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not so much as acknowledge her self faulty: Close imprisonment, Obligations, Oath, and Hostages, they accounted as nothing, which all vanished, if the Queens life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they feared she would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower-House, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon the Queen after a short pause, spake at last to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your security, and my own safety, some other way might be devised, than that which is now propounded; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my safety without her destruction, is in a more deplorable estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow; that I, who have pardoned so many Rebels, have neglected so many Treasons (either by connivence, or silence) should now at last exercise cruelty upon a Prince so nearly allied to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say, I will not grant your Petition,

I shall happily say what I mean not; If I should say, I will grant it, then cast I my self into destruction headlong, whose safety you so earnestly desire; and that I know, you in your wisdoms would not I should do.

After this, the Parliament was prorogued, and then were the Lord *Buckhurst*, and *Beal* sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her understand that Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desired by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore perswaded her, that before her death, she would make acknowledgment of her offences against God and the Queen; intimating, that if she lived, the Religion received in *England*, could not subsist. Hereupon she was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity, That she should be accounted an Instrument, for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested, she might have some Catholick Priest to administer the Sacrament to her; but was denied, which some deemed, not inhumane only, but tyrannical and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, she utterly rejected, and jeered at the *English* Nation, saying, The *English* were ever and anon wont to murder their own Kings, and therefore no marvel, they should now thirst after her destruction. In *December* following the Sentence against her was proclaimed in *London* first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen *Elizabeth* seriously protested, that this promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the importunity of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Qu. of *Scots* being told hereof, seemed not a whit dejected with it: but writing to the Queen, never maketh intercession for her self, nor expostulateth her death, but only makes three small requests; one, That she might be buried in *France* by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but her servants to be present; the third, That her servants might freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requests, she desired the Queen to vouchsafe her answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

This condemnation of the Queen of *Scots*, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far & near; so as intercessions came thick in her behalf to Queen *Elizabeth*, but especially from the King of *Scots*, and the King of *France*, who sent their several Ambassadors, using all the reasons that natural affection in the one, and likeness of condition in the other could urge, for sparing of her life; but when the necessity of the State seemed to obstruct all wayes of clemency, the French Ambassador *L' Aubespine*, falleth from reasons to action, and thinketh no way so effectual for saving of the Queen of *Scots* life, as to take away Queen *Elizabeth*'s life; and thereupon first, he dealeth covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentlemen, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Qu. *Elizabeth*, & his Brother at that time, Ambassador *Liege* in *France*) and afterward more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murder the Queen. *Stafford*, though not daring to act such a Villany him-

Upon this the Qu. of Scots is made acquainted with the Lords Petition to have the Sentence executed, at which she seemed to rejoice.

The King of Scots & the K. of France sollicite for her life.

L' Aubespine the French Ambassador sets Agents a-work to kill Queen Elizabeth.



himself, yet commended one *Moody* to him a resolute fellow, and one that for Money would be sure to do it. Upon this *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Gaol, who upon *Trapps* offer, undertakes it: But then the consultation was, by what way it should be done. *Moody* propounded poison, or else to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens bed, and suddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked of neither of these wayes, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus consulting about the way of doing it, *Stafford* discovers all to the Lords of the Council: Whereupon *Trappe* who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambassador himself was sent for to *Cecils* house, the twelfth of *January*; where met him by the Qu. appointment, *Cecil* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davyson* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassadors every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappe* his Secreatry had confessed. As soon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassador interrupted him, and reviling him, made asseveration, that *Stafford* first propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his knees, made fearful imprecations, that the Ambassador first propounded it himself. But whosoever propounded it (saith *Burleigh*) in appears that you were made acquainted with the matter. To which he presently replied; that if he had known of any such thing, yet being he was an Ambassador, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord *Burleigh* admonished him to beware how he offended hereafter in this kind; and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence, though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

Qu. Eliz. terrified with many rumors, seals a Warrant for executing her.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of *Scots* Adversaries put many terrours into *Queen Elizabeths* mind, giving out that the *Spanish Navy* was come to *Milford Haven*, That the *Scots* were broken into *England*; That the Duke of *Guyse* with a great Army was landed in *Stafford*; That the Queen of *Scots* was escaped out of Prison, & had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this: That she sealed Letters for executing the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*; and one of the greatest persuaders to it (as the *Scots* reported it) was one whom the King of *Scots* had sent to dissuade her from it; namely *Patrick Grey*, who sounded often in her ears, *Mortua non mordet*, when she his dead she cannot bite,

But being long in suspense about it, at last she command-

The Qu. notwithstanding, began to weigh with herself, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, but where only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her, many practical reasons, and those pressed both by Courtiers & Preachers, were presented to her; so as long holden in suspense, she would oftentimes sit speechless, and her countenance cast down; at last, her fear prevailing, she delivered to Secretary *Davyson*, Letters under her hand & Seal, to get the Commission made under the great Seal of *England*, for

the Execution of the Qu. of *Scots*, which might be in a readiness upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter to any whomsoever. But the next day her mind was altered, and sent Sir *William Killebrew* to *Davyson*, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon *Davyson* goes to her, and lets her know, That the commission was already made, and the Seal put to it; Whereat the Queen extremely angry, rebuketh him sharply for his hastiness; yet *Davyson* imparteth the matter to Privy-Counsellors; and persuades them, That the Queen commanded, the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon *Beale* Clark of the Council is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law, with which proceeding the Q. was not once made acquainted; & more than this, although she had intimated to *Davyson*, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not he stay *Beale* from going.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of *Scots* Tragedy; for as soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringay*; they together with Sir *Amias Paulet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, with whom she was then in custody, go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their coming; and in a few words, admonish her to prepare her self for death, for that she must dye the next day: whereto, without any change of countenance or passion of mind, she made answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth, that she might confer with her Confessor, and *Melvyn* her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough* they offered her, but them she refused. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hastned, where she eat (as she used to do) soberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weep, she comforteth them, and bids them rather rejoyce, that she was now to depart out of a world of misery. After Supper she looketh over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and writ their names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; at her wonted hour she went to bed, and after a few hours sleep, awaking, spent the rest of the night in her Devotion. And now the fatal day being come, which was the eighth of *February*, she getteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook herself in her closet to Almighty God, imploring his assistance with deep sighs and groans; until *Thomas Andrews* Sheriff of the County gave notice that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princely Majesty, and Cheerful Countenance she came out, her head covered with a linnen Vail, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hand; In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where *Melvyn* her servant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune that he should be the messenger to carry this sad news into *Scotland*; whom she comforted, saying, Do not lament *Melvyn*, Thou shalt by and by see *Mary Steward* freed from all cares. Then turn-

ed Secretary *Davyson* to get the Commission made: but not disclose the matter to any. Yet *Davyson* acquaints divers of the Privy-Council with it: Hereupon *Beale* is sent down to give authority to the E. of *Shrewsbury* and others to see her executed.

1587.

The Commissioners acquaint her with it, with which she was not a whit daunted.

She makes her Will.

Her devout carriage at her death.



turning her self to the Earls, she requested that her Servants might stand by her at her death, which the Earl of Kent was very loth to grant, for fear of Superstition, to whom she said, Fear nothing, these poor wretches desire only to give me my last farewell. I know the Queen my Sister would not deny me so small a request. After this the two Earls and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, she came to the Scaffold, which was set up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of Peterborough going to Prayers, she falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix, in both her hands, prayed with her servants in *Latine*, out of the Office of the blessed Virgin. Prayers being ended, she kissed the Crucifix and signing her self with the sign of the Cross, said, *As thy Arms, O Christ, were spread forth upon the Cross, so embrace me with the open arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins.* Then the Executioner asking her pardon, she forgave him. And now her women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into shrieks and cries, she kissed them, signed them with the Cross, and willed them to leave lamenting for now an end of her sorrows was at hand; and then shadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying down on the Block, she repeated the Psalm, *In te Domini speravi ne confundar in aeternum*; at which words she stretching forth her Body, her head at two blows was taken off. Her body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church at Peterborough; but since that, her Noble Son James, King of Great Britain, erected a Royal Monument for her, in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. This end had Mary Queen of Scots, in the Six and fortieth year of her age, and of her Imprisonment in England the eighteenth; a Lady so compleat in all excellent parts of body and mind, that it must needs have made her a happy woman, if she had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if she had not been Heir to the Crown of England; For why did all her Endeavours want success, but only from the fear of that Succession? and no innocency of hers could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealousie made the Assault.

She is be-headed.

Her Age when she died.

Qu. Eliz. hearing of her death is infinitely dejected.

And soon after writes to the King of Scots to satisfy him in it, that it was done against her meaning.

Davyson is cited in the Star-chamber, & charg'd

As soon as it came to the Queens knowledge that the Queen of Scots was put to death, her Countenance grew dejected, and her speech failed her, insomuch that all in mourning weeds, she gave her self over to sorrow, commanded her Counsellors from her Presence, & caused Davyson to be cited to the Star-Chamber. And as soon as grief would suffer her, she wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of Scots, & sent it by Sir Robert Cary, to this effect; That her mind was infinitely disquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, against her meaning and intent; entreating him to believe, That if she had commanded it, she would never have denyed it, and withal protesting her true affection towards him, and her assiduous watchfulness for the prospering of his affairs.

While Cary was on his journey, Davyson is cited to the Star-Chamber before these Delegates, Sir Christopher Wray Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Earls of

Worcester, Cumberland and Lincoln, the Lords Gray, and Lumley, Sir James Croft, Comptroller of the Queens House, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron (where note, that Bromley Lord Chancellour, Burleigh Lord Treasurer, Leicesier, and Hatton, who were indeed more guilty of the fact than Davyson, were none of the number.) Before these Delegates, Popham the Queens Attorney layeth to Davysons charge, Contempt of the Queens Majesty, violating of his trust, and neglect of his duty laying open all particulars of his fact; which after Egerton the Queens Solicitor, Gamdy and Puckering, Serjeants at Law, urged also against him with great aggravation: To which Davyson mildly answered, That he would not contest with the Queen: only protests, That if he had done any thing otherwise then he ought, it was out of ignorance and mistaking, and not out of any purpose to disobey her Majesty. It seems the Queen had carried her self as one that would have it done, and yet was loth to do it, scarce knowing her own mind, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of mistaking, rather then of purpose. that so at least she might leave some place of satisfaction to her self, that it was not absolutely of her doing.

And his Answer.

The pleadings ended, the Commissioners went to censure; Manwood began, and gave his Opinion, That Davyson for the inconsiderateness of his fact, should be fined ten thousand pounds, and imprisoned during the Queens pleasure; the rest went on in that Sentence, only the Lord Gray excused Davyson so far, That he thought him worthy of reward rather than of punishment; The conclusion was, the first Sentence for his Fine and Imprisonment, was by Wray Keeper of the Privy Seal confirmed; and Davyson never after recovered the Queens favour, though she relieved him sometimes in his necessity. A man ingenious indeed, but not thoroughly acquainted with the wayes of the Court; and thought to have been raised to this place, of purpose to act this part, and for nothing else.

By this time Sir Robert Cary, Son to the Lord Hunsdon, who was sent to excuse the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither, was not suffered to set foot in Scotland; The King would scarce hear him by another, and with much ado received his Letters. He called home his Ambassador out of England, and thought of nothing but revenge.

The K. of Scots will not admit the Qu. Messengers, and threatens revenge.

But the Queen still laying the fault upon Davyson, and the unadvised credulity of her Counsellors, by little and little allayeth his passion; & expecting till time had somewhat asswaged his grief, that it would indure to be toucht, at length by her Agents in Scotland; & soon after by the Lord Hunsdon Governour of Berwick, she admonished him, how dangerous it would be for him, to break out into war against England, and what little help he could justly expect from either Spain or France; but if he persisted in amity with England, he might be sure the Queen of England would most lovingly account him for her Son; & to the end that he should assure himself, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privy, she sent him the sentence against Davyson,

Qu. Eliz. seeks to pacifie him, & by what reasons.



son, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attested under the Great Seal of England; and another Instrument likewise signed with the hands of the Judges of England; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of Scots, could in no wise be prejudice to his right in the Succession.

Drake is sent to the Coast of Spain, and what mischiefs he did the K.  
Having now by these and the like Courses somewhat asswaged the King of Scots indignation; to prevent the war which they foresaw was imminent from the King of Spain, they sent forth Drake with four of the Queens ships and others, unto the Coast of Spain, to set upon their ships in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition. Drake entering into the Port of Cales, sunk, took, and fired about an hundred Ships, wherein was great store of Munition and Victuals: Then returning to the Cape of St. Vincent, he set upon three Forts, and compelled them to yield. Thence setting sail to the Western Islands, called Azores under the great Meridian; by great good fortune he hapned upon an huge and wealthy Carrack, called St. Philip, returning from the East-Indies, and easily vanquished it; Whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the name of Philip, portended no good luck to Philip King of Spain.

And the like also did Tho. Cavendish of Suffolk.  
At the same time, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk, in the other part of the World, who two years before had set sail from England with 3 ships, passing through the Straits of Magellan, in the Coast of Chily, Peru, and Nova Hispania, fired a great number of Spanish Towns, took and pillaged Nineteen great Ships, and amongst them a wealthy ship of the Kings nigh unto Caliphornia, in North America; and so by the Philippine Isles, the Molucces, the Cape de bone Esperance, and the Island of St. Helene, returned home the next year, being the third after Magellan, that failed about the World.

York and Stanley in the Low-Countries, perfidiously delivered up Towns to the Spaniards, and their ends.  
As Drake and Cavendish at this time gained great fame and renown; so two other men in the Netherlands (Stanley and York) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This York was a Londoner, a bold fellow, and of loose behaviour; famous for bringing first into England, the manner of turning the point upon the Adversary in single Combats, whereas the English till this time were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and it held no manhood to turn the point, or strike below the Girdle. He suffered some affront from the Earl of Leicester, fled away, and for a time, served under the Spaniards in the Netherlands, till at last being reconciled to Leicester, he was set over the Fort near Zutphen; but being bribed, he not only yielded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one Stanley, who with great valour had served in an Irish Expedition, to yield up Daventry to the Spaniards, a Wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery? The Spaniards set York and Stanley at variance, they poyson York, and seize upon his goods, his Carcase was three years after digged up by the States Commandment, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; Stanley went into Spain, where there was no credit given to him; for the Spaniards have a saying, It is lawful to give honor to a Traytor sometimes, but never to trust him.

These late Treacheries wrought the Earl of Leicester much Envy with the Confederate Netherlands, because the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the States in large letters to the Queen, accuse Leicester for his ill managing of the Weal Publick, in the matter of money, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, they impute the harm which accrued by York and Stanly. The Queen, for the narrow lifting of the matter, and composing it; sent thither Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (lately taken into her Privy Council in Leicester's absence) Norris and Bartholomew Clerk: But when the officious diligence of Buckhurst, seemed to trench upon Leicesters Reputation; his grace with the Queen prov'd so forcible, that Buckhurst, at his return, was for certain months confined to his house.

Afterward Sluce being beleaguered by the Prince of Parma, Leicester was by the States sent for out of England, to succour it; the Town was furiously assaulted with Seventeen thousand great shot, and a mighty breach was made into it; which nevertheless Roger Williams, Francis Vere, Nicholas Baskerville, with the Garrison of the English and Walloons, valiantly defended for a while, but at last were enforced to yield it up; Leicester, that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the Besiegers, being gone away. And indeed, the States would not commit any great Army to his Command; who (they knew) had a determination to seize Leyden, and some other Towns into his own hands, and had a purpose to surprize the absolute Government. Whereupon the States used means, that Leicester was called home, gave up the Government to the States, and in his room succeeded Maurice of Nassaw, Son to the Prince of Orange, being now but twenty years of age. Perigrine Lord Wiloughby, was by the Queen made General of the English Forces in the Low-Countries, to whom the gave command to reduce the English Factions into the States Obedience; the which, with the help of Prince Maurice, he easily effected.

Leicester being now come home, and perceiving that an Accusation was preparing against him by Buckhurst and others, for his unfaithful managing of Affairs in Holland; privately with tears he cast himself down at the Queens feet, entreating her, that she should not receive him with disgrace at his return, whom she had sent forth in honour; and so far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongst them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is; and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the Publick Instructions which he had receiv'd, were limited with private restriction; and making his appeal to the Queen eluded the whole crimination, with the secret indignation of his Adversaries.

This Year was famous for the Death of many great Personages: In the month of February, dyed Henry Nevill Lord of Aburgaveny, great Grandchild to Edward Nevill, who in the Reign of King Henry the Sixth, got his Title in right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Worcester, and Lord of Aburgaveny;

Upon the complaint of the States against the E. of Leicester, the Lord Buckhurst is sent to examine his doings.

Leicester is called home, and gives up the Government to the States.

Being called to examination before the Lords of the Council, how he eludes it.



*gaveny*; In which right, when as the only Daughter of this *Henry*, wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challenged the Title of Barones of *Aburgaveny*, a memorable Contention arose concerning the Title between her and the next Heir Male, to whom by Will (and the same confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Castle of *Aburgaveny* was bequeath'd. This question being a long time debated; at last, in a Parliament holden in the Second year of King *James*, the matter was tryed by Voices; and the Heir Male carried the Lordship of *Aburgaveny*; and the Barony *Le Dispencer*, was ratified to the Female. This year also in the month of *April*, dyed *Anne Stanhope*, Dutcheffs of *Somerset* Ninety years old, who being the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, and Protector of *England*, contended for Precedence with *Katharine Parre*, Queen Dowager to King *Henry* the Eighth. There dyed also Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, the last Banneret of *England*, with which Dignity he was adorned at the Battel of *Musselborough* in *Scotland*. After him dyed *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chancellor of *England*; and six dayes after, he, whom the Queen meant should have succeeded him, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; but he now failing, Sir *Christopher Hatton* was made Lord Chancellor, who though he were a Courtier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honest man, thought him not unfit for the Place, where Conscience hath, or should have more place than Law: Although some were of Opinion, That it was not so much the Queens own choice, as that she was perswaded to it by some that wisht him not well; both thereby to be a cause of absenting him from the Court, and thinking that such a sedentary place, to a corpulent man that had been used to exercise, would be a means to shorten his life; and indeed he lived not full out three years after.

This year Sir *John Perrot* was called home out of *Ireland*, and left all in great quiet to *Fitz-Williams* his Successor. For hitherto the *English* found it no hard matter to vanquish the *Irish*, by reason of their unskilfulness in Arms; eight hundred Foot, and three hundred horse, was held an invincible Army: but after by *Perrots* command, they were exercised in Feats of Arms, and taught to discharge Muskets at a Mark, and had in the *Low-Countries* learned the Art of Fortification, they held the *English* better to it, and were not so easily overcome.

And now we are come to the one and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being the year 1588, long before spoken of by Astrologers, to be a wonderful year, and even the Climacterical year of the World. And yet the greatest Wonder that happened this year, was but the wonderful Fleet that *Spain* provided for invading of *England*, if the defeat of that wonderful Fleet were not a greater wonder.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*; and the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, *Dale* and *Rogers* Doctors of Law, Commissioners for the Queen; for the Prince of *Parma*, the Count *Aremberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Mais*, and *Garvyer*, Doctors, had many meetings about it near to *Ostend*; but it seemed on the part of *Spain*, rather to make the *English* secure, that

they should not make provision for war, than that they had any purpose of real proceeding, seeing they accepted not of any reasonable Conditions that were offered, but trifled out the time, till the *Spanish* Navy was come upon the Coast, and the Ordnance heard from Sea, and then dismissed the *English* Delegates.

The *Spanish* Navy consisted of one hundred and thirty Ships; whereof Galeasses and Gallies seventy two, goodly ships, like to floating Towers; in which were Souldiers 19290; Mariners, 8050; Gally-slaves, 2080; Great Ordnance, 2630. For the greater holiness of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called the twelve Apostles. Chief Commander of the Fleet was *Don Alphonso*, Duke of *Medina*; and next to him, *John Martin Recalde*, a great Sea-man. The twentieth of May they weighed Anchor from the River *Tagus*, but were by tempest so miserably disperst, that it was long ere they met again: but then they sent before to the Prince of *Parma*, That he with his Forces, consisting of fifty thousand old Souldiers, should be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into *England*, and to land his Army at the *Thames* Mouth.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time was this; The Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord Admiral, with all her Navy, and Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admiral, were to be ready at *Plimouth*; and the Lord *Henry Seymour* (second son to the Duke of *Somerset*) with forty *English* and *Dutch* ships, to keep the Coasts of the *Netherlands*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma's* coming forth. Then for Land Service, there were laid along the Southern Coast, twenty thousand Souldiers, and two Armies besides of Trained men were levied; over one of which, consisting of a thousand Horse, and two and twenty thousand Foot, the Earl of *Leicester* commanded, and pitched his Tents at *Tilbury*, near the *Thames* mouth: Over the other, appointed to guard the Queens Person, and consisting of four and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the Lord *Hunsdon* was General. *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other Military men, were chosen to make a council of war, & consult how the Land Service should be ordered. These declared amongst other things, That the places which lay fittest for the Enemies landing, as *Milford* haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the Isle of *Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and such other, should be fortified with works and Garrisons; the Train'd Souldiers of those Shires, which lay near the Sea Coast, should defend those places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; but if he did land, then to spoil the country round about, that he might find no Food; and by continual crying, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no rest, but yet should not give Battle, till good store of Commanders were come together.

At this time many fearing the Papists at home no less than the *Spaniards* abroad, perswaded the Queen to take off the heads of some of the greatest of them; but she detesting such cruelty, took order only, That some of them should be committed to custody to *Wibych* Castle.

And

Anne Stanhope Dutcheffs of Somerset dies of great age.

Sir Ralph Sadler dies, the last Banneret of England.

Sir Christopher Hatton is made Lord Chancellor.

1588.

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between England & Spain, the K. of Spain sends his great Armado against England.

Of what number of Ships the Armado consisted: and who was General.

The Queens preparations both by Sea and Land to resist it.

Many Papists are committed to custody in Wibych Castle.



And now all things on both sides prepared, the *Spanish* Navy set forth out of the *Groyne* in *May*, but was dispersed and driven back by weather. The *English* Navy set forth somewhat later out of *Plimouth*, bearing up towards the Coast of *Spain*; but partly by occasion of contrary winds, partly by advertisement that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might pass by towards the Coast of *England*, whilst they were seeking them afar off, they returned to *Plimouth*: At which time, a confident (though false) advertisement came to the Admiral, That the *Spaniards* could not possibly come forward that year: whereupon the *English* Navy was upon the point of disbanding, and many of the men were gone on shore, when suddenly the invincible *Armada* (for so it was called in a *Spanish* ostentation) was discovered upon the Western Coast: whereof the Lord-Admiral being informed, had much ado to get the Queen's Navy out of the Haven (the wind being contrary) yet at length he haled it forth. The next day, the *English* beheld the *Spanish* Ships, in height like to Castles, sailing slowly along, whom they suffered peaceably to pass by, that they might have the benefit of the wind to follow after. The one and twentieth day of *July*, the Admiral of *England* sent a Pinnace before, called *The Defiance*, which by a great shot, challenged the *Spaniards* to fight, and by and by they fell to it. Then *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher*, let fly against the outmost Squadron, which *Recalde* commanded, making him glad to fly to their main Navy for succour. The night following, a mighty *Biskayner* of *Oquenda's* (in which the King of *Spain's* Treasure was) was by chance fired with Gun-powder, but was timely quenched by other Ships sent to her succour; one of which Ships, was the Galeon of *Don Pedro*, whom *Sir Francis Drake* took Prisoner, and sent him to *Dartmouth*. The *Biskayner* it self (the Treasure being taken out by the *Spaniards*) they left behind them, which the *English* brought in to the Haven at *Weymouth*.

The three and twentieth day of this month they had a second fight, in which most of the *Spanish* shot flew over the *English* Ships, and never hurt them; onely *Cock* an *English* man, being with his little Vessel in the midst of the Enemies, died valiantly. The four and twentieth day they rested on both sides; in which time the Lord Admiral ranked his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: The first he ruled himself, *Drake* the second, *Hawkins* the third, and *Forbisher* the fourth.

The five and twentieth day (which was *Saint James's* day) they fell to it the third time; in which Fight, the *English* had again the better, so as after this time, the *Spaniards* would no more turn upon the *English*, but holding on their course dispatched a Messenger to the Prince of *Parma*; requiring him forthwith to joyn himself to the King's Fleet, and withall to send them Bullets.

The day following, the Lord Admiral knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbisher*; and holding a Council of War, they decreed not to set again upon the Enemy, till they came to the straight of *Calice*, where the Lord *Henry*

*Seymor* and *Sir William Winter* waited for their coming. And now so far were the *English* from being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of special note, hired Ships at their own charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Sir Charles Blunt*, *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, *Sir William Hatton*, *Sir Robert Cary*, *Sir Ambrose Willoughby*, *Sir Thomas Gerard*, *Sir Arthur Gorge*, and others.

The seven and twentieth of *July*, towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* cast Anchor near unto *Calice*, and not far from them rode the *English* Admiral, within shot of a great Ordnance, to whom *Seymor* and *Winter* joyned themselves: so as by this time there were in the *English* Navy a hundred and forty Ships, nimble and serviceable for Fighting or Sailing, yet onely fifteen of them bore the stroke of the Battel. And now again the *Spaniards* sent post after post to the Prince of *Parma* to send them forty fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmish with the *English*, by reason of the greatness and unweildiness of their Ships, and importune him presently to put to Sea with his Army; but he was unprepared, and his Flat-bottomed Boats were full of chinks, and leaked; and besides, the *Hollanders* hovered before the ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, in such sort, that he durst not look forth.

The eight and twentieth day, the Lord-Admiral made ready eight of his worst Ships, on the out-side dawbed with Wild-fire, Rozin and Brimstone, within full of combustible matter, and under the Conduct of *Young* and *Prowse*, sent them down with the wind in the silent time of the night towards the *Spanish* Fleet; the which when the *Spaniards* saw approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire, imagining withall, that those Fire-ships might carry in them some murdering Engine, they made a hideous noise, took up Anchors, cut Cables, spread Sails, and betook themselves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of the *Spanish* Galeasses having lost her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by *Amias Preston*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvie*, who slew Captain *Hugh Moncado*, cast the Souldiers over board, and carried away a great deal of Gold, but the Vessel and Ordnance was wreck to the Governour of *Calice*.

*Drake* and *Fenner* in the mean while perceiving the *Spanish* Fleet to gather together again before *Graveling*, set upon them with great violence, to whom straightways *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beefton*, *Cross*, and *Riman* joyn themselves; and soon after the Admiral himself, *Sir Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; the Galeon called *Saint Matthew*, was sorely battered by *Seymor* and *Winter*, driven toward *Ostend*, and set upon again by the *Zealanders*, and at last was taken by the *Flushingens*.

And now the *Spanish* Navy having want of many necessaries, and no hope of the Prince of *Parma's* coming, they resolved to return Northward for *Spain*; in which passage they lost both many Ships and men; the *English* Navy still following them close, till they were fain to give them over for want of Powder. Whilst these things passed at Sea, the Queen in person came to *Tilbury*, to view the Army and Camp there, where

The two Fleets encounter; and the passages and events of it.

The Prince of Parma is unprepared to put to Sea.

A stratagem used by the English Admiral.

The Spanish Navy returns home.

The Queen in person comes to Tilbury to the Army.



where she shewed such undaunted Courage and Resolution, that it wonderfully animated the spirits of them all.

And thus this Navy, which was three whole Years in preparing, in the space of a Month was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their men being slain, more than half of their Ships taken and sunk (of the *English* not above a hundred at the most missing, nor so much as a Ship, but *Cock's* little Vessel) and sailing about all *Britain* by *Scotland*, the *Orkeney*s and *Ireland*, they returned into *Spain* with as much dishonour as they came out with boasting, for indeed *Mendoza* in *France* by a Book in Print, triumphed before the Victory.

Queen Elizabeth comes to Paul's, and gives publick thanks to God for this Victory.

The King of Scots is reconcil'd to the Queen.

The Earl of Leicester d.es.

Philip Earl of Arundel is cited to be tried by his Peers, by whom he is condemned, but the Queen spares his life.

For the happy success of this Action, Queen Elizabeth appointed Prayers and Thanksgiving over all the Churches in *England*, and she (as it were in Triumph) came in Person, attended with a great Troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in most humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God. And that which increased the publick joy, was the News which Sir Robert Sidney brought out of *Scotland*, That the King had over-past all injuries, was lovingly affected towards the *English*, and desired to embrace sincere and perfect amity with the Queen. For as for the King of *Spain*, he wittily told the Embassadour, that he expected no other courtesie from him, but such as *Polyphemus* promised *Ulysses*, that he should be the last whom he would devour.

And now dyed the great Earl of Leicester the fourth day of September, at his Mannor of *Killingworth*, of a violent Feaver; I may well say the great Earl, considering the many great Honors he enjoyed, which are extant in the Story; yet one honour greater than he had before, he effected even then when he was ready to go out of the World, and that was, To be Vice-gerent in the high Government of *England* and *Ireland*, for which the Patent was already drawn, and had been sealed, but that *Burleigh* and *Hatton* shewed the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for so great Authority to reside in one Subject. He was while he lived in so great favour with the Queen, that some thought (and himself not the least) that she meant to marry him; yet when he died his Goods were sold at an Out-cry to make payment of the Debts he owed her.

About this time Philip Earl of Arundel, who three years before had been cast in prison, was now cited in *Westminster-Hall*, to the Judgment of his Peers, and Henry Earl of Derby was made High Steward of *England* for the time. The matters laid to his Charge were these: That he had contracted friendship with Cardinal Allen, Parsons the Jesuite, and other Traytors, exciting divers both abroad and at home to restore the *Romish* Religion, promising his assistance thereunto: and for that reason had a purpose to depart the Kingdom. That he was privy to the Bull, in which Pope Sixtus Quintus had deposed the Queen, and given *England* to the Spaniard; That being imprisoned in the Tower, he caused Mass to be said for the prosperous success of the *Spanish* Fleet, and for that purpose had framed peculiar

Prayers for his own private use. Being demanded whether he were guilty of these things; turning himself to the Judges, he asked them these questions: First, whether it were lawful to heap up so many Crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They answered, that it was: Then whether Arguments taken from presumptions were of force? They answered, that it was lawful for him to interpose exceptions, if he saw cause. Then again, if he might be Arraigned for those things which were Capital, by the Law made the thirteenth year of the Queen, after that the time expressed in the Act was expired? They promised, they would proceed against him by no Law, but the old Statute of Treason, made in the Reign of King Edward the third. But now again asked, if he were guilty or not? he pleaded, Not Guilty; whereupon Puckering the Queen's Serjeant at Law, Popham Attorney-General, Shuttleworth Serjeant at Law, and Egerton the Queen's Solicitor, in their turns, urged and proved the Crimes objected; some whereof he denied, some he extenuated; but in conclusion was by his Peers found guilty, and condemned; yet the Queen spared his life, and was content with thus much done in terror to the Papists.

It was now in the year 1589. and the two and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when to be in some sort revenged of the Spaniards for their Invasion, she gave leave to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake to undertake an Expedition at their own private Charges, requiring nothing of her but a few Ships of War, who took along with them Anthony the Bastard, laying Claim to the Kingdom of Portugal, and of Souldiers to the number of eleven thousand, of Seamen about fifteen hundred: setting sail from *Plimouth* the fifth day of April, they arrived at the Groyne in *Galizia*; whereof with great valour they took first the Lower Town, and afterwards the Higher, and from thence sailing towards Portugal, they met Robert Earl of Essex, who without the Queen's leave had put to Sea; After two days they arrive at *Penycha* a Town of Portugal, which they took; and left the Castle to Don Antonio, and from thence they march by Land towards *Lisbon* threescore miles off: The Foot Companies led by Norris, whom Drake promised to follow with the Fleet, being come to the West suburbs of *Lisbon*, they found no body there but a few poor disarmed Portugals, who cryed out, God save King Antonio. The day following the Spaniards made a sally out, in which Skirmish, Bret, Carefly and Carre (stout Commanders) were slain; yet did the Earl of Essex drive the Spaniards to the very Gates of the City. And having now tarried here two days, and seeing no sign of the Portugals revolting; which Don Antonio had assured them would be, finding fresh supplies come into the Town, their own Army sickly, Victuals and Powder failing; and which was most of all, Sir Francis Drake not bringing the great Ordnance as he promised, they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* towards *Cascais*, a little Town at the mouth of the River *Tagus*, which Town Drake had taken this mean while, who excused his not coming to *Lisbon*, by reason of the flats he must have passed, and the Castle of Saint Julian Fortified with fifty pieces of great Ordnance. Near this place they found three

1589.

Norris and Drake undertake an Expedition into Spain, to set Don Antonio in his Kingdom of Portugal, but prevailed not, and why.



threescore Hulks of the Hanse Towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize towards their Charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Victuals or Munition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they set sail to *Virgo*, a forlorn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all along that Quarter, returned for *England*, having lost in the Voyage of Souldiers and Mariners about six thousand; yet not so much by the Enemy, as by eating of strange Fruits, and distemper of the Climate.

A Combination, called the Holy League, was made in France.

The head of this League is the Duke of Guise.

Whom the King for his insolent carriage, caused to be murdered in the very Court.

The Confederates make a new Seal, and usurp the Royal Authority. The King is murdered by a Monk. Being ready to die, he declared the K. of Navarre to be his lawfull Successor.

The Cardinal of Bourbon is proclaimed King of France, & at the same time also the King of Navarre.

It concerns the state of *England*, to look at this time into the state of *France*, for while those things were in doing between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, entred into a Combination, which they call'd, *The Holy League*: The purpose whereof was to root out the Protestants, and to divert the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*; for they bound themselves to each other by Oath, to suffer no person but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, if the present King without Issue-male should fail. The head of this League was the Duke of *Guise*, who having given some overthrows to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in aid of the Protestants, was immeasurably extolled by the Clergy and others; and grew to such a height of Reputation, that entering into *Paris*, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Assembly at *Blois*, to make him great Master of the *French* Chivalry, and to consult by Edict, to the cutting off the Protestants. So as the King standing now in fear of him, used means at last, even in the very Court, to have him murdered; and soon after, the Cardinal his Brother to be strangled. Hereupon so great a confusion followed, that the people every where disobeyed the Magistrates, and spoiled the Kings very Palace at *Paris*. Some Cities affected a Democracy, others an Aristocracy, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while made a new Seal, usurped the Royal Authority, seized into their hands the best fortified places, intercept the Kings Revenues, call in *Spanish* Souldiers, and in all places denounce war and violence against the King. And the King in this case being forced to fly to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one *James Clement* a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, Declareth the King of *Navarre* to be his lawfull Successour, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick; and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree; some would have the Duke of *Lorraine*, as being descended from the ancient Kings of *France*; some the Duke of *Savoy*, as born of the *French* King's Daughter, a Prince Potent and Courageous; others would have the Duke of *Guise*'s Brother that was murdered; others the King of *Spain*; but the greatest part gave their Voices for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one degree nearer allyed to the slain King, than the King of *Navarre* his Nephew. He therefore was proclaimed King of *France*, with the Title of *Charles* the Tenth; but he being a Priest, the King of *Navarre* also was at the same time proclaimed King of *France*, who abode at *Diepe*, a

Sea-Town in *Normandy*, and doubted not to drive the Cardinal easily out of *France*.

The King of *Navarre* being thus raised in Dignity, but weak in means, implored Aid of the Queen of *England*, offering to make a League Offensive and Defensive; the Queen out of a pious respect to a King of her own Religion, sent him presently two and twenty thousand pound sterling in Gold (such a sum of Gold, as he professed he had never seen at one time before) and withal supplied him with four thousand Souldiers, under the Command of *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*; for Colonels, she appointed *Sir Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marshal of the Field, *John Boroughs*, *Sir William Drury*, and *Sir Thomas Baskerville*, and gave them a months pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates whom the King had vanquished a little before at *Argues* beyond all expectation, began to quail, and the day before the arrival of the *English*, they vanished away: with this addition of Forces, the King marcheth to *Paris*, and being ready to enter the City, caused a retreat to be sounded, as loth to have spoil made of a City which he hoped shortly should be his own. Afterwards by the assistance of the *English* he won many Towns, and then having marched at least five hundred miles on foot, he gave them leave after a long Winters service, to return into *England*. In which Voyage, of men of note died Captain *Hunnings*, but of a natural death, also *Stubbs* (he whose right hand was cut off for writing the Book against the Queen's marriage) and *Sir William Drury* slain by Master *Boroughs* in a single Combat, where the quarrel was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of *Boroughs* that was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the *English* Gentry.

The K. of Navarre is aided by Queen Elizabeth, both with money and men.

*Sir William Drury* is slain by Mr. *Boroughs* in a single Combat, upon a quarrel of taking place, the one being a Knight, the other being a Barons younger Son.

About this time, *James* King of *Scots* (with Queen *Elizabeth*'s good liking) espoused *Anne* the Daughter of *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark* by his Deputy; but she afterward failing for *Scotland*, was by tempest cast upon *Norway*, and there, through continual storms forced to stay, so as the King in the Winter-season set sail thither, that the marriage according to his Vow might be accomplished within the year: some were of opinion, that those storms were caused by witchcraft, and was confirmed indeed by some witches taken in *Scotland*; who confessed they had rais'd those storms to keep the Queen from landing in *Scotland*, and that the Earl *Bothwell* had asked Counsel of them concerning the King's end; who was thereupon cast into prison, but in a short time breaking loose, occasioned new stirs in *Scotland*.

*James* K. of *Scots* marries *Anne* the King of *Denmark*'s Daughter.

This year many Noble personages died; *Frances* Countess of *Suffex*, Sister to *Sir Henry Sidney*, *Sir Walter Mildmay*, Chancellour and Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, so numerous in his off-spring, that he could reckon more children of both Sexes, than all the Earls of *England*. Also *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and at *Bruxels* the Lord *Paget*.

Many great Personages die.

*William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, his numerous issue.

At this time, the Queen, who was always frugal, strained one point of Frugality more than ever she had done before; for upon the information of one *Caermarden*, (though *Leicester*, *Burleigh* and *Walsingham* were offended, that credit



Customer  
Smith is  
raised in  
his Farm  
of the Cu-  
stoms and  
how much.

1590.

Many No-  
ble Per-  
sonages die.

Sir Fran-  
cis Wal-  
singham  
dies.

Some di-  
sturbances  
in Ireland,  
but soon  
composed.

should be given to such a one, and themselves neglected) she raised *Thomas Smith* the Customer from thirteen thousand pounds yearly, to two and forty thousand pounds, & at last to fifty thousand.

It was now the year 1590. and the three and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, in which the Earl of *Cumberland* made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid level to the ground the Fort of the Isle of *Fiala*, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance.

This year was fatal to many Noble personages; first dyed *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (Son to *John* Duke of *Northumberland*) without Issue. After him *Sir Francis Walsingham* Secretary, a man more skilful in the Politicks, than in the Oeconomicks; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State, than of his own private estate, which he left so mean, and dyed so much indebted, that he was fain to be buried by night, without any Funeral pomp, in the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul*; leaving behind him one onely Daughter, famous for her three Husbands, all of them the goodliest men of their time; the first, *Sir Philip Sidney*; the second, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*; the third, *Richard Burgh* Earl of *Clanriccard*; by King *Charles* made Earl of *Saint Albans*. Within two months after *Walsingham* died *Sir Thomas Randol*, who had been fourteen times sent in Embassage to several Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, than the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Postmastership of *England*. Soon after him dyed *Sir James Crofts*, who had done good service in *Scotland*, in *Edward the Sixth's* time; in Queen *Mary's* time was condemned of High Treason; in Queen *Elizabeth's* time set at liberty, and made Governour of *Berwick*, and afterwards Comptroller of her house. After him died *George Talbot*, the seventh Earl of *Shrewsbury* of this House; he was made Earl-Marshall of *England*, and left behind him a memorial of Wisdom and Integrity. Lastly, died *Thomas Lord Wentworth*, the last of the *English* that had been Governour of *Calice*.

In *Ireland* at this time *Hugh Gaveloc* (so called, because he had been long kept in Fetters) the natural Son of *Chain O Neale*, accused *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen*, for holding private consultations with certain *Spaniards*, who in 88 were by Shipwrack cast upon the coast of *Ireland*: *Tir-Oen* to prevent the Accusation, took the said *Hugh*, and when others refused to doe it, took a cord, and with his own hands strangled him. Hereupon he was sent for into *England*, and came, and upon pardon obtained, solemnly undertook in the presence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, to maintain the peace with *Turlough Leynigh*; Not to usurp the Title of *O-Neale*, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of *Tir-Oen* to the form of a County, and civil behaviour, and many such matters; giving Hostages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observed all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another arose; for soon after this, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon*, a Potentate in the Territory of *Monagan*, compelled those under his Jurisdiction to pay him Tribute; whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken, and tryed by a Jury of common-Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands amongst certain *English*, and some of the *Mac-Mahons*, reserving a certain

yearly Rent to the Crown of *England*, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of *Mac-Mahon*. But hereupon, *O Rork* fearing that he should be served in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom *Bingham* President of *Connaught* soon distressed, and drave into *Scotland*, and at the Queen's request, was by the King delivered up into his hands.

It was now the year 1591. and the four and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when she, careful lest *Britany* should come into the *Spaniards* hands, sent *Edmund York* into *France*, to advertise the King to take care thereof; and promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named *Cherburg*, *Granville* or *Brest*, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that three thousand *English* should be sent into *Britany* and *Picardy*; but in the mean time *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea with certain Ships, who seized upon thirteen *Spanish* Ships, as they were returning from *Nova Francia*. And now *Roger Williams*, with a Company of six hundred Souldiers, passeth over to *Diepe* in *Normandy*; and *Sir John Norris*, with the rest of the Forces hasted into *Britany* soon after. *Roger Williams* with his own six hundred, and the help of *Charter* Governour of *Diepe*, put to rout the Confederates, that had blocked up the passages; whose valour, the *French* King, in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more courageous, and not minding his Charge, which was to stay at *Diepe*, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where, in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the *English*, and a hundred Musqueteers, with as many *Spaniards*, in open Field.

After this the King of *France* acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpose to set upon *Roan* or *New-haven*, before the Prince of *Parma* should come into *France*, and thereupon requested her to send four thousand *English* into *Normandy*, which upon certain conditions she willingly did, and sent them under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, accompanied with *Sir Thomas Leighton* and *Sir William Killebrew* as his Counsellours. When the Earl came into *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no preparation for the War at all, which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by *Sir Roger Williams* comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to *Noyon*, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey; and being come thither, the King told him, he was now of necessity to go himself into *Champagne*; but promiseth to send Marshal *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier* forthwith to him, to lay siege to *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more than before; so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the affairs of the King of *France* were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something still intervened, that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the Queen

1591.

*Sir Roger Williams* extolled by the K. of *France*.

*Robert E. of Essex* is sent with an Army to aid the King of *France*.



Queen of England, and by the mediation of the Earl, and Mornay Lord du Plessie, whom to that end he sent into England, obtained new supplies, and then besieged Roan.

Hacker's prodigious carriage.

At this time was memorable the prodigious carriage of one Hacker, born at Oundle in Northamptonshire, a mean fellow of no learning, whose first prank was this; That when, in shew of Reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he imbraced him, he bit off his Nose, and the man desiring to have his Nose again, that it might be sewed on, while the wound was green, he most villanously eat it up, & swallowed it down before his face. After this, all on a sudden he took upon him a shew of wonderful holiness, did nothing but hear Sermons, and getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary calling, grew to be magnified by certain zealous Ministers, and specially of one Edward Coppinger, (a Gentleman of a good house) and one Arthington, a great admirer of the Geneva Discipline; that they accounted him as sent from heaven, and a greater Prophet than Moses or John Baptist; and finally, that he was Christ himself, come with a fan in his hand, to judge the World. And this they proclaimed in Cheapside; giving out that Hacker participated of Christs glorified Body, by his especial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Gospel over Europe, and to settle a true Discipline in the Church of England; and that they themselves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Judgment; with many other such incredible Blasphemies; whereupon Hacker was apprehended and arraigned; and at last, hanged, drawn and quartered, continuing all the time and at his death, his blasphemous Assertions, Coppinger a while after starved himself to death in Prison, Arthington repented, and made his Recantation in a publick Writing.

He takes upon him to be Christ.

The calling of Bishops at this time cried down by some; but maintained by the Queen.

Besides these, others also at this time opposed the established Government of the Church of England, crying down the calling of Bishops, with whom sided some common Lawyers also, affirming, that the Queen could not depute, nor these men exercise any such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and that the Oath *Ex Officio* was unchristian. But the Queen conceiving, that through the fides of the Prelates, she her self was shot at, suppressed them what she could, and maintained the Government formerly established.

The great Ship called the Revenge is taken by the Spaniards.

About this time the Lord Thomas Howard, six of the Queens ships having waited at the Azores six whole Months for the coming of the Spanish Fleet from America, was at last set upon by Alphonso Bassano with three and fifty Ships, sent out for the Convoy of the American Fleet, where Richard Greenvil Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and separated from his company, was so hemmed in by the Spanish Ships, and so battered with great shot, that most of his men being slain, his Main-mast cut off, himself sore wounded in the head, he commanded to sink the Ship, that it might not come into the Spaniards hands; but this being countermanded by most voices, it was agreed, to yield it to the Spaniards, upon condition that the men should be set at liberty. Greenvil himself was carried into the Spanish Admiral, where within two days he died, not without praise of his very enemies; Thus

S<sup>r</sup> Richard Greenvile's valour.

the great Ship called the *Revenge*, was yielded, but had so many leaks in the Keel, that soon after it was cast away in a storm; and the loss of this one Ship soon made good upon the Spaniards, by taking many of theirs.

About this time also Cavendish, who in the year 1578. had sailed round about the World, now with five Ships bent his course towards the Magellan Straits; but by reason of foul weather, was not able to pass them, and being driven to the coast of Brasile, was there cast away.

Cavendish cast away in the Straits.

And now, enmity increasing daily between Spain and England, two Proclamations were set forth; one, prohibiting upon pain of High Treason, to carry Victuals or Munition into any of the King of Spain's Dominions: Another, forbidding all persons to entertain any in their Houses, till inquiry be made, what they were, lest they might entertain Popish Priests, who at this time came swarming into England, by reason the King of Spain had lately founded a Seminary at Valladolid for the English.

A Seminary for the English founded at Valladolid by the King of Spain.

At this time died Sir Christopher Hatton Lord Chancellor, whom of a mean Gentlemans house, the Queens favour raised to this height of Dignity; a goodly personage of body, of a noble, but no aspiring spirit; the onely of all the Queen's special Favourites, that died a Batchelour; and therefore left William Newport his Sister's Son his Heir, who erected for him, in St. Paul's Church, a sumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of the great Seal was for certain Months committed to the Lord Burleigh Treasurer, Hunsdon, Cobham and Buckhurst: Afterward Puckering the Queen's Serjeant at Law was elected not Chancellor, but Keeper of the Great Seal.

Sir Christopher Hatton Lord Chancellor dies.

Puckering the Queens Serjeant at Law is made L<sup>d</sup> Keeper.

At this time also, Brian O-rork, the Irish Potentate, was arraigned at Westminster; his Indictments were, for raising Rebellion against the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a Horse-tail, for giving the Spaniards entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he understood no English) he said, He would not be tried, unless the Queen her self in person fate to judge him. Yet being told, that it was the Law, he onely said, If it must be so, let it be so; and so condemned, was executed at Tyburn as a Traytor, whereof he seemed to make as little reckoning, as if it had been but in jest. And now this year, the Queen made the Colledge of Dublin in Ireland, an University, which was formerly the Monastery of All-Saints, endowing it with power to confer Scholastical Dignities.

Brian O-rork an Irish Potentate, condemned, and hanged, and why.

The Colledge at Dublin made an University.

At this time, Sir John Perot, who had been Deputy of Ireland, and done good service there, was yet by the malice of his Adversaries of whom Hatton was one, called in question, before the Baron Hunsdon, the Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil (lately made a Councellour) Sir John Forrescue, Sir John Wolley, and some of the Judges: His accusations were; First, that he had spoken opprobrious words against the Queen, saying, She was illegitimate and cowardly; Secondly, that he had fostered notorious Traytors, and Popish Priests; Thirdly, that he held correspondence with the Prince of Parma, and the Queen's enemies. To the first of which he confessed, that in his passion he had spoken of the Queen unadvisedly, for which he was infinitely grieved; the rest he denied: And all men knew

Sir John Perot arraigned and condemned, and why: yet his life was spared, and he died in the Tower.



knew he was never popishly affected. His accusers were one *Philip Williams*, sometime his Secretary; *Denys O-Roghan* an Irish married Priest, whose life he had saved; and one *Walton*, a fellow of no worth or reputation. Yet the crimes being urged against him by *Popham* and other Lawyers, till eleven a clock at night; he was at last condemned of High-Treason, but Sentence was not pronounced till twenty days after; and yet was not put to death, but died a natural Death in the Tower; he was a man of a goodly personage, stout and cholerick, and one whom (many thought) the Queen had the more reason to respect for her Father King *Henry* the Eighth's sake.

The Earl of Essex challengeth Monsieur Villersse to a single Combat, but is refused.

The Earl of *Essex*, after a tedious Winters Siege in *Normandy*, challenged Monsieur *Villersse* Governour of *Roan* to a single Combat; who refusing to meet him, he then returned into *England*, being called home by the Queen, whose favour, by his long absence, might else have suffered prejudice.

The Prince of Parma dies.

And now the King of *France*, hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, once again was fain to flie to the Queen for succour, to whom, upon certain conditions, she granted an Army of four thousand men, and some great Ordnance, with which Sir *John Norris* was sent into *France*; whom yet the French King employed not, as was agreed, to the great displeasure of the Queen. But as for the Prince of *Parma's* coming into *France*, he was prevented by death, when he had governed the *Netherlands* under the *Spaniards* fourteen years, a Prince of many excellent parts, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mentioned but with honour.

Sir Walter Raleigh sent with 15 Ships against the Spaniards; and what he did.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* considering that the King of *Spain's* chiefest strength was in his Gold of *America*, sends forth Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships to meet with the *Spanish* Fleet; who passing by a Promontory of *Spain*, received certain intelligence, that the *Spanish* Fleet was not come forth that year: Whereupon dividing his Navy into two parts; whereof the one he committed to Sir *John Borroughs*, the other to Sir *Martin Forbisher*; he waited other opportunities, when, soon after, a mighty Caraque came in view, called *The Mother of God*, which from the Beak to the Stern, was a hundred threescore and five foot long, built with seven Decks, and carrying six hundred men, besides rich Merchandize. This great Vessel they took, and in it, to the value of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, over and above what the Commanders and Sea-men pilfered.

The Queen in her Progress goes to Oxford; her entertainment there, and her Counsel to the University.

This year the Queen going in Progress, passed through *Oxford*, where she was entertained by the Scholars with Orations, Stage-Playes and Disputations; and by the Lord *Buckhurst* Chancellor of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure she made a *Latine* Oration, wherein she vowed a Vow, and gave them Counsel; Her Vow was, That as she desired nothing so much, as the prosperity and flourishing estate of her Kingdom, so she as much wished to see the Universities and Schools of Learning to flourish likewise. Her Counsel was, That they would serve God above all, not following the curiosity of some Wits, but the Laws of God, and the Kingdom; That they would not prevent the

Laws, but follow them, nor dispute whether better Laws might be made, but observe those which were already enacted.

This year died *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montacute*, whom Queen *Mary* honoured with this Title; because his Grandmother was Daughter, and one of the Heirs of *John Nevill* Marquess *Montacute*; who though he were a great *Roman* Catholick, yet the Queen finding him faithful alway, loved him, and in his Sicknes went to visit him. There died at this time also, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governour of the Western Borders towards *Scotland*.

*Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montacute* dies, and how this honour came to his Family.

At this time *Henry Barrow*, and his Sectaries condemning the Church of *England* to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queen's Authority in matters Ecclesiastical; he the said *Barrow*, as Ring-leader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the peace of the Church.

*Henry Barrow* a seditious Secretary is put to death.

About this time, by reason of the Queen's correspondence with the *Turk*, to the end her Subjects might have free Trading in the Territories; it was maliciously given out by some, that she had excited the *Turk* to a War against the Christians; which caused the Queen to write to the Emperour, shewing him the falseness of this report, wherein she gave him full satisfaction.

And now a constant report came into *England*, That the King of *France* had already embraced, or was ready to embrace the *Romish* Religion: which so much troubled the Queen, that she presently sent *Thomas Wilkes* into *France*; with Reasons (if it were not too late) to divert him from it. But before *Wilkes* came, the King indeed had openly professed the *Romish* Religion at the Church of *St. Denis* in *Paris*, of which his Conversion, he declared the causes to *Wilkes* at large, shewing the necessity of it, unless he would suffer himself to be utterly thrust out of the Kingdom. And the French Ambassador signifying as much to the Queen, in great perplexity, she writ to him to this effect.

The K. of *France* embraceth the *Romish* Religion: and acquaints the Queen with the necessity of his doing it.

Alas, what grief, what anxiety of mind hath befallen me, since I heard this news? was it possible that worldly respects should make you lay aside Gods fear? Could you think, That he, who had hitherto upheld and kept you, would now at the last leave you? It is a dangerous thing to doe evill that good may come thereof. But I hope your mind may alter. In the mean while, I will pray for you, and beg of God, That the hands of *Esau* may not hinder the blessing of *Jacob*.

The Queen's Letter to him, out of her sorrow for it.

To this the King answered, That though he had done this in his own person out of necessity; yet he would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his special care and Protection.

And the King's Answer.

And now was *Richard Hacket* condemned and executed for Treason, being sent from the *English* Fugitives beyond Sea, to perswade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, Son to *Henry* newly deceased, to assume the Title of the Kingdom, by right of Descent from *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh; and threatening him, that unless he undertook this enterprize, and withall, conceal'd him the Abbettor, he should shortly die in most wretched manner. But the Earl fearing a trap was laid for him, revealed the matter; yet the fellows

*Rich. Hacket* condemned, and executed; and why.



Ferdinand Earl of Derby his horrible death.

fellows threatening proved not altogether vain, for the Earl within four months died a most horrible death. This year Death had his tribute paid from the Nobility; for there died *Henry Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suffex*, and three Renowned Barons, *Arthur Grey of Wilton*, *Henry Lord Cromwell*, and *Henry Lord Wentworth*; besides *Sir Christopher Carlile*, whose warlike Prowess at Sea and Land, deserves to be remembred.

Tir-Oen in Ireland assumes to himself the title of O-Neal, more esteemed than to be called Emperor.

In *Ireland*, at this time, divers great men in *Connaught* rebelled; and *Turlogh Leynigh* being dead, *Tir-Oen* assumed to himself the Title of *O-Neale*, (which in *Ireland* is more esteemed, than to be called Emperour;) but upon a sudden, dissembling his discontent, he submitted himself to the Deputy, and promised all Obedience.

1594.

The Papists think upon a Succellour to the Queen. Some would have the Earl of Essex and frame a Right to him by Descent.

It was now the year 1594. and the seven and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when the good correspondence between the King of *Scots* and Queen *Elizabeth*, gave the Papists small hope that ever he would prove an Instrument to restore the Catholick Religion. Whereupon they began to bethink themselves of some *English* Papist that might succeed the Queen; but finding none of their own Sect a fit person, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of *Essex*, who always seemed a very moderate man; and him they devised to have some right to the Crown, by Descent from *Thomas of Woodstock*, King *Edward* the Third's Son. But the *English* Fugitives were for the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and desiring to set the King of *Scots* and the Earl of *Essex* at odds, they set forth a Book, which they Dedicated to *Essex*, under the name of *Doleman*, but was written indeed by *Parsons* (*Doleman's* bitter Adversary) *Cardinal Allen*, and *Francis Englefield*. The scope of which Book was to exclude from Succession all persons whatsoever, and how near soever allied to the Crown, unless they were *Roman* Catholicks; Contending further for the right of *Isabella*, *Infanta* of *Spain*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of *William* the Conquerour; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Second, married to *Alphonso* the Ninth King of *Castile*; from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the Third; Titles obsolete, and which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to discuss. This year the nineteenth of *February*, was *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* born, to whom the Queen was God-mother, and sent *Robert* Earl of *Essex* for her Deputy.

The most are for the Infanta of Spain as having divers just Titles.

Prince Henry of Scotland is born.

The Spaniards sent Lopez a Jew, and Physician to the Queen to kill her, and how the matter was carried.

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were laid against the Queen's life; some *Spaniards* thinking to make her away by Poyson, and not daring to trust any *English* man in such a business, they treat to that purpose with *Roderick Lopez* a Jew, and Physician to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emanuel Loyse*, and other *Portugals*; for divers of that Nation came into *England* at this time, in relation to *Don Antonio*; who being discovered by Letters of theirs that were intercepted, were arraigned at *Guild-hall*, and by their own confessions convinced, to have conspired against the life of the Queen; they were all condemned and executed at *Tyburn*; *Lopez* professing that he loved the Queen as well as *Jesus Christ*: which was the cause of laughter to them that knew him to be a Jew. The next day after them, was condemned *Patrick Cullen* an *Irish* Fencer, sent hither by the *English* Fugitives, to

kill the Queen, who was straightway executed, though he were at that very time sick and ready to die. He is executed at Tyburn.

About this time, *Sir John Norris* having been in a hot conflict at Sea against the *Spaniard*, where *Sir Martin Forbisher* received his death's wound, was now called home, with a purpose to send him into *Ireland*. In which mean while, *Richard Hawkins* Son of *Sir John Hawkins* the famous Sea Captain, had been set forth a year since, with three of the Queen's Ships, and two hundred men in them; whereof one of them at the Isle of *St. Anne* was by chance fired, another of them separated by Tempest, returned into *England*; himself in the third, passed the Straights of *Magellan*, being the sixth man in the *Spanish* accompt, that had ever done it; and being now come into the wide Southern Sea, he took five Ships laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the rest he suffered to redeem themselves for two thousand Duckats: But at last being set upon by *Bertrandus à Castro*, who was sent out by the Vice-Roy of those parts, with eight Ships against him, after three days battery, he yielded, and though upon Composition, yet was nevertheless sent into *Spain*, and there for divers years kept prisoner.

Richard Hawkins taken prisoner by the Spaniards.

But *James Lancaster* in another part of *America*, had better success; for being set forth by some *London* Merchants (whose goods the *Spaniards* had seized) with three Ships and a long Boat, he took nine and thirty *Spanish* Sips, and at *Fernambucke* in *Brafile*, where the wealth of an *East Indian* Caraque was lately unloaden, he desperately venturing upon the shoar, loaded fifteen Ships with the wealth of the *Indian* Caraque; Sugar Reed, Red-wood called *Brazil*, and other Merchandise, and then safely and victoriously returned home.

James Lancaster takes nine and thirty Spanish Ships, and much rich Merchandize.

At *Rome*, about this time died *Cardinal Allen*, born in *Lancashire*, of an honest Family, brought up in *Oxford*, in *Oriel* Colledge. In Queen *Mary's* daies he was Proctor of the Univerlity, and after Canon of the Cathedral Church at *York*: Upon the change of Religion in *England*, he left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Professor at *Doway* in *Flanders*, and made Canon of the Church at *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be set up in *Doway* for the *English*; another at *Rheims*, and a third at *Rome*; and through zeal of the *Romish* Religion, forgot whose Subject he was born.

Cardinal Allen dies, and of his Education.

At home, at this time, died *John Peers* Archbishop of *York*, in whose place succeeded *Matthew Hutton*, translated from the See of *Durham*. There died also *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, being in the flower of his age, miserably tormented, and vomiting stuff of a dark rusty colour, being thought to have been poysoned or bewitched. There was found in his Chamber a little Image of wax, with hairs of the colour of his hairs, thrust into the belly: which some thought was done of purpose that men should not suspect him to be poysoned; his vomit so stained the silver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out, and his body though put in searclothes, and wrapped in lead, did so stink and putrefie, that for a long time none could endure to come near where he was buried. The Master of the Horse was much suspected, who the same day the Earl took his bed, took one of his best horses, and fled away. About this time also died *George Fines*, Lord

The strange death of Ferdinand Earl of Derby.



Lord Dacres, a man somewhat crazed, the Son of *Thomas Lord Dacres*, hanged in the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*.

And now Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputy of *Ireland* was called home, and *William Russel* youngest Son of *Francis Earl of Bedford*, was sent in his room; to whom presently came the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and in humble manner craved pardon of his fault, that he had not presented himself at the call of the late Lord Deputy. *Eagnal* Marshal of the *Irish* Forces, exhibited many Articles against him, but he so pleaded for himself with promise of loyalty hereafter, that he was dismissed. But see the subdolousness of this man, for he would never after be gotten to come again, though the Deputy sent for him with many kind messages.

It was now the year 1595. and the eight and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, who were formerly apprehended came to their tryal, and were executed at *Tyburn*, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

At this time a constant rumour was blown abroad from all parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were coming again against *England*, with a far greater Fleet than that in Eighty eight, and that it was already under Sail; whereupon Souldiers were levied, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Navies were made ready, one to expect them at home in the Chanel; the other to go for *America*, under *Hawkins* and *Drake*; but when all came to all, it was but certain *Spaniards*, who loosed from the Sea-coast of *France*, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in *Cornwall*, fired a Church standing alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, *New-lyne*, *Mowshole* and *Pensans*, and then presently retired, not taking or killing any one person; and these were the first and last *Spaniards* that in hostile manner ever set Foot upon *English* ground.

And now mischiefs growing daily in *France*, a great number perswaded the King to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him, especially, having lately received Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave; that he was received into the bosome of the Church of *Rome*, with the Pope's Benediction, and upon conditions prejudicial to the Protestants.

And therefore at this time, were divers undertakings of the *English* against *Spain*; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Captain of the Guard, having deflowered a Maid of Honour (whom afterward he married) had lost the Queen's favour, and was held in prison for certain months; but afterward being set at liberty, though banished the Court, he undertook a Voyage to *Guyana*; setting sail from *Plimouth* in *February*, he arrived at *Trinidad*, where he took *St. Joseph's* Town, but found not one jot of money there. From hence, with boats and a hundred Souldiers, he entred the vast River *Orenoque*, ranging up into *Guyana* four hundred miles, but getting little but his labour for his travel. In like manner, *Amyas Preston* and *Sommers*, pillaged sundry Towns of the King of *Spain's* in the Western parts, and three Ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* set upon a huge Caraque, which by casualty was fired when they

were in fight, and these were the enterprises of private persons: but the Queen being informed, that great store of wealth for the King of *Spain's* use was conveyed to *Port-Rico*, in *St. John's* Island, sent thither *Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskerville*, with land Forces, furnishing them with six Ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other men of War. They set sail from *Plimouth* the last of *August*, and seven and twenty days after came upon the coast of the great *Canary*, which being strongly fortified, they forbore to assault. A month after, they came to the Isle of *St. Dominick*, where five *Spanish* Ships being sent forth to watch the *English*, lighted upon one of the small *English* Ships which was strayed from the Company, and putting the Master and Mariners upon the Rack, understood by them, that the *English* Navy was bent to *Port-Rico*; whereupon they make all possible speed to give notice thereof, that being forewarned, they might accordingly be armed. And thereupon as soon as the *English* had cast Anchors in the Road of *Port-Rico*; the *Spaniards* thundred against them from the shore; Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* were wounded as they sate at supper, and two days after dyed: *Hawkins* also and *Drake*, partly of disease, and partly of grief for their ill success, died soon after. At the end of eight months, the Fleet came home, having done the Enemy little hurt, fired onely some few Towns and Ships, but received infinite damage themselves; lost two such Sea-men, as the Kingdom, I may say, all *Europe* had not their like left. For the *Spaniards* having of late years received great harms by *French* and *English*, had now provided for themselves with Fortifications which were not easily to be won.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the *Low-Countries*, the great charges she had been at in relieving them ten years together; for which she required some considerable recompence: The States again alledge the great charges they were at in Eighty eight, in repelling the *Spaniards* in her cause; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow some reasonable retribution; but yet for the present, nothing was concluded. Likewise at this time, the *Hanse* Towns in *Germany* make a complaint to the Emperour, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from Customs anciently granted them by the Kings of *England*, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *English* Merchants was set up in *Germany*; To which the Queen by Sir *Christopher Perkins*, first shewing the cause of the first Grant, and then the reason of Queen *Mary's* prohibiting it afterward, makes them so satisfactory an answer, that those very *Hanse-Towns* which complained, brought into *England* at this time such store of Corn, that it prevented a mutiny, which through dearth of Corn, was like to have hapned in *London*.

This year was famous for the death of many great Personages, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, condemned in the year 1589. the Queen had all this while spared, but now death would spare him no longer, having since that time been wholly given to contemplation, and macerated himself in a strict course of Religion, leaving one onely Son,

*William Russel* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*, to whom *Tir-Oen* submits himself, but dissemblingly.

1595.  
*Edmund York* and *Richard Williams* executed for being bribed to kill the Queen. A new rumor spread of a new Fleet of *Spaniards* to invade *England*, but false.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* voyage to *Guyana*, and what he did.

*Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskerville* are sent to *Port Rico*.

Their ill success, through grief whereof *Hawkins* and *Drake* died.

This year many great personages died.



Son, *Thomas* by his Wife *Anne Dacres* of *Gilliland*. He had two brothers, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Baron of *Suffolk*; and *William* Lord *Howard* of the North, who yet liveth; and one Sister, the Lady *Margaret* married to *Robert Sackville*, after ward Earl of *Dorset*, and father of *Edward* Earl of *Dorset* now living; a Lady so mild, so vertuous, and so devout in her Religion, that if her Brother macerated himself being in prison, she certainly did no less, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, because I had the happiness to know her living, and the unhappiness to be a Mourner at her Funeral. There died this year also, *William* Lord *Vaulx*, a zealous Papist, and Sir *Thomas Hineage*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, whose only Daughter married to Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was no small advancer of that House. There dyed also *William Whitaker*, Master of *St. John's* Colledg in *Cambridge*, and Divinity Professor: As likewise Sir *Roger Williams*, and Sir *Thomas Morgan*; so as this year was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one great Scholar, and two famous Souldiers.

Sir John Norris is sent into Ireland with an Army to aid the Deputy.

The Earl of Tir-Oen proclaimed Traytor.

Norris out of emulation to the Deputy favours Tir-Oen.

In *Ireland* at this time, *Russel* the Deputy doubting a storm of War from *Tir-Oen*, sent into *England*, requiring to have some experienced Souldiers sent to him with Forces, who though he desired *Baskervyle* to be the man, yet Sir *John Norris* was sent unto him with thirteen hundred old Souldiers, besides a further supply; whom *Tir-Oen* hearing to be coming, set presently upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, and in the absence of *Edward Cornwall* the Governor, took it. But now being doubtful of his case, in a subdolous manner (as he was a double dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of *Kildare*, against the Deputies servants; and at the same time, maketh promise to the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry Wallop*, of loyalty and obedience; but notwithstanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of *Hugh O-Neal*, bastard Son to *Con O-Neal*. There was at this time with the Rebels in *Ulster* a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot: And in *Connaght*, two thousand three hundred, all at *Tir-Oens* command: And the Forces of the *English* under *Norris*, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himself joyned, and marched together to *Armagh*; which so terrified the Rebels, that *Tir-Oen* forsaking the Fort of *Blackwater*, began to hide himself. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the War, with the title of General of the Army. But this satisfied not *Norris*, and therefore out of emulation betwixt himself and the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and seemed to favour *Tir-Oen*, as much as the Deputy hated him; insomuch, as he had private Conference with him (a thing not lawful with proclaimed Traytors) and upon his submission, and Hostages given, a Truce was granted both to him and *Odonell*, till the first of *January*. When the Truce was expired, *Tir-Oen* exhibited certain petitions, protesting, if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyal subject. In consulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the first of *April*: During which Truce, *Tir-Oen*

dealt secretly with the King of *Spain* for Aid to be sent him, making nevertheless a fair shew of willingness to obedience, so far, that by the procurement of *Norris* and *Fenton*, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the Instrument which conferred the Earldom upon him; yet all this was but dissimulation, to win time for his own ends.

In the midst of these *Irish* Affairs, *Albertus* Arch-Duke of *Austria* and Cardinal, whom the King of *Spain* had newly set over the *Netherlands*, muttered together the *Spanish* Forces, upon pretence of raising the Siege of *La Fere* in *Picardy*; but upon a sudden turneth aside, and besiegeth *Calice*; and taking *Newnham* Fort, the very first day became Master of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith upon the very Sunday in time of Divine Service, commanded to levy Souldiers, whom she committed to the Earl of *Essex*; but before they could be shipped, certain news came, that the Town and Fort were taken by the *Spaniard*: Whereupon the Queens Army was dismissed, and only some money lent to the *French* King.

Albertus Duke of Austria takes Calice by a sudden assault.

But a few days after, a far greater, and more select Army is raised in *England*, wherein many of Noble Houses served as Volunteers: For the Queen, to divert the King of *Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the best way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships was made ready; where were Souldiers under pay, Six thousand three hundred and threescore; Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, One thousand; Mariners, Six thousand seven hundred seventy and two, besides the *Dutchmen*, who brought two and twenty Ships, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, were made Generals with equal Authority; but the Admiral to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Essex* at Land. To these, for a Council of War, were joyned the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *Francis Vere*, *George Carew*, and *Conyers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; The Admiral commanded the first; *Essex*, the second; the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and *Rawleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were *Francis Vere* Serjeant Major General, or Marshall; *John Winkfield* Quarter-Master General; *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance; *Conyers Clifford* Serjeant Major. Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Suffex*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*; *William Winkfield* was Commander of the Volunteers, and *Anthony Ashley* Secretary to the Council of War, was to Register their acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn, the Queen gave them private Instructions, and withal, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Howard Lord Admiral, are sent with Forces against Spain, who take Calice, and the passages of it.

This Fleet set forth from *Plimouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cabo S. Vincent* they lighted upon an *Irish* Barque, which told them, That at *Cales* they were secure, and then in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, ships of War, and a great many Merchant Vessels. The twentieth of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two days they were

H h h agreed



agreed to set upon the *Spanish* Ships, whereat the Earl of *Essex* cast up his Cap for joy. This business was allotted to the lesser Ships, because the Road was too shallow for the great. The Gallies quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, shifted away, but the *Spanish* Ships that lay at Anchor at *Puntal*, turned their broad-sides; so as the *English* fight with them lasted from break of day till noon; at which time the *Spaniards* having their Gallions miserably torn, and many of their men slain, resolved to fire the ships, or run them on shore. The *Spanish* Admiral being fifteen hundred Tun of Burthen, was fired by a *Moor*, and two other Ships which lay next her took the fire, and were lost likewise. When this Sea-fight was ended, *Essex* landed Eight hundred Souldiers at *Puntal*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a mile from the Town, the *Spanish* Horse and Foot shewed themselves, and presently gave back again; but straightway cometh forth a greater number: Then *Essex* commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat; and having enticed forth their Enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, near the Gate, where he spied a passage into the Town, but so high from ground, that they must leap a Spears length to get down. Yet *Evans* the Earl of *Sussex* his Lieutenant, *Arthur Savage*, and others leaped down; and the mean while *Sir Francis Vere* broke the Gate, and rushed in, and the rest with him. In the Market-place *John Winkfield* was shot in the head, and with stones from the top of Houses divers were wounded; amongst whom *Samuel Bagnall* received eight Wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloody all over, which two were Knighted in the place. The next day the Castle was yielded, upon condition, That the Inhabitants might depart with the Cloaths on their backs, the rest to be left for spoyl. For five hundred and fourscore thousand Duckets the Castle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be sent Hostages into *England*. Now *Rawleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants Ships lying at *Port-Reall*, when they promised two Millions of Duckets to redeem them: But this the Admiral would not hear of, saying, He was sent to destroy Ships, not to dismiss them upon Composition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great store of Money privately carried away, every one shifting for himself. It was thought by the wiser sort, That the *Spaniard* could not be damnified less by this Expedition, than Twenty Millions of Duckets. None of Note was slain amongst the *English*, but only *Winkfield*, who also slew a *Spanish* Captain; and now at last, threescore Military Men were honoured with Knight-hood. After this, having spoyle the whole Island, and demolished the Fort, they returned into *England*, much against the will of *Essex*, who would fain have been attempting some other enterprize.

The Queen received them home with much affability, giving many thanks to those of principal Note, but extolling the Earl of *Essex*

and the Admiral above the rest. And now bethinking her self of a fit man to be Governor of the *Bryll*, which was given by the *States* as a Caution Town for money due, she made choice of *Sir Francis Vere*, although *Essex* commended other to her for the place: But another thing he took with great indignation, That in his absence she had made *Sir Robert Cecyl* Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great instance commended *Sir Thomas Bodley* to her.

*Sir Robert Cecil* is made Secretary of State.

And now the King of *Spain* to recover his Honour lost at *Cales*, setteth forth a Navy for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great number of *Irish* Fugitives; but being at Sea, most of his Ships were either run upon Rocks, or cast away in storms; so as this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen, at this time, for her better security, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the *French* King, against the *Spaniard*, upon certain Conditions; which League she confirmed by Oath, in the Chapel at *Greenwich*, the nine and twentieth of *August*, laying her hand upon the hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bulloigne*, and Marshal of *France*; the Bishop of *Chichester* holding forth the Evangelists, and a great Company of the Nobility standing round about. In *September* following, *Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was sent on Ambassage into *France*, to take the *French* Kings Oath, and to present *Sir Anthony Mildmay* for the Queens Ambassadour in Ordinary in the room of *Sir Henry Unton* lately there deceased, and to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskerville* waisted into *Picardy* with Two thousand Souldiers; for no more were by agreement to be sent this year.

Queen Elizabeth enters a League Offensive and Defensive with the King of France.

It was now the year 1596, and the Nine and thirtieth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* returned into *England*, from the War in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, whom, for his good service done there, the Emperor by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the Sacred Empire, and all and singular his Heirs and their Posterity, Males or Females, lawfully descended from him, to be Earls and Countesses of the holy Empire for ever. Those who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchase Lands in the Emperor's Dominions, may take up voluntary Souldiers, and are not bound to answer any matter before any Judge, but only in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great Question came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens Subjects without her privy, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl stuck in the stomachs of the *English* Barons, who inwardly grudged to give him place. The matter was long disputed on both sides, but what issue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: Certain it is, That *Sir Nicholas Clifford* and *Sir Anthony Sherley*, whom the *French* King two years since received into the Order of *St. Michael*, were laid in Prison at their coming home, and charged to resign their Robes of the Order.

1596.  
An. Reg. 39. *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* is by the Emperor made Earl of the Empire; and what the Priviledges of that honour are.

Whether Honours given to the Queens Subjects without her privy, are to be admitted.

This



Many great persons die.

This year many great Persons dyed; *John Puckering* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* succeeded; *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of London, who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the Queen's Displeasure; and to cure his Cares, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and so expired. *Henry Cary* Baron of *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's House, and her Cousin german. *Sir Francis Knolls*, who married *Hunsdon's* Sister, in Queen *Mary's* days an Exile in Germany for the Gospel, by Queen *Elizabeth* made first Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treasurer of the Household, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, and President of the Council in the North, who spent his estate upon Puritan Ministers: *Francis Lord Hastings*, Nephew to him by his Brother *George*, who succeeded him in the Earldom; and *Margaret Clifford* Countess of *Derby* (who descended of the Blood Royal from *Charles Brandon*) consulted with Sorcerers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the Queen's favour.

The Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Rawleigh and others are sent to seize the Spanish, but are distressed by Tempests.

The Queen at this time was told, That the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*; whereupon to encounter him, she also prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, seventeen of the Queen's, three and forty lesser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of Provision. They were parted into three Squadrons: *Essex* commanded the first, who was also chief Commander in the Expedition, the Lord *Thomas Howard* the second, and *Rawleigh* the third. In this Fleet were sundry of the Nobility and Gentry, *Charles Blunt* Lord Mountjoy, *Vere*, *Carew*, *Sir Christopher Blunt*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwel*, *Rich*, and many others. The ninth of *July* they weighed Anchor from *Plymouth*, and were to direct their course to *Ferall* and the *Groyne*, to seize upon the *Spanish* Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called *Azores*, and to intercept the *Indian* Fleet at their return into *Spain*; but this Expedition was crossed and overthrown by tempests, for they had not sailed forty Leagues from *Plymouth*, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest for four days together, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover *Plymouth*: The Navy being amended, they hoised up Sail the second time, but the Wind fell presently again so cross, that for a whole months time they could not get out of the Haven; returning to *Plymouth*, the seventeenth of *August* they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a side-wind hoise up sail, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were dispersed by another horrible Tempest, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at *Calice*, one was dashed in pieces, the other wandred no man knew whither. At the Island *Flores* the Fleet met again, where *Rawleigh* being distressed for Water went on shore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow *Essex* to *Fayal*: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders wished him to set upon the place, and not let slip so fair a Booty. Upon this *Rawleigh* with some of the prime Vo-

Rawleigh without leave goes ashore, and takes Fayal.

luntiers, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* informeth what *Rawleigh* had done, affirming spitefully, That he had done it onely to prevent his Lordship in the honour of the Exploit: whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War, and then displace him: others again, to take off his head for going to Land without the Chief Commanders leave; all saying, He was never like to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and others of *Rawleigh's* Company were displaced, and laid by the heels; *Rawleigh* himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by *Essex* and all his Party; *Essex* rebuketh him angerly, for landing his Forces, which none upon pain of death might do, without the Generals command; *Rawleigh* made answer, That the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compass of that Law; but not the Three prime Commanders, of whom himself was One: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Islanders provoked him to fight. And now the Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no severity might be used against *Rawleigh*, and perswaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Captains were restored to their places, for the Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

From hence they sail to *Gratiosa*, where the Inhabitants craved mercy and obtained it; and here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the *Indian* Fleet; but that *Graves* the Pilot dissuaded, because the Harbour was not good. And now see the unluckiness of ill counsel, for the *English* were not gone above an hour or two from this place, when loe, the *American* Fleet (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them laden with treasure) cometh thither, which hearing that the *English* were thereabouts, directed their course to *Tercera*, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the *English* took: and then were minded to set upon the rest in the Port; but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from hence to *St. Michaels*; where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were Knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six miles of the Town, nigh unto *Villa Franca*, a fair Town, and well furnished with Merchandize, Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days: and the common Souldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was espied, coming out of the *East-Indies* which by a warning piece shot off in a *Dutch* Ship, perceiving that the *English* were there; run her self ashore, unloaded her Merchandize, and then fired her self. Thus the *English* had ill luck every where in this expedition: And the ninth of *October* they hoised sail for *England*; but within two days, a terrible tempest from the Northward dispersed them; and the *Spanish* Fleet also at the same time; so as they never came in view of one another: one *Spanish* Ship was cast upon *Dartmouth*, the Mariners and Souldiers half starved in her; who intimated, that the *Spanish* Fleet intended to seize upon some Haven in *Cornwall*, which being nigh the mouth of the Chanel, might be convenient to receive Forces from

For this he is questioned by the Earl; but his Answer and the Lord *Thomas Howard's* mediation, reconciles all.

The *English* miss the *Spanish* Fleet, through ill Counsel.



Spain: but the Divine Providence frustrated the designs both of the *Spaniard* and the *English*.

But now at his return, the Earl of *Essex* found that done in *England*, in his absence, which infinitely discontented him; Sir *Robert Cecil* made Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; and which was more, *Charles* Lord *Howard*, created Earl of *Nottingham*, with relation in his Patent to the Victory in Eighty eight, and his good service at *Cales*: This glory he envied him, and besides stomached it, that he must now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdom should have Precedence of all men of their degree. Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was fain to create him Earl Marshal of *England*; by which he recovered his place again.

About this time, an Ambassadour came into *England*, from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he should give her thanks for having procured a peace between the King his Master, and the *Turk*; he clean contrary expostulated unkindness, for breach of Priviledges, in trading with *Spain*, requiring a present remedy, or else the King would otherwise right himself. The Queen not a little offended, suddenly replied; How was I deceived? I expected an Ambassadour, and behold a Herald; such a speech I never heard in all my life-time. And after some further checking of him for his boldness, she referred him to her Council; and then retired into her Closet. The Ambassadour afterward in private Conference with some of the Council, excused himself, saying, That his Speech was penned by others, and then given him in Writing. To his Message, the Council gave the like answer as they had given before to the *Hanse-Towns*, upon the like occasion: though now again, the *Hanse-Towns* obtain of the Emperor, to prohibit the *English* from trading in *Germany*, which made the Queen to prohibite the *Hanse-Towns* from trading in *England*, and put them out of the Steel-yard till this difference was accorded.

This year the Chancellour of *Denmark* came into *England* to restore the Garter, which she had bestowed upon the King's Father, and withal offering the King's help, to make a Peace for the Queen with the *Spaniard*. The Queen thanked him; but meant not to use his help for that which she did not desire, and especially not now, when he had newly molested the King of *France* her Ally, and had taken *Amyens* the strongest Town of *Picardy*: Though why should the Queen be so tender of the *French* King, when now to get an Aid of Four thousand Souldiers from her, he fell to devices; intimating unto her, That he was now offered by the Pope's Nuntio a very commodious Peace, if he would but forsake her. But while these things were in Treaty, *Amyens* was recovered again by the valour of *Baskerville*, (who died at the Siege) and of Sir *Arthur Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledged.

About this time a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, where Subsidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord *La Ware*, and restored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the Reign of King *Ed-*

ward the Sixth was tainted. Also to this Parliament was called *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, by the Title of Baron *Howard* of *Walden*.

In *Ireland* at this time, a great part of *Ulster*, and almost all *Connaught* was in Rebellion; whereupon *Russel* the Deputy was called home, and *Thomas* Lord *Burroughs* sent in his place, a man very stout and couragious, but no Souldier: This infinitely discontented *Norris*, who thought himself sure of the place, and now to see his Rival preferred before him, and himself to be under him, President of *Munster*, drave him into such a melancholy, that in a very short time (and as he thought to himself with much disgrace) he ended his life.

And now the Earl of *Tir-Oen* craveth and obtaineth a months Truce of the new Deputy, at the months end the Deputy marcheth against the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at *Black-water*, when suddenly the Rebels shew themselves upon a hill hard by, against whom the Earl of *Kildare* marcheth and puts them to flight; but yet with some loss of his own side, as *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies Brother in Law, *Turner* a Serjeant Major, and two *Foster*-Brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose death he took so heavily, that within a few daies he died himself.

As soon as the Deputy had fortified the Castle at *Black-water*, and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to besiege it again; (for this was the main place of their strength) which caused the Deputy with all possible speed to make thither, but unhappily dyed by the way. Whereupon the Rebels set upon the Fort more fiercely than before: but being still repelled, they comforted themselves with this, that there was not many days provision left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captain and the Garrison Souldiers saved the place, who, when their Horse-flesh was all spent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kind of misery. And now the Lord *Burroughs* the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from *England*, was committed to the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Government to two Lords Justices, *Adam Loft-houfe* Archbishop of *Dublin* and Chancellour, and *Robert Gardner*: to this new Lieutenant, *Tir-Oen* exhibiteth a Bill of his oppressions and grievances with request of pardon, and at the same time stirreth up *Mac Hugh* to a new Rebellion in *Leraster*.

In *France* at this time, the *French* King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own Subjects began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*; which the Queen understanding, she sent into *France* Sir *Robert Cecil*, *Herbert* and *Wilks*, (who died at his landing in *France*;) The States likewise sent thither *Justine* of *Nassaw*, and *Barneveldt*, and others likewise into *England* to dissuade the Peace; but notwithstanding all they could say or do, the *French* King shortly after concluded a Peace, to the great discontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and establishment of the *French* Commonwealth.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her Peoples safety, sent Sir *Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyn in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniard*: if not, what

The Lord *Tho. Howard* is made Baron of *Walden*.

The Lord *Burroughs* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*. *Norris* that expected the place, discontented, falls sick and dies.

The Fort of *Black-water* gained by the Deputy.

The Lord *Burroughs* dies.

*Tir-Oen* complains to the new Lieutenant of his grievances; and at the same time stirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion.

The King of *France* concludes a Peace with *Spain* against *Q. Elizabeths* liking.

*Charles Howard* Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Nottingham*, to the discontentment of the Earl of *Essex*. The Earl of *Essex* is made Earl Marshal, of purpose to take place of the Admiral. The sawcy speech of a *Polish* Ambassadour to the Queen, and her Answer.

*Baskerville* and Sir *Arthur Savage's* Service in recovering of *Amyens*.



A Consultation, whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England or no. Burleigh is for it, Essex against it.

what they would afford towards a War; and to deal earnestly with them about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time was holden a great Consultation, Whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England, or no? and many Reasons were on both sides alledged. *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer was for Peace, *Essex* for War, and so vehement in it, that the Treasurer, after a long debating, in a strange manner of Presage, reached forth the Book of the *Psalms* to him, pointing him to that Verse, *The bloody minded man shall not live out half his days.* Which made *Essex* afterward set forth an Apology, with Reasons for justification of his Opinion.

The Queen gives the Earl a box on the Ear, and why: and how he took it.

But now another Consultation was held, about a fit man to be Deputy of Ireland; The Queen intended to send *Sir Williams Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle; but *Essex* was violent for *Sir George Carew*, whom he had a mind to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means persuade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himself and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuously turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon she growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; *Essex* laid his hand upon his Sword hilt, and swore a great Oath, That he could not, nor would not put up such an indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his hands; and so in rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admonished by the Lord Keeper, he became more milde; and in a short time returned into the Queen's favour.

The Lord Burleigh L<sup>d</sup> Treasurer dies.

About this time, *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*, and high Treasurer of England, finding himself to droop with age, (for he was now threescore and seventeen years old) sent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to release him of his publick charge; whereupon she went to visit and comfort him; but within a few days he ended his life, after he had been the principal stay of the *English* Common-wealth for many years together. One great good he did to his Country a little before his death, that he brought the States of the *Low-Countries* to a Composition for the payment of Eight hundred thousand pounds, by Thirty thousand pounds yearly; likewise a new League to be concluded with them.

The Earl of Cumberland takes *Porto Rico*.

The King of *Denmark's* Subjects having lately seized upon some goods of the *English* as Prize, to the value of a hundred thousand Dollars; the Queen sent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Christopher Perkins* Doctor of Law, in Embassage to the *Dane*, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Elector's Daughter of *Brandenburg*; and also to crave restitution of the *English* Goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Threescore thousand Dollars were repayed. And now *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, having with a Navy of eleven Ships, waited for *Portugal* Caragues, and the *American* Fleet, till the season of the year was past (they not daring to stir forth) he at last set upon *Port-Rico* and took it; but seven hundred of his men falling sick of Calentures, and dying within forty dayes, he was fain to return home with some honour, but little profit.

About this time, one *Edward Squire* was Arraigned of high Treason; he had been at first an

ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable, and going as a Souldier in *Drakes* last expedition, was taken prisoner and carried into *Spain*, there he came acquainted with one *Wallpole* an *English* Jesuite, who caused him to be put into the Inquisition for an Heretick, and the fellow tasting of misery, was easily drawn to become a Papist, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick cause. His ghostly father perswaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*, and sent him into *England* with a certain poison, wherewith to anoint the pommel of the Queen's Saddle, and the chair in which the Earl should sit, which he accordingly performed, but neither of them took effect, whereupon *Wallpole* suspecting *Squire's* fidelity was bent to revenge it, and sent one into *England*, who in general terms should lay this aspersions upon him; whereupon *Squire* is called in question, and never thinking that his Confessor would detect him, directly denied all at first, but after seeing himself betrayed, confessed all the matter and was executed.

*Edward Squire* executed and why.

This whole year the Rebellion was hot in Ireland; for *Tir-Oen* notwithstanding his pardon lately obtained, all on a sudden besieged the Fort at *Black-water*, to the raising of which Siege, the Lieutenant General (for there was as yet no Deputy) sent thirteen Companies under the command of the Marshal, *Tir-Oen's* sworn adversary, him *Tir-Oen* slew, and put his whole Army to rout, and atchieved such a Victory, with so great loss to the *English*, as they had never felt the like since they first set footing in Ireland; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Souldiers were slain at this skirmish, and soon after the Fort of *Black-water* was yielded up. And now *Tir-Oen's* fame began to resound as the Assertor of the liberty of the Nation, and upon a sudden all *Munster* brake forth into Rebellion. For the Cherishing whereof *Tir-Oen* sent thither *Ouny Mac-Rorye* and *Terrell* (who originally an *English* man, was grown a deadly enemy to the *English* Nation) with four hundred *Kerns*. Against these, *Thomas Norris* President of the Province, marched to *Killmallock* with a good force; but finding that the *Irish* Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to disperse his Army and retire to *Corke*. Hereupon the Rebels grew insolent, spoiled the Country, and in cruel manner put all the *English* to the sword. Furthermore they declare *Fitz Thomas* to be Earl of *Desmond*; but upon condition he should hold of *O-Neale*, that is, of *Tir-Oen*, who now dispatched Letters to the *Spaniard*, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of peace with the *English*, and yet at the same instant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffered some kind of submission to the Lieutenant, but withal made unreasonable demands.

*Tir-Oen* breaks openly into Rebellion, and gives the *English* a great defeat.

The State of Ireland being thus in combustion a serious consultation is holden whom to send to quench it: the Queen and most of the Council thought *Sir Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* the fittest man; but *Essex* covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and besides was too Bookish to prove a good Commander: he seemed to aim at the place for himself, though he made a shew modestly to refuse it, and yet still ready with

Yet at the same time makes some offer of Submission.

1597.  
A Consultation is held, whom to send against *Tir-Oen*.



with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that he (forsooth) was descended of the blood Royal of *Scotland* and *England*, and had better Right to the Crown then any other of the Competitors. In conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority, to make War or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desired: Indeed greater than ever *Ireland* had seen before, twenty thousand Foot and thirteen hundred Horse: with these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he passeth into *Ireland*; where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to go immediately against the Arch-rebel) he marched towards *Munster* against the petty Rebels, taketh the Castle of *Cahir*, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoining. His Forces being now impaired, he tarrieth to make them up, but in the mean time sendeth directions to *Sir Conierds Clifford*, President of *Connaught*, to set upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their forces) while he assaulted them in another; *Clifford* marched toward *Belike*, with 1500 Souldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rork*, (his Son that was hanged here in *England*.) The *English* repel them at first with ease, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish, *Clifford* and many of the old Souldiers were slain.

*Essex* having by this received new supplies out of *England*, and a check for neglecting the Queen's Command, setteth forth at length towards the Borders of *Ulster*, with thirteen hundred Foot and five hundred Horse; being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a messenger requested parley, *Essex* refuseth, saying, he might speak with him the next morning between the two Armies; the next day word is brought to *Essex* that *Tir-Oen* craved the Queen's mercy, and that he might onely be heard speak, appointing the shallow of *Balla Clinch* for a most convenient place; thither came *Essex* alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his Horse up to the girts) had private conference a full hour; A while after, *Con* (*Tir-Oen's* base Son) came to *Essex*, requesting in his Fathers name a second parley, and that some of the chief on both sides might be present: *Essex* consented, so there came not more than six. At the day appointed, many words had not passed, but it was agreed, that their Delegates should Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six weeks to six weeks till *May-day*.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much time and money spent, in a great anger taxeth the Earls proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to some others that stood by, that he had other thoughts in his mind, than the good of his Prince and Country: And thereupon dispatched very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting slip every fair opportunity: with which Letters *Essex* was so nettled, and chiefly troubled that the Queen had now made *Cecil* Master of the Wards, which he expected himself; that he began

to cast strange projects within his mind, and held private consultations of returning into *England* with part of his Forces, to surprize his Adversaries; But from this course, the Earl of *Southampton*, and *Sir Christopher Blunt* dissuaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a month over he went, and came to the Court at *Nonesuch*, to inform the Queen of the State of *Ireland*. By the way the Lord *Gray of Wilton* crossed him, but saluted him not; whom one of his followers offered to kill for his contempt: but *Essex* would not suffer him: and made such haste, that early in the morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy Chamber: She entertained him courteously, but not with the countenance she was wont: and after a little talk bid him keep in his Chamber; and soon after, committed him to Custody, in the Lord Privy Seal's house; where entering into consideration of his case, he giveth himself wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderful Letters to his friends, of the vanity of the things of this life.

It was now the year one thousand six hundred, and the two and fortieth of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when after the departure of the Earl of *Essex*, *Tir-Oen* began to carry himself as Monarch of *Ireland*, and sendeth *Kernes* to make spoil in the possessions of such as continued in their loyalty to the Queen, under *Mac-Guir* their Captain, who lighting casually upon *Sir Warham Saint-Leger*, thrust him through with a spear, and was himself thrust through withal. Whereupon the Queen sent *Sir Charles Blunt* Lord Mountjoy to take upon him the Deputies place, who loseth no time, but first of all marcheth towards *Ulster*, buildeth a Fort within eight miles of *Armagh*, which in honour of *Sir John Norris*, under whom he had his first military schooling, he called by the name of *Mount Norris*; there he placed *Edward Blayne*, who kept the Rebels in awe in those parts, from thence back he goeth into *Leinster*, wherein the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order, *Donel-Spaniab*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoph*, and the rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking hostages of them, then back into *Ulster* again, being Victor where-soever he cometh, and at *Tredah*, receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Cowly*, and other Rebels, who fell at his feet for mercy. All this and more he did in his first year, and no less successful was *Carew* President of *Munster*, who drave out of the County the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and having found *Munster* a turbulent Province, in *April*, he overcame it, and made it so quiet by *December* following, that the Rebels maintained no one Fort in it against the Queen.

And now a new Consultation was holden in *England*, touching a Peace with the King of *Spain*, the which he sought both by the French King, and by *Albertus* the Arch-Duke, who was now returned into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was married to the Infanta. The Queen consenting to a Treaty, left it to the French King to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the month of *May*, and *Bulloign* in *France*; But now foreseeing that a question would arise about Precedency, some were appointed to search Ancient Records concerning that point. These men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the Court

At last the Earl of *Essex* is sent with ample authority.

He hath private Conference with *Tir-Oen*.

A Truce is concluded.

The Queen writes to *Essex*, blaming his delay.

*Essex* without leave comes over to the Queen.

Is welcomed with committing him to the Lord Privy Seal.

1600.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* upon *Essex's* departure carries himself as Monarch of *Ireland*.

*Sir Charles Blunt* Lord Mountjoy is sent Deputy into *Ireland*.

A Treaty of Peace is agreed on with *Spain*.



The English Commissioners have a charge not to give Precedence to Spain; and why!

Court of Rome, which (according to the Canons) giveth Rule to the rest, as the Lady and Mistress; that amongst Kings, the first place is due to the King of France, the second to the Kings of England, and the third to the King of Castile; That the English quietly held this priviledg in the General Councils of Basil, Constance, and others: besides the Kingdom of Castile, (which is the Spaniards first Title, and which is but an upstart in regard of England) had Earls, but no Kings till the year 1017. In like manner, Pope Julius the third gave sentence for Henry the seventh of England, against Ferdinand, who was then King of Castile.

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at Bulloign, Sir Henry Nevill, Leiger Ambassador, Sir John Herbert, Robert Beal, and Thomas Edmunds for the English, and other for the King of Spain and the Archduke. The English had instructions, first concerning Precedency, in no case to give way to the King of Spain; yet if they contended, to put the matter to the decision of Lots, rather than the Treaty should be dissolved; and for the rest, to propose and mention the reviewing of the ancient Burgundian League, freedom of Commerce, &c.

The Spaniards being denied Precedence, break off the Treaty.

At the meeting, when they had severally shewed their Commissions; the English challenge the Precedency, the Spaniards do the like, and in so peremptory a manner, that without it they would dissolve the Treaty. Hereupon the English made a proposition, to let pass the question of Precedency; and to transact the business by writing, and Messengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted only for three-score days, not quite broken off; but all was to no purpose; and at three months end they parted.

The Famous Battel of New-  
port, won  
by the va-  
lour of  
the Eng-  
lish.

The States the mean while were so far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought upon reducing the Sea Coast of Flanders into their Command; and thereupon they landed an Army there, of fourteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, under the conduct of Maurice of Nassaw; and fifteen hundred of the English under the command of Sir Francis Vere, and his Brother Horatio. At which time happened the famous Battel of Newport, against the Archduke, where nine thousand of the Spaniards were slain; and the Victory, by the valour of the English, fell to the Dutch; for so forward were the English in this Battel, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were slain and fore wounded, eight Captains killed, and of the rest every man hurt.

The Com-  
pany of  
East-India  
Merchants  
Founded  
by the  
Queen.

All this year, and the year past, sundry quarrels and complaints arose between the English and French, touching reprisals of goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation: Also touching Customs and Impositions, contrary to the Treaty of Bloys, and deceit in English Clothes, to the great Infamy of the Nation. In Denmark likewise arose controversies touching commerce, and the Fishing of the English upon the Coast of Island and Norway. The Queen also at that time, for the increase of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of East-India Merchants, allowing them large Priviledges: But whether this hath proved beneficial to the Common-wealth, (there having been by this means such a mass of money and great store

of other commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and so many Mariners lost every year) wise men make a question.

About this time also, Pope Clement the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, sent two Breves into England, the one to the Popish Clergy, the other to the Laity, to suffer no person whatsoever, to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queens death, but one that should promise by Oath, to promote with all his might the Roman Catholick Religion, how near soever otherwise, he were allyed to the Blood Royal of the King of England.

This year by reason of intemperate weather, happened a great scarcity of Corn in England, and thereby many grievous complaints were occasioned. The common people cast out reproachful slanders against the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, as the granter of Licenses for transportation of Corn; but he appealing to the Queen, she forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the fault upon Broggers of Corn, and Forestallers of Markets, and gave order that the slanderers should be apprehended and punished.

The Earl of Essex, who had now been Prisoner six months in the House of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earnest, resolving to put away his perverse Counsellors Gilly Merrick and Henry Cusse, and then he shewed so much patience and great submission, that the Queen then sent him to his own house, and to be there confined, always protesting, that she would do nothing that should be for his ruine, but only that, which should be for his amendment. Nevertheless, when as the common people extolled his Innocency, she could not for the removal of suspicion of injustice, free her self and her Counsellors, but bring him to trial; not in the Star-Chamber, lest the Censure should fall too heavy on him, but in the house of the Lord Privy Seal, where the cause should have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commission he had made the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse, had drawn his Forces into Munster, neglecting the Arch-rebel Tir-Oen, entertained a Parlee with him against the Dignity of the Queens Majesty, and the person of a Viceroy, which he represented: And that the said Parlee was suspicious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt sentences in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two years since, as these: *No storm is more fierce than the indignation of an Impotent Prince. What? cannot Princes err? May they not injure their Subjects?* and such like.

The Earl of Essex upon his penitence is allowed to live at his own house.

Yet he is brought to a private Trial in the Lord Privy Seals house, and what was objected against him.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Board, professed he would not contest with the Queen, nor excuse the faults of his young years either in whole or in part; Protesting that he always meant well, howsoever it fell out otherwise, and that now he would bid the World farewell; withall shedding many tears, so as the standers by wept also. Yet could he not contain himself, but began to plead excuses, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, advising him to proceed.

The Earl protests his innocency, and sheweth his Repentance with tears.



What his  
Censure  
was.

Yet upon  
his humili-  
ty he had  
leave to go  
at large.

Cuffe tax-  
eth the  
Earl for  
cowar-  
dize.

The Earls  
submissive  
Letter to  
the Queen.

1601.

Being de-  
nyed the  
Farm of  
sweet  
Wines, he  
grows a-  
gain dis-  
content-  
ed.

Useth all  
the ways of  
popularity.

ceed as he began, to fly to the Queens Mercy, who would not have him questioned for disloyalty, but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the rest, he pronounceth this Sentence against him; That he should be deposed from the Office of a Privy Counsellor, suspended from the functions of the Earl Marshall, and Master of the Ordnance, and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure. She had given expresse charge, not to suspend him from the Office of Master of the Horse (minding shortly to take him into favour) and that his Censure in no case should be Recorded. After this he made shew of wonderfull humility & mortification, which so affected the Queen, that shortly she removed *Barkley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admonishing him, To make his own Discretion his Keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Presence.

After this Sentence, *Cuffe*, who always perswaded the Earl to stand stoutly in his own defence, began so plainly to tax him of cowardize and pusillanimity; that the Earl in anger, commanded his Name to be put out of the Roll of his Servants; yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Cuffes* mind himself.

*Essex* being now ready to go into the Country, remembred himself to the Queen, by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in these words; *That he kissed the Rod, and the Queens hands, which had only corrected, not overthrown him; yet he should never enjoy solid comfort, till he might see those blessed Eyes, which had been his load-stars, whereby he had happily steered his course, while he held on his way at lawful distance; But now he resolved to eat grass with Nebuchadnezzar, till it pleased the Queen to restore his Senses.* She being greatly joyed with these his speeches; *Would to God (said she) his deeds be answerable to his words; He hath long tryed my Patience, I must now make tryal of his humility.*

And now the Earl grew so confident of the Queens Favour, that he became a Suitor to her for the Farm of sweet Wines; but she to try his temper, and with what mind he would bear a repulse, made him Answer, That she must first know what it was worth, & not give away things hand over head; & had oftentimes in her mouth, the Aphorism of Physicians, That foul bodies, the more you nourish them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to find whether the Ulcer of his Mind were thoroughly cured or no; for being not thoroughly cured, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every denial of a courtesie, were an injury that required revenge; his Melancholy was presently turned into Choler, now he began to hearken to *Cuffe* again; telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen determined to make him as poor as *Job*, that he should live of the Basket, and gather crumbs under the Table. Hereupon he returned to London, *Southampton* is sent for out of the Low-Country. *tries*, his doors are set open for all comers, *Merrick* his Steward receiveth to his own Table decayed Souldiers, discontented and audicious persons; Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Ministers, to which the Citizens flock, and

all signs of Popularity appeared; which matters coming to the Queens ears, alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but especially she was exasperated, that her Person was despised by him; for (not to say the worst) he had muttered, That the Queen was now old and decrepit, and withered as well in mind as body.

And now again, he runneth upon desperate counsels, for the removal of his adversaries from the Court, seeketh to scrue himself into the King of *Scots* favour, to whom he traduceth his adversaries, by name *Ramleigh*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, *Cecill*, and the Admiral as inclined to the Spanish Faction, and at one and the same time, seeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papists. Many were of his party, but few of his Counsel; and these were the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* Captain of the Garrison of *Plymouth*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and some others. With these he met privately in *Drury House* to avoid suspicion, where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they consult, Whether it were better to set upon the Tower of *London*, or the Queens Palace; this latter they resolve upon, which should be done in this manner; *Blunt* should keep the great Gate with a select number of men, and *Davers* seize upon the Presence Chamber: Then *Essex* with his Company should come from the *Mues*, and present himself before the Queen. But now suspicions arising from divers circumstances, Secretary *Herbert* was sent to call him before the Council, at the Treasurers House; but he doubting the matter, excuseth himself that he was not very well. And now the Plot of seizing upon the Court, which had been four months in contriving, was by this means quite dashed, for they had ready at the present, neither Souldiers, nor Munition, so as some speedier course must now be thought on: At which time very opportunely cometh one to them (set on no doubt by *Essex* his Adversaries) as if he had been sent on purpose from the Citizens, to promise him their Aid; which made *Essex* to applaud his own great good fortune.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *William Knolles*, & the Lord Chief Justice of England, sent by the Queen to *Essex House*, who could hardly be suffered to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, save he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court they found a confused number of people, and the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton*, in the midst of them. The Keeper turning himself to *Essex*, told him, The Queen had sent him and the rest to understand the cause of this concourse, promising Justice, if any person had done them wrong. *Essex* with a loud voice cryed out, They lye in wait for my life, we are met to defend our selves. The Keeper urging *Essex* again to unfold some part of his grievance; the unruly multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you, Kill them, cast away that Great Seal. *Essex* retireth into the house, the Lords follow him; he chargeth them to make the doors fast, & turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (saith he) I must go into the City to dispatch a little business with the Mayor and Sheriffs, I will return presently. There

Who were  
his chief  
adherents  
and Coun-  
sellors.

They re-  
solve to set  
upon the  
Queens  
Palace, &  
in what  
manner.

But are  
prevented.

The Lord  
Keeper &  
three other  
of the Pri-  
vy Coun-  
cil, sent to  
*Essex*  
House, to  
know the  
cause of  
this con-  
course, &  
his An-  
swer.

But pre-  
sently gi-  
ving  
charge to  
keep the  
Lords, he  
goes into  
the City,



There the Lords are kept prisoners; *Essex* maketh haste into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels; the Earle of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way, joyn themselves: coming into *London*, he cryeth out aloud, *For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life.* The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took Arms to take his part. Passing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff *Smith's* house, who shifeth himself forth at a Back-door, and goeth to the Lord Mayor. By this time certain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Essex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admiral made towards him with an Army, he began to be disheartned; *George* taketh care for himself, requesteth he might be sent to release the Counsellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the issue was yet doubtful. The Earl was content that *Popham* only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then *George* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

Now when *Essex* thought to return, he found a chain fastened cross the street, at the West end of *Pauls*, and men in Arms on the other side: then he began to draw his Sword; and having once given the word, *Blunt* letteth fly at them, slew one of them incontinent, himself being sorely wounded and taken. *Essex* himself had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring, he took Boat at *Queen-Hytbe*, and went to *Essex* House; where, finding the Counsellours all dismissed, he grew extream angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, *They should tell no tales.* By and by the Admiral besiegeth the House; commandeth them to yield. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admiral would give Hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admiral answereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebels are not to proffer Conditions. Within an hour, *Essex* finding the case desperate, resolveth to rush forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the most aged in the company) greatly urged it, saying, it were better to die valiantly than by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Essex* his mind upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their Weapons to the Admiral, when it was ten a clock at night. *Owen Salisbury*, and one or two more were slain with Musket shot, and as many of the Beliegers. The next day *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Crosse* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout Fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her forcibly to release *Essex* and *Southampton*, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. *Essex* and *Southampton* were carried first to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishops house, because it was a dark night; but anon were sent to the Tower, by the Queens direction; and with them *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danvers*, and *Bromley*; the rest were put in common prisons.

On the nineteenth of February, *Essex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment before their Peers in *Westminster-Hall*; where *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord

High-Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, *Essex* demanded if it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was presumed to be such, That in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they joyntly indited of High-Treason; namely, that they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Counsellors of the Kingdom; by exciting the *Londoners* to Rebellion with vain fictions; by assaulting the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of *Essex* House against the Queens Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty: *Essex* withall averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature. *Telverton* aggravateth the specialties; and *Edward Coke* Attorney argueth, That the Earl could not excuse himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private revenge. The Earl of *Essex* with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Country, he always had and would bear a loyal affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to speak against *Essex* by whom he had been raised) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecil* and *Rawleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was sold to the *Spaniard*: whereto *Essex* replied, That he heard indeed, that *Cecil* the Secretary should say to one of the Lords of the Council, That the right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecil* (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward, that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion: which leave being granted him, he provoked *Essex*, if he durst, to name the Counsellor; but he would not: therefore (saith *Cecil*) it is a Fiction; still *Essex* averreth it. Then *Cecil* turning himself to *Southampton*, besought him by all manner of Obtestations to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable Assembly, and to *Cecil* himself, if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it: they affirming, He might, *Southampton* named Sir *William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle. He being sent for, at *Cecil*'s intreaty, said, That *Cecil* two years since told him, that one *Dolman* in a Book, had asserted the Right of the *Infanta*; and had spoken no otherwise than so.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alledged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside: Then the Peers rose, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of High-Treason. Then the high Steward advising *Essex* to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff, and departed.

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edward Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cuff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orell* an old Souldier, were called to their Tryal: but the Queen (informed by Sir *Fulk Grevill*,

But are found guilty by their Peers.

He is sent to the Tower, together with the Earl of *Southampton* and other Lords.

*Essex* and *Southampton* are arraigned.

I i i



*Grevil*, That most of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that only *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* should have their Tryal, the rest to be sent back to prison. These were all condemned, but their lives spared, which favour *Rawleigh* (for a good sum of money received of *Baynham*) procured.

Essex complains of Blunt & Cuffe.

*Essex* in the mean while, requested he might speak with some of the Counsellors, to whom he reconciled himself, and to *Cecil* especially; and then intimating that the Queen could not be in safety while he lived; he requested he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievously inveigheth against some of the Conspiracy, and willeth to speak with some of them, but especially with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*; whom as soon as he saw, he brake forth into these words; O *Cuffe*, ask pardon of God, and the Queen, for thou hast chiefly provoked me to this disloyalty. Also he intimated *Sir Henry Nevill*, ordinary Ambassadour in France, to have been acquainted with the Conspiracy; and that others in Scotland, France, the Netherlands, and the Lord Mountjoy Deputy of Ireland knew of his purpose, and others in England; who being many in number, and the Lord Mountjoy, ordering the Affairs of Ireland in good fashion, the Queen wisely would take no notice of it.

The five and twentieth day of February, which was to be the fatal day, there were sent to the Earl divers Ministers, to give him ghostly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her self, one while remembring the ancient kindness she had shewed him, she commanded he should not be executed; then again, thinking of his stubbornness, that he would not once ask her mercy, and had said openly, That he could not live, but she must perish; countermanding her former word, she gave order that he should be executed.

He is executed in the Tower.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and sundry of the Nobility present, among whom *Rawleigh* also; but being told, it was an inhumane thing to stand by and behold the death of his Adversary, he withdrew himself into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Essex* being ascended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, cast up his eyes towards Heaven, and crying God mercy for the manifold sins of his youth, but this last specially, which he said was a bloody, crying and contagious sin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Counsellors, commended his spirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the first bereft him both of his sense and motion.

Cuffe pleading for himself at his Tryal.

The fifth of March, *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Charles Davers*, *Sir John Davis*, *Sir Gyllie Merrick* and *Cuffe*, were brought to their Tryal in Westminster-Hall, before the Queens delegates. The Heads of their Indictments, were the same which were objected to *Essex* and *Southampton*. The others said little in their defence, only *Cuffe* stood upon these two Answers; Whereas (saith he) I am challenged of Treason, because I was in *Essex* house the day of the Rebellion; by the same Argument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indicted; all that day I lamented the Earls fortune, and dealt with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for the Consultation in Drury-House, it is no more to be called High Treason, than an Em-

bryo may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other side demonstrated, That no necessity lay upon him to tarry in the House; and that the Consultation in Drury-House was it self a Treason, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* said only this, The Earl of *Essex* raised me, and he hath overturned me.

The thirteenth of March, *Merrick*, and *Cuffe* are drawn to Tyburne, where *Cuffe* entring into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then, after prayers to God, and desiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was cast from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boisterous and turbulent disposition. In the same manner dyed *Merrick*.

The fifteenth of March, *Sir Charles Davers* and *Sir Christopher Blunt* were beheaded on the Tower-Hill; albeit *Davers* offered ten thousand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual imprisonment. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Sheriff *Smith* were kept prisoners; though *Smith*, after some time, was upon sureties suffered to go at large. The eighth of July, *Sir Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Council, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was present at the Consultation in Drury-House, yet had not revealed their sinister purposes; and had imparted to *Essex* the secrets of his French Embassy. He confessed, That at the Earls intreaty, he shewed him the Commentaries of the French proceedings, was present at one of their Consultations only; but contemned their counsels, yet durst not be an Informer against so great Personages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to prison.

One act of the by, is not here to be omitted. *Essex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened the Countess of *Essex* being fearful in her Husbands behalf, gave a Letter which she had received from him, to the Custody of one *Rhihove*, a Dutch woman that waited on her: this Dutch womans husband named *Daniel*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving some passages in it which might bring the Earl of *Essex* into danger, got a cunning Fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the said Letter; with this he cometh to the fearful Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatening to give the same to her husbands Adversaries, unless she would presently give him three thousand pounds. She to shun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and seventy pounds at the very instant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy only, meaning to make use of the true one, to get another sum of the Earls Adversary. This imposture being found out, he was censured to perpetual imprisonment, condemned in three thousand pounds (two of which were to go to the Countess) and his Ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; A notorious Cheater.

Soon after a Parliament was assembled, where- The Qu. in grievous complaints being tendred to the lower House touching Monopolies; the Queen, by way of prevention, sendeth out Proclamations, declaring the said Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving some part to the discussion of the Laws: which thing was so acceptable to the lower House, that they presently sent eighty



eighty select persons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks; and she on the other side gave them thanks for being such faithful Monitors to her, to recal her from an error, wherein, through ignorance, not wilfulness, she was fallen.

1602.

The Spaniards land in Ireland, & take Kinsale.

Tir-Oen joyneth his Forces with the Spaniards, which together make a great Army, but in a Battel are defeated.

Alphonso O Campo their chief Leader is taken Prisoner.

D' Aquila who commanded the Spaniards, requires a Composition, and departs.

Sir Rich. Levison sets upon the Spanish Fleet of Treasure, but cannot prevail.

In Ireland, the Deputy at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth Tir-Oen from where he had fortified himself, Carrew President of Munster, taketh the titular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receiveth intelligence, that the Spaniards invited by Tir-Oen, had a purpose to land in Munster, yet could not perswade the Deputy they had any design for Ireland; but in the midst of September, certain News was brought, the Spaniards were in fight, who wanting wind to carry their Fleet to Cork, put into Kinsale the three and twentieth of September, and land their Souldiers without resistance. Richard Percy having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away and leave Kinsale to the Spaniards, into which they enter with Ensigns displayed, and by the Magistrates and Inhabitants were bidden welcome.

D' Aquila, who commanded the Spaniards, publisheth a Declaration, wherein he sheweth, That Queen Elizabeth was deposed from her Kingdom by sentence of the Pope, her Subjects absolved from their Allegiance; And that the Spaniards were now come to deliver Ireland from the jaws of the Devil. Tir-Oen, joyneth his Forces with them, so as they were now six thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, and promised themselves assured Victory, the English being not near so many. The four and twentieth of December a Battel is joyned; where after long fight, the Victory inclined to the English. Tir-Oen, Odonell, and the rest cast away their weapons, and save themselves by flight. Alphonso O Campo chief Ruler of the Spaniards, together with three other Captains, was taken prisoner, and six Ensign-bearers, twelve hundred were slain, nine colours taken, whereof four belonged to the Spaniards: of the English not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

After six days, D' Aquila sendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requesting that some person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer; Sir William Godolphine is sent, to whom he complained of the cowardise, and (he feared) treachery of the Irish; and therefore, although he wanted nothing to hold out the Siege, and did daily expect great Forces from Spain, yet was willing to make a Composition: whereupon, at last it was agreed, The Spaniards should yield up Kinsale to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at Baltimore, Bere Haven, and Castle-Haven, and should depart with life and goods, and colours displayed. The English at a reasonable price, should furnish them with ships and provision into Spain; and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of England, till they were arrived in Spain, &c.

And now the Spaniards being driven out of Ireland, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, sendeth out Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson, with eight ships of her own, and some smaller ships of War, to attempt something upon the Coast of Spain. On the nineteenth of March, Levison hoisteth Sayl, and Monson

afterward, having in vain tarried behind for some Dutch ships to joyn with them. Levison in the mean time lighted upon the Spanish Navy of eight and thirty ships, which brought the Treasure from America, and set upon them, but to no purpose. When Monson was come with the rest of the Fleet, they had certain notice, That a mighty Indian Caraque of sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of Portugal. There indeed they found it, but it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies; and the Caraque it self appeared as big as a Castle; yet they resolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day they thundred so violently against the Gallies, that within seven hours the Marques of St. Croix, together with the Portugal Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themselves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great store of powder, which was going for the Low-Countries. And now Levison signifieth to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they trusted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refused mercy, they must expect none hereafter. After much speech to and fro, it was at last agreed, That the Caraque, with the Ordnance and Merchandize should be yielded up. Thus the English having a fair wind returned home with a Booty, to the value of a Million of Duckets, by the Portugal account, and not past five of their men lost in the Voyage.

At this time there arose a Contestation amongst the Popish Clergy here in England; for the Jesuits and secular Priests made bitter Invectives in their writings, one against the other. The original of the Priests quarrel was, That Blackwell, one wholly at the beck of the Jesuits, was set over them as Arch-Presbyter, who first of all despoiled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, caused them to be declared Schismatics and Hereticks. They in sundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealt mildly always with the Catholics, till such time as they set all in a combustion in England; and by their Treasons, caused most severe Laws to be enacted against the Catholics. Parsons they traduced as a Bastard, an Equivocator and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earnest, or in jest only, is hard to say; but the Bishop of London politically nourished the contention, and all he gained, was this, That the Queen and her Council, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom presently.

In France, the Marshal Biron, for entering into dangerous attempts against the Publick Peace, was arraigned, and lost his head. His confession brought some other into danger; and amongst them, the Duke of Bulloign, of the Protestant Religion, that when he was cited, he durst not appear, but fled into Germany. Hereupon the King of France sendeth to Queen Elizabeth, complaining that the Duke held his marriage unlawful, and the Popes dispensation nothing worth, pronouncing his Sons illegitimate; had destined the Prince of Conde to the Succession of the Crown, and conspired the Destruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her to it.

But he takes a Caraque of 1600 Tun, worth a Million of Duckets.

The Jesuits and the secular Priests contend against one another.

Both of them are commanded to depart the Realm.

The King of France complains to the Queen against the Duke of Bulloign, &c.



Legier Ambassadour, adviseth the King not too credulously to entertain those reports, as doubting these suggestions might proceed from some of the *Spanish* Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, saying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deserved, and that he was one of the chief Architects of *Essex* his Treason; and being questioned by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time also, the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning sleights, and open force, practised against the States of *Geneva*; and the Queen relieved them with a great sum of money, gathered amongst the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

*Tir. Oen* yields himself to the Deputy absolutely without any condition.

And now the Earl *Tir-Oen*, perceiving himself in a desperate estate, resolved to sue for mercy, and promised at last to submit his life and fortunes to the Queens pleasure, absolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the presence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then passing on a few steps, prostrated himself again, saying, I confess and crave pardon for my great fault against God, & a most bountiful Prince my dread Sovereign; I fly to the Queens mercy, as a sacred Anchor, permitting her to dispose of my life and fortunes at her pleasure. Upon this his submission, the Deputy commanded him to go aside, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into *England*, that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal pleasure: But before he could come into *England*, the Queen dyed.

#### Her Taxations.

IN a Parliament holden the first year of her Reign, a Subsidy was granted, of two shillings eight pence the pound of Goods, and four shillings of Lands, to be paid at two several Payments, of every person Spiritual and Temporal. In her sixth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, one Subsidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenths and Tenths. In her eighth year, in a Parliament then holden, there were offered to her four Subsidies, upon condition she would declare a Successor; but she refused their offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subsidy which they had granted, saying, It was all one, whether the money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own. In her thirteenth year, in a Parliament then holden, towards her charges of repressing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subsidy of Six shilling in the pound; and by the Temporality, two Fifteenths with a Subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound. In her six and thirtieth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy, two whole Subsidies, and by the Laity three, besides six Fifteenths and Tenths; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, should not be drawn into example. In her fortieth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were granted her by the Clergy, three entire Subsidies; and by the Laity as many, with six Fifteenths and Tenths. In her two and fortieth year, to furnish her with money towards the *Irish* War, she delegated certain Commissioners, to

She refused to burden her Subjects with Subsidies.

confirm the Crown Lands to the Possessors, that held any of controverted Titles, and to take money for the Confirmation, thereby to take away the troubles by concealers, who at this time were very busie.

Controverted titles of Crown Lands confirmed by her.

#### Of her Laws and Ordinances.

IN a Parliament holden in her first year, an Act was made, That every person should go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, or else pay twelve pence to the poor. Also it was enacted, That Bishops should not let the Lands of the Church, longer than for one and twenty years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Successors. In the third year, a Proclamation was made, That the Teston coyned for twelve pence, and in the Reign of King *Edward* embased to six pence, should not be current but for four pence; the Groat, but for two pence; and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the said base moneys were called in, and fine Sterling money was allowed for them after the Rate. For *Ireland* also, the coyned Sterling money; where nine pence in *England*, went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the first that brought certain Countries to deliver Provision at a certain rate, that so they might be freed from the Purveyors: Also the first that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her sixth year, in a Parliament then holden, it was made Treason to refuse taking the Oath of Supremacy; yet with this limitation, That by it the blood should not be dishonoured, nor goods confiscate; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Also this year, by a Common-council in *London*, it was enacted, That all such Citizens as from thenceforth should be constrained to sell their Household-stuff, Leases of Houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cryed through the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be sold by the common Out-cryer appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the shilling for his pains. In her three and twentieth year, she represseth by Proclamation excess in Apparel, Gold Chains, & Cloaks which men wore down to their heels. The length of Swords was limited to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches, besides the hilts. Buildings likewise in the Suburbs were restrained, In-mates forbidden, and expresse charge set forth, That no dwelling house should be new built within three miles of any City Gates, under pain of imprisonment, and loss of the materials. In her time was set on foot by Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the serving of Colledges with provision, to the great benefit of those Scholastical Societies. In her two and fortieth year, she setteth forth Proclamations against the Transportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that case provided. This year also she founded the Company of the *East-India* Merchants, and allowed them ample Priviledges. In her three and fortieth year, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth year, severe Laws are made against Papists, some inflicting death, some fine and imprisonment. In her eight and twentieth year, a Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting to

Bishops limited for letting their lands.

All base moneys called in.

Provision for the Queens house first ordained. Allowance to Judges in their Circuit first ordained.

Out-cry for sale of Goods first ordained.

Buildings in *London* restrained.

Colledge Rents to be paid part in provision, first ordained.

The Company of *East-India* Merchants first set up. All Monopolies called in by Proclamation.

low



Woad not to be sowed near the Queens Houses. fow Woad within eight miles of any of the Queens Houses, and four miles of any Cities or Towns Corporate. In her five and twentieth year, was first instituted and founded a publick Lecture in Chirurgery, to begin to be read in the Colledge of Physicians in London, and the Reader to have a stipend no less than those of the Universities erected by King Henry the eighth.

*Affairs of the Church in Her time.*

The protestant Religion is by degrees established.

ON Sunday the first of January next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by virtue of her Proclamation, the *English* Litany was read accordingly as was used in her Graces Chapel, in all Churches through the City of London, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel of the day, begun to be read at Mass-time in the *English* Tongue. Also in a Parliament holden in her first year, the first Fruits and Tenth were restored to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the State Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer & Administration of the Sacraments in the *English* Tongue was restored, and by degrees the Protestant Religion was established. The Bishops that refused the Oath of Supremacy, were all removed, and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all persons should go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, and a Fine of twelve pence imposed upon every one that should be absent, and the same to be given to the poor. In her fourth year, the Queen was solicited by Pope Pius, to send her Oratours to the Council of Trent, which she refused, as not acknowledging it a lawful Council. In a Parliament holden in her eighth year, it was enacted and by a general consent declared, That the Election of the Archbishops and Bishops in England, together with their Consecration, Confirmation, and Investiture (which some persons slanderously called in question) was lawful and Canonical, and that they were rightly, & according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdom, chosen and consecrated. In her eleventh year, there arose in England two contrary factions in Religion: on the one side, Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sanders, and other Divines that had fled out of England, began to exercise the Episcopal Jurisdiction upon the Queens Subjects which they had derived from the See of Rome: On the other side, Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, Benson, and other, making profession of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of England, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as favouring too much of the Roman Religion, Protesting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of Rome, and used all diligence to have the Church of England, reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of Geneva. These, although the Queen commanded to be committed to Prison, yet it is incredible how upon a sudden their followers encreased, known by the envious name of Puritans. This Sect so mightly encreased, that in her sixteenth year, the Queen and Kingdom, was extremely troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out no-

Puritans how encreased.

thing but Evangelical parity, cryed down the Ecclesiastical Form of Government (as a thing polluted with Roman dregs) and setting forth Books likewise, Intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and the *Defence of the Admonition*: they refused to resort to the Divine Service Publickly in use, and framed to themselves other Rites, Whereupon, the Queen to suppress them, whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the severity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-Prayer to be put in execution, and those Books, upon pain of Imprisonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Bishops, or some of the Queens Council. And this year were taken at Mass in their several houses, the Lord Morley's Lady and her Children, the Lady Guilford, and the Lady Brown, who being thereof indited and convicted, suffer the penalty of the Law in that case provided. Until the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, the Papists in England were mercifully connived at, while they solemnized their own Rites within their private houses (though that also were against the Laws) but when as that Thunderbolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted against those who brought into the Kingdom any *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens Subjects to the See of Rome; yet for six whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papist, till Cutbert Mayn a Priest, and an obstinate maintainer of the Popes authority against the Queen, was executed at Launceston in Cornwall, and the Gentlemans Goods that harboured him confiscated, and himself adjudg'd to perpetual Imprisonment. In her three and twentieth year, divers Priests and Jesuites came into England, amongst whom, Robert Parsons, and Edmund Campian, English Men and Jesuites, being now bound for England, to promote the Catholick Cause, at which time a Proclamation was set forth, That whosoever had any Children beyond the Sea, should by a certain day call them home; and that no person should receive or harbour any Seminary Priest or Jesuite. At this time also, there arose up in Holland a certain Sect, naming themselves, *The Family of Love*, who perswaded their followers, that those only who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all Reprobates, and damned, and that it was lawful for them to deny upon Oath whatsoever they pleased, before any Magistrate, or whomsoever that were not of that Family. Many of their Books were printed, under these titles, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, *The Lords Sentences*, *The Prophecie of the spirit of Love*, the publication of Peace upon earth, by the Author H.N. but who this Author was they would by no means reveal: at last he was found to be Henry Nichols of Leyden, who blasphemously preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature: all which Books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the eighth and twentieth year of her Reign, some out of a desire of Reformation, began to pick quarrels at the Clergy, desiring to pass Laws for the restraint of Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of Holy Orders, Ecclesiastical Censure, and, the Oath *Ex Officio*. They complained likewise of the non-residency of

Severe laws against Papists, when and why enacted.

Parsons & Campian come into England.

The Family of Love, where and when it began.



Parliament not to meddle in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Three Articles to which every Minister must subscribe.

The Brownists Author, who.

Martin Mar-Prelate writeth against Bishops.

of Ministers, and the like. But the Queen, who always hated Innovation (which for the most part changeth for the worse) would give no ear unto them; conceiving besides, That these proceedings in Parliament in Ecclesiastical Affairs derogated from her Prerogative. In her six and twentieth year, the Queen gave a special charge to *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to settle an Uniformity in the Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Laws, which through the connivence of Bishops, and perverseness of the Puritans, lay now almost gasping: Whereupon, he provided three Articles, to which every Minister should subscribe.

The first, *That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all persons born within her Dominions, of what condition soever they were; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Civil or Ecclesiastical, within her Realms and Dominions.*

The second, *That the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God but may lawfully be used, and that they will use that and no other.*

The third, *That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at London in the year 1562, and published by the Queen's Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the Word of God.*

It is incredible what Reproaches the Archbishop incurred by setting forth these Articles, both from factious Ministers, and from some also of the Nobility; yet by his patience and constancy, he brought at last peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*. Neither did these at home only disturb the Peace of the Church, but others also from abroad, as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambridge*, from whom came the Sectaries called Brownists; and *Richard Harrison* a petty Schoolmaster. These presuming to judge matters of Religion by their own private spirit, by Books set forth in *Zealand*, and dispersed at this time over *England*, condemned the Church of *England* for no Church, and ensnared many in the Nets of their new Schism. Neither could they be restrained, though their Books were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and soundly confuted by sundry learned men; and one or two of the Ring-leaders executed at *Saint Edmunds Bury*. In her one and thirtieth year, these Puritan's flames brake forth again, Books are written by the names of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and *A Demonstration of the Discipline*, by *Penry* and *Udal* against the Government of Bishops; and nothing would please them, but the Discipline of *Geneva*: Many Abettors they had, *Knightly* and *Wigstone*; Knights, besides *Cartwright* (the father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pardlow*, *Payn*, and others; who though called in question, fined and imprisoned, could never be reclaimed. In her six and thirtieth year, the Queen caused the severity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries, for disturbing the Church and the publick Peace, by scattering of their monstrous Opinions con-

demning the Church of *England* as no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical.

#### Works of Piety in her time.

THIS Queen converted *Westminster Abbey* into a Collegiate Church, and there ordained a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Master, Usher, and forty Scholars, Vicars, Singing-men, and twelve Alms-men. In her third year, the Merchant-Tailors founded a notable Grammar-School in the Parish of *St. Lawrence Pountney* in *London*. Also this year, *William Harper* Mayor of *London* founded a Free-School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born. In her seventh year, on the seventh of *June*, *Sir Thomas Gresham* laid the first stone of the Royal Exchange in *Cornhil*, which in *November* the year after, at his own charges was finished, being the year 1567. In her tenth year, the Citizens of *London* builded a new Conduit at *Walbrook* corner, near to *Dowgate*, the water whereof is conveyed out of the *Thames*. Also this year, *Sir Thomas Roe* Mayor of *London*, caused to be enclosed within a wall of Brick one Acre of ground near unto *Bedlam*, without *Bishops gate*, to be a place of Burial for the dead of such Parishes in *London* as lacked convenient ground within their Parishes: He also builded a convenient Room in *Pauls Churchyard*, on the South side of the Cross, to receive a certain number of Hearers at Sermon time. *Sir William Peter* having himself been born at *Exeter* in *Devonshire*, gave to *Exeter Colledge* in *Oxford*, a hundred pound Lands a year: He also builded at *Ingerstone* in *Essex*, Alms-houses for twenty poor people, and giving them some competent maintenance. *Sir Thomas Gresham* had his dwelling house in *Broad-street*, *London*, which he dedicated to the profession of the Liberal Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Phylick, Geometry, Astronomy, Musick and Rhetorick, allotting to the Professors very competent allowances. In her seventeenth year died *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammar-School in *Rochdale*, in the County of *Lancaster*: He also procured to *Corpus Christi Colledge* in *Cambridge*, thirteen Scholarships, and built two Chambers for Scholars, and the inward Library of the same Colledge, and procured to it the Patronage of *St. Mary Abchurch* in *London*, with many other works of like kind. *Sir Nicholas Bacon* L. Keeper gave for Six Scholars to be found in *Benet Colledge* in *Cambridge*, three pounds six shillings and eight pence for ever. *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Free-School in *Cumberland*, where he was born, and gave many pensions to both Universities. *Francis Countess of Sussex*, Sister to *Sir Henry Sidney*, founded *Sussex-Sidney Colledge* in *Cambridge*: As likewise *Sir Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emanuel Colledge* in the same University. *Sir Thomas Bodley* erected & furnished the famous publick Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, endowed *Brasen-nose Colledge* in *Oxford*, where he was brought up with two hundred pounds per annum, and dyed in the year 1602. *Sir Roger Manhood* chief Baron of the Exchequer, built seven

The Royal Exchange, when and by whom built.

Gresham Colledge in Broad-street given to Professors of the Sciences.

Sussex-Sidney Colledge in Cambridge Founded. Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge Founded. The Publick Library in Oxford Erected.



seven Almshouses in *Canterbury* giving to every Almshouse four pounds yearly: and our worthy Country-man *William Lambert*, built an Almshouse at *Greenwich*, which he called, *The Colledge for the poor of Queen Elizabeth*. Also in her time, namely, in the year 1595, *Bevis Bulmar* Gentleman, builded a large house of great height, called an Engine, at the Bridge-foot, for the conveying and forcing of *Thames* water to serve in the middle and west parts of the City. Also in her time, namely, in the year 1596, *Ralph Rokeby* one of her Masters of Requests, then dying, gave by his Will, to *Christs Hospital* in *London*, 100*l.* to the Colledge of the poor of *Queen Elizabeth* in *East Greenwich*, 100*l.* to the poor Scholars in *Cambridge*, 100*l.* to the poor Scholars in *Oxford*, 100*l.* to the Prisoners in the two Compters in *London*, 100*l.* to the Prisoners in the Fleet, 100*l.* to the Prisoners in *Ludgate*, 100*l.* to the Prisoners in *Newgate*, 100*l.* to the Prisoners in the *Kings Bench*, 100*l.* to the Prisoners in the *Marshallsey*, 100*l.* to the Prisoners in the *White-Lyon*, 20*l.* a liberal and pious Legacy; and worthy not to be forgotten.

Casualties in her Time.

The Pulse to beat of one that was dead. A vein of Brasse found. Also the Stone called *Lapis Calaminiaris*. Gun-powder first made in *England*. The Spire of *Pauls Church* burnt down with Lightning.

Many monstrous Births.

IN the first year of Her Reign, dyed *Sir Thomas Cheyney*. Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom it is reported for a certain, That his pulse did beat more than three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as strongly as if he had been still alive. In her third year there was found near *Keswick* in *Cumberland*, a most rich Vein of pure and native Brasse, which had lain neglected a long time: Also the stone called *Lapis Calaminiaris*, which is of great use in Brasse-Works, was first brought into *England* at this time, and in most plentiful manner. Likewise this Queen was the first that caused Gun-powder to be made in *England*, which before was had from forrain parts, and at dear rates. In her third year, the Spire of the Cathedral Church of *Pauls* being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and sixty from the square Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materials, but covered with Lead, was with lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the space of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thousand Marks in Money, and a thousand load of Timber; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteenths; and the Clergy also contributed to it. Also this year there were many monstrous Births: A Mare brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tail growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrowed a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one Head. A man-child was born at *Chichester* in *Sussex*, having Arms and Legs like to an Anatomy, the Breast and Belly monstrous big, about the Neck a great collar of flesh and skin, growing like the ruff of a shirt. In her sixth year, upon the returning of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Pestilence was brought into *England*, but especially into *London*; where, in one year there dyed one and twenty thousand and five hundred. This year also, in the month of *December*, was driven on the shore at *Grimseby*

in *Lincolnshire*, a monstrous Fish, in length nineteen yards, his tail fifteen foot broad, and six yards between the eyes. Twelve men stood upright in his mouth to get the Oyl. In her seventh year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, began a Frost, so extream, that on *New-years* Even people passed over the *Thames* on foot; some played at foot-ball, some shot at pricks, as if in had been firm ground. Yet this great Frost, the third of *January* at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day there was no Ice at all to be seen; which sudden thaw caused great Inundations. In her eighth year, within the space of ten Months, there dyed in *London* seven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, *Sir Martin Bowes*, *Sir Richard Mallory*, *Sir William Hewet*, *Sir Thomas White*, and *Richard Lambert*, one of the Sheriffs for that year. The same year also, in the Town of *Osweestre* in *Shropshire*, two hundred houses, in the space of two hours were consumed with fire. In her tenth year, were taken in *Suffolk*, at *Downham Bridge* near to *Ipswich*, seventeen monstrous Fishes; some of them being seven and twenty Foot in length: And in the same year, many *Dutch* flying into *England*, to avoid the persecution of the Duke *D<sup>e</sup> Alva*, were the first that brought into *England* the Art of making Bayes, Sayes, Serges, and such woven stuffs both Wollen and Linen. In her time a rich Vein of Copper was found the Earl of *Northumberland*s Grounds, which she by her Preogative seized upon. In her thirteenth year, a prodigious Earth-quake happened in the East-parts of *Herefordshire*, near a little Town called *Kinnaston*. On the seventeenth of *February*, at six of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock under it (making at first a great bellowing noise, which was heard a great way off) lifted it self up a great height, and began to travel, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheeps-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the same time. In the place from whence it was first moved, it left a gaping distance forty foot broad, and four-score Ells long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Passing all along, it overthrew a Chappel standing in the way, removed an Yew-Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the West into the East; with the like force it thrust before it High-ways, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled-ground Pasture, and again turned Pasture into Tillage. Having walked in this sort from *Saturday* in the evening, till *Monday* noon, it then stood still. In her fifteenth year, in the month of *November*, a new Star or rather a Meteor (but that it was found to be above the Moon) was seen in *Cathedra Cassiopeæ*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightness, and in that place was carried with the Diurnal motion of the Heavens sixteen months together, though after eight months it was perceived to grow less and less. In her sixteenth year, was a great Dearth, so as Wheat was sold at five and six shillings the Bushel, and other things in proportion. In her seventeenth year, a vast mighty Whale was cast upon the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, twenty Ells long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back-bone, and eleven foot between the eyes, One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than a Cart with six Horses could draw; the

A monstrous Fish taken in *Lincolnshire*.

An extream Frost.

The Art of making Bays and Serges; when and by whom brought first into *England*.

A prodigious Earth-quake.

A mighty Whale taken in *Thanet* in *Kent*.



Oyl being boyled out of the head, was *Parma-citte*. This year also, the River *Thames* ebbd and flowd twice within an hour: and in the month of *November*, the Heaven seemed to be all on a fire. Also on the four and twentieth of *February*, being a great Frost, after a Flood which was great, there came down the River of *Se-verne* such a swarm of Flies and Beetles, that they were judged to be above a hundred Quar-ters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with them for the space of four days, and then were cleansed by digging them out with Shovels. In her two and twentieth year, a strange apparition happened in *Somersetshire*, threescore personages all cloathed in black, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and after their appearing, and a little while tarrying, they vanished away, but immediately another strange company, in like manner, colour and number appeared in the same place: and they encountred one another, and so vanished away. And the third time appeared that number again, all in bright armour, and en-countred one another, and so vanished away. This was examined before Sir *George Norton*, & sworn by four honest men that saw it, to be true. In her three and twentieth year, in the beginning of *April*, about six a clock afternoon, happened an Earthquake not far from *Tork*, which in some places struck the very stones out of Buildings, & made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night following, the earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the first day of *May*. In this year also, in the Town of *Walsham* in *Suffex*, a Child of eleven years old, named *William Wi-thers*, lay in a trance for the space of ten days without any sustenance; and at the last coming to himself, he uttered to the standers by, many strange speeches; inveighing against Pride, Co-vetousness, coldness of Charity, and other enor-mous sins. In her six and twentieth year, being the year 1588, the like Prodigy happened in *Dorsetshire*; as in the year 1571, had happened in *Herefordshire*; A Field of three Acres in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, moved from its place, and passed over another Field, tra-velling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there stayed. In her eight and twentieth year, Tobacco was first brought out of the *West-In-dies*, into *England* by *Ralph Lane*. In her five and thirtieth year, there was so great a drought, that not only the Fields, but the Springs themselves were dried up, and many Cattle every where dyed for want of water. The River of *Thames* likewise did so fail, that a Horseman might ride over at *London-Bridge*. In her six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*; so as there dyed this year in *London* and the suburbs, seven-teen thousand eight hundred and ninety, besides the Lord Mayor, and three Aldermen; and *Michaels Term* was holden at *St. Albans*. For the price of Victuals in her time, we may take a pattern of the rest by one kind; for *John Stow* reporteth, that in his youth he fetched many a half penniworth of Milk from a Farm by the *Mi-nories*, and never had less than three Ale-Pints for a half-penniworth in Summer, nor less than two Ale-pints for a half penny in the Winter. Al-so in the year 1522, a fat Ox was sold at *London* for twenty six shillings at the most; a fat Wea-ther for three shillings four pence; a fat Calf the

like price: a fat Lamb for twelve pence, three pound of Beef for a penny.

*Of Her Personage and Condition.*

She was of stature indifferent tall, slender and straight, fair of Complexion, her hair in-clining to pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, her eyes lively and sweet, but short-sighted, her Nose somewhat rising in the midst; the whole compass of her countenance somewhat long, yet of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her mind was far more admirable: She had been a Subject which taught her to Rule; She had been in mi-sery, which taught her to be mercifull; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more justice, & with her justice mingled more mercy: She had more Valour in her than was fit for a woman, but that she was Ruler over men; and more Humi-lity in her than was fit for a Prince, but that she meant to be a President to women. She delighted in nothing so much, as in the love of her people, which she procured by ordaining good Magi-strates, and forbearing Impositions. Her way not to need them, was frugality; and her way to have them when she needed them, was libe-rality. She made honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and in-deed, knowing it to be an influence from her self, she kept it, as her self, a Virgin, and would not prostitute it to unworthy persons. She declined being a Mother of Children, to the end she might be a Mother of her Country; and indeed, no mother ever loved her children more, than she did her people; and therefore never children lo-ved a mother more, than her people did her. She coveted not so much to be an owner of riches, as of rich Subjects; for she thought money did as well in their Coffers as in her own: and indeed she never wanted, when they had it; and they always had it, when she needed it. Never Prince had a wiser Council than she, yet never Prince needed it less; for she was her self a Counsellor to her Council. In sum, whatsoever may in flattery be said of a wise, just, merciful, religious, and learned Prince, may truly be said of her: in all which, if ever she had an equal, yet she never certainly had a superiour. In play-ing her game of Fortune, she loved not an after-game; for she liked Preventions better than Remedies. She was admirable in expressing her mind, both by speech and writing: and if colle-ction could be made of her Apophthegms, & ex-temporal Orations, it would certainly excell any thing extant in that kind: and for her writing, Sir *Henry Savile* affirms, That he had seen some Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Ori-ginals. Never Prince kept greater State with less stateliness: Her Pensioners and Guard were always the tallest and goodliest Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: Her Maids of Honor and other Women about her, the fairest and most beautiful Laides of the Realm; and yet her self a *Diana* amongst her Nymphs; inso-much that a great Lord of *France*, being enter-tained at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made answer, It was hard to judge of Stars, in the presence of the Sun.

Another  
Prodigious  
Earth-  
quake.

Tobacco  
first  
brought  
into Eng-  
land, and  
by whom.



## Of her Death and Burial.

IT was now the Year 1602, when she feeling some Infirmities of Old Age and Sickness, retired her self at the end of *January*, to *Richmond*; at which time, in a sad Omen, she commanded the Ring to be filed off her finger, where-with she was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off, it being grown into the flesh in such manner, that it could not be drawn off without filing. At the beginning of her Sickness, the Almonds of her Jaws began to swell, and her appetite by little and little failed her; withal she gave her self wholly to sadness and heaviness, which some imputed to her care for the loss of the Earl of *Essex*; Others, because she heard, that divers of the Nobility sought the favour of the King of *Scots*, adoring him as the Sun rising, and neglecting her: but howsoever, in *March*, a kind of benumbedness seized upon her, with a deep melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any Conference, but with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom she prayed fervently, till such time as her speech failed her, which failed her a day before she died. She being in this case, it was thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her mind concerning a Successor; to whom she gave this Answer; My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not a mean Person should succeed me. The Secretary requesting her to speak more plainly, I will (said she) have a King succeed me; and what King, but the King of *Scots*, my nearest Kinsman? After this, the Archbishop exhorted her to think of God; That do I (said she) nor do my thoughts ever wander from him. And when her tongue no longer served her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes, that her thoughts were fixed upon him. And so on the four and twentieth day of *March*, being the last day of the year 1602, she yielded up her soul to God, when she had lived Threescore and nine years, six months, and seven days; Reigned Four and forty years, four months, and seven days. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to *White-hall*; from whence on the eight and twentieth of *April* following, in great solemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peters* at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Vault of her Grand-father, King *Henry* the Seventh, in his Magnificent Chapell, where our Renowned Sovereign King *James* hath built her a Princely Monument, inscribed with Epitaphs to her eternal glory. At her Funeral were said to be Mourners in black, to the number of One thousand and six hundred persons.

## Men of Note in her time.

THE Ocean is not more boundless, than the number of Men of Note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted. And to begin with States-men: An exquisite States-man for his own ends, was *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; and for his Countries good, *Sir William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*; as also *Sir Francis Walsingham*, that great underminer of Conspirators. Famous Sea-men, where the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterward Earl of *Suffolk*; and of meaner Rank, *Sir John Hawkins*, *Sir Martin Forbysher*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, *Cavendish*, *Preston*, *Ryman*; and to name the worthiest last, *Sir Francis Drake*, who though he were but a short square-bodied man, yet his great Acts have made the *Spaniards* believe that he was some goodly personage. Great Commanders by Land, were *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, *Sir Francis Vere*, *Sir Roger Williams*, *Baskerville*, *Savage*, and the Honour of his Family, and our *English* Nation, *Sir John Norris*. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were *Sir Thomas Chaloner*, employed by Queen *Elizabeth* as her Leiger in *Spain*, who wrote five Books of the restoring of the *English* Common-wealth, in Elegant Verses, while (as he said) he lived in a Stove in Winter, and in a Barn in Summer: *Roger Askam*, born in *Yorkshire*, notably skilful in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, who had sometime been School-master to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the *Latine* Tongue; but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting, he both lived and died in mean estate, yet left behind him sundry Monuments of Wit and Industry. *Sir Thomas Smith* born at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, sometime Secretary to King *Edward* the sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the *English* Common-wealth, a singular Book of the Orthography of the *English* Tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the *Greek*; the first man that set on foot the Law for serving the Colledges with Provision. *Sir Henry Savill*, Provost of *Eaton*, and Reader to Queen *Elizabeth*, who set forth all *St. Chrysostom's* Works in *Greek*, and by translating of *Cornelius Tacitus*, deserved as much of the *English* Tongue, as he of the *Latin*. But above all, the admirable *Sir Philip Sidney*, who by writing in a light Argument, shewed how excellently, and beyond all comparison he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were *John Jewel*, born in *Devonshire*, a Student in *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, in Queen *Maries* time an Exile, by Queen *Elizabeth* made Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and died at scarce Fifty years of age, in the Fourteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*. *John Whitaker*, Master of *St. Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, who Learnedly answered all the Books of *Bellarmino*. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, sometimes Fellow of New Colledge in *Oxford*, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christs descent into Hell. *Richard Hooker*, Preacher at the Temple, who with too much meekness smothered his great Learning.

*Roger Askam* his delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting.



Learning, yet hath something discovered it in his five Books of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and died in the year 1599. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, who forbearing deeper works, set forth a Catechism, according to the Doctrine of the *English Church*, and died in the year 1620. After such men, it might be thought ridiculous to speak of Stage-players; but seeing excellency in the meanest things deserves remembering, and *Roscus* the Comedian is recorded in History with such commendation, it may be allowed us

to do the like with some of our Nation. *Richard Bourbidge* and *Edward Allen*, two such Actors as no age must ever look to see the like: and, to make their Comedies compleat, *Richard Tarleton*, who for the part called the Clowns Part, never had his match, never will have. For Writers of Plays, and such as had been Players themselves, *William Shakespeare* and *Benjamin Jonson*, have specially left their Names recommended to Posterity.

Famous  
Players, and  
Playmakers.

### Majors and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first year,  
Sir *William Hewet* was Major.  
*Thomas Lodge*, *Roger Martin*, Sheriffs.

In her second year,  
Sir *William Chester* was Major.  
*Christopher Draper*, *Thomas Roe*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,  
Sir *William Harper* was Major.  
*Alexan. Avenon*, *Humphrey Baskerville*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,  
Sir *Thomas Lodge* was Major.  
*William Allen*, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,  
Sir *John White* was Major.  
*Edward Banks*, *Rowland Heyward*, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,  
Sir *Richard Mallory* was Major.  
*Edward Jackman*, *Lionel Duckett*, Sheriffs.

In her seventh year,  
Sir *Richard Champion* was Major.  
*John Rivers*, *James Hawes*, Sheriffs.

In her eighth year,  
Sir *Christopher Draper* was Major.  
*Ri. Lambert*, *Amb. Nicholas*, *Jo. Langley*, Sheriffs.

In her ninth year,  
Sir *Roger Martin* was Major.  
*Thomas Ramsey*, *John Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her tenth year,  
Sir *Thomas Roe* was Major.  
*John Oliph*, *Rob. Harding*, *James Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In her eleventh year,  
Sir *Alexander Avenan* was Major.  
*Henry Beecher*, *William Dane*, Sheriffs.

In her twelfth year,  
Sir *Rowland Heyward* was Major.  
*Francis Barneham*, *William Boxe*, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth year,  
Sir *William Allen* was Major.  
*Henry Milles*, *John Branch*, Sheriffs.

In her fourteenth year,  
Sir *Lionel Duckett* was Major.  
*Richard Pipe*, *Nicholas Woodroffe*, Sheriffs.

In her fifteenth year,  
Sir *John Rivers* was Major.  
*James Harvey*, *Tho. Pulloccel* or *Pullison*, Sheriffs.

In her sixteenth year,  
Sir *James Hawes* was Major.  
*Thomas Blancke*, *Anthony Gamage*, Sheriffs.

In her seventeenth year,  
Sir *Ambrose Nicholas* was Major.  
*Edward Osborne*, *Wolstane Dixie*, Sheriffs.

In her eighteenth year,  
Sir *John Langley* was Major.  
*William Kempton*, *George Barne*, Sheriffs.

In her nineteenth year,  
Sir *Thomas Ramsey* was Major.  
*Nicholas Backhouse*, *Francis Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In her twentieth year,  
Sir *Richard Pipe* was Major.  
*George Bond*, *Thomas Starkie*, Sheriffs.

In her one and twentieth year,  
Sir *Nicholas Woodroffe* was Major.  
*Martin Calthrop*, *Jon Hart* Sheriffs.

In her two and twentieth year,  
Sir *John Branch* was Major.  
*Ralph Woodcock*, *John Allot*, Sheriffs.

In her three and twentieth year,  
Sir *James Harvey* was Major.  
*Richard Martin*, *William Webbe*, Sheriffs.

In her four and twentieth year,  
Sir *Thomas Blancke* was Major.  
*William Roe*, *John Haydon* deceased, *Cuthbert Buckle* succeeded, Sheriffs.

In her five and twentieth year,  
Sir *Edward Osborne* was Major.  
*William Mashaw*, *John Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In her six and twentieth year,  
Sir *Thomas Pulloccel* was Major.  
*Stephen Slaney*, *Henry Billingsley*, Sheriffs.



In her Seven and twentieth year,  
Sir *Wolstane Dixie* was Major.  
*Anthony Ratcliffe, Henry Pranell*, Sheriffs.

In her Eight and twentieth year.  
Sir *Geore Barne* was Major.  
*George House, William Elkin*, Sheriffs.

In her Nine and twentieth year,  
Sir *George Bond* was Major.  
*Thomas Skinner, John Catcher*, Sheriffs.

In her thirtieth year,  
Sir *Martin Calthrop* served one part,  
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.  
*Hugh Offley, Richard Saltonstall*, Sheriffs.

In her one and thirtieth year,  
Sir *John Hart* was Major.  
*Richard Gurney, Stephen Some*, Sheriffs.

In her two and thirtieth year,  
Sir *John Allot* served one part,  
Sir *Rowland Heyward* the other.  
*Nicholas Mosley, Robert Brook*, Sheriffs.

In her three and thirtieth year,  
Sir *William Webbe* was Major.  
*Will. Rider, Benet or Benedict Barnham*, Sheriffs.

In her four and thirtieth year,  
Sir *William Roe* was Major.  
*John Garret or Gerrard, Robert Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In her five and thirtieth year,  
Sir *Cuthbert Buckle* served one part,  
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.  
*Paul Banning, Peter Haughton*, Sheriffs.

In her six and thirtieth year,  
Sir *John Spencer* was Major.  
*Robert Lee, Thomas Bennet*, Sheriffs.

In her seven and thirtieth year.  
Sir *Stephen Slaney* was Major.  
*Thomas Lowe, Leonard Halliday*, Sheriffs.

In her eight and thirtieth year,  
Sir *Thomas Skinner* served one part,  
Sir *Henry Billingsley* the other.  
*John Wats, Richard Godard*, Sheriffs.

In her nine and thirtieth year,  
Sir *Richard Saltonstall* was Major.  
*Henry Roe, John More*, Sheriffs.

In her fortieth year,  
Sir *Stephen Some* was Major.  
*Edward Holmedon, Robert Hampson*, Sheriffs.

In her one and fortieth year,  
Sir *Nicholas Mosley* was Major.  
*Humphrey Walde, Roger Clark*, Sheriffs.

In her two and fortieth year,  
Sir *William Rider* was Major.  
*Thomas Smith, Tho. Cambel, Will. Craven*, Sheriffs.

In her three and fortieth year,  
Sir *John Garret, or Gerrard*, was Major:  
*Henry Anderson, William Glover*, Sheriffs.

In her four and fortieth year,  
Sir *Robert Lee* was Major.  
*James Pemberton, John Swinerton*, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

Anno. Dom.  
1603.

**J**AMES the Fourth, King of Scotland, married *Margaret* eldest Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh, King of England, by whom he had *James* the Fifth, who had one only Child *Mary* Queen of Scots, who had one only Son *James* the Sixth, who from *James* the Fourth had undoubted Right to the Kingdom of Scotland; and from *Margaret*, King *Henry* the Seventh's eldest Daughter, (the Male line being clean extinct) unquestionable Title to the Crown of England: whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* being dead about Ten a clock in the morning the 24th of March, King *James* the Sixth, King of Scotland, was the very same day (Mr. Secretary *Cecil* himself reading his Title, and Queen *Elizabeth's* Will) proclaimed King of England, Scotland and Ireland, by sound of Trumpet, first at *White-Hall*, and then in *Cheapside*, in presence of all the Lords of the Council, and other of the Nobility, with a general Acclamation of all sorts of people, that we may truly say, Sorrow was never more deceived than at this time; for where upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was expected there would be nothing for a long time but sorrowing and lamenting: now that very sorrow was swallowed up of joy, her death bringing with it no other alteration but only of Sex, in all other points in a manner the same; the like Wisdom, the like Learning, the like Justice, the like Religiousness in them both: only bettered in this, that we changed a Queen of 70 years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many years.

Sir Robert  
Cary ac-  
quaints him  
with the  
Queens death

Queen *Elizabeth* was no sooner dead, but Sir *Robert Cary* a younger Son of the late Lord *Hunsdon*, posted away unsent, to King *James* in Scotland, informing him of the accident: for bringing which news, the King afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and Lord of *Leppington*. But though it were suffi-

cient for the Kings information, that he heard the news by Sir *Robert Cary*; yet it was not sufficient for the Lords of the Council in discharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them; and therefore within a very few days, as soon as they could provide fit men, they sent first Sir *Charles Piercy*, and Mr. *Thomas Somerset*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake* Clerk of the Signet, a man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the general applause of all the Realm, to receive him for their Sovereign, and also inform him in what terms the state of the Kingdom stood, that so he might not come altogether a stranger when he came into it.

Queen *Elizabeth* indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incumbrance; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; and not only so, but a Kingdom furnished with all the fruits of Piece, plenty of all things necessary, and of all necessary things the chiefeft, a Wise Council; for she left Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellour, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral, and Sir *Robert Cecil* Principal Secretary: Four such men that the meanest of them were sufficient to sit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to these and divers other besides (all whom the King now by his Letters authorizeth to exercise their several places, as formerly they had done) he addeth certain new ones of his own chusing; as namely, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and then after the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one the brother, the other the Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk* who had suffered so much, that at last he suffered for the Queen his Mother. But although the calling of these two last to such a place, was done (no doubt) out of favour to that house, yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papist, it was presently apprehended as a favour to that side; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his

The King  
adds new  
Coun-  
fellors.



his good inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but necessary they should at this time have such a conceit; for in the late Queens sickness, a little before her death, Pope Clement the eighth had written two Brieves to the Catholics in England, to admit of none to succeed in the Kingdom, when that miserable woman should happen to die (so he pleased to stile the most glorious Queen that ever lived) but such a one, of whose good inclination to the See of Rome, they should at least be well perswaded. And now King James having settled the Government of his Kingdom of Scotland, and made convenient preparation for his journey: on the fifth of April 1603, he sets forward and rode that day from *Edenburgh* to *Dunglass*, and from thence the next day to *Berwick*, where having stayed two days, the eighth of April he rode to *Withrington* a house of Sir Robert Caries, from thence the ninth to *Newcastle*, where he stayed Sunday, and heard the Bishop of *Durham* preach, and so joyful were the Townsmen of his being there, that all the time of stay they bore the charge of his household. The thirteenth of April he set forward to *Durham*, and from thence the fourteenth to *Waltworth*, the fifteenth towards *York*, where his train encreased to such a multitude, that he was fain to publish an inhibition of the peoples resorts, and flocking to him. At *York* it was a question to whom it belonged to bear the sword before the King in that place; for both the Earl of *Cumberland* claimed it as hereditary to his House, and the President of the North claimed it as belonging to his place, but it was adjudged to *George Earl of Cumberland*; who accordingly did it. From *York* the eighteenth day the King rode to *Grimston*, to a house of Sir *Edward Stanhops*; the nineteenth to *Pomfret*, and so to *Doncaster*, where he lodged at the sign of the Bear and Sun: The twentieth of April he rode towards *Worsuppe*, a house of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; from thence the twenty first to *Newark* upon *Trent*, where a Cutpurse being taken in the fact, was by the Kings warrant hanged; a most unseasonable delinquent, who would force the King to a work of Justice at a time when he intended nothing but mercy: the 22 to *Beaver Castle*, a house of the Earl of *Rutlands*, hunting all the way as he rode: From *Beaver* the 23 to *Burleigh*, where having stayed two or three days, the 27 he removed to *Hinchinbrook*, a house of Sir *Oliver Cromwells*, where the heads of the University of *Cambridge* met him: From thence he rode towards *Royston*, and as he passed through *Godmanchester*, a Town close by *Huntington*, the Bailiffs of the Town presented him with 70 Teem of Horse all traced to fair new Ploughs, at which the King wondring, they said, it was the ancient custom so to do when any King of England passed through their Town, and by which, as being the Kings Tenants, they held their Land. At *Royston*, he lodged that night at Mr. *Chesters* house at his own charge, which he had not done before, since his coming into England. The 30 of April he rode to *Standon*, a house of Sir *Thomas Sadlers*, where he stayed Sunday and heard the Bishop of *London* Preach. The second of May he removed to *Brosbourn*, a house of Sir *Henry Cocks*, cofferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where met him the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and divers other Lords. The third

of May he came to *Theobalds*, a house of Sir *Robert Cecils*; when all the Lords of the late Queens most honourable Privy Council presented themselves, and there the Lord Keeper made a grave Oration. At this house, the fourth of May, the King made divers Noblemen of Scotland of his Privy Council here in England; namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and Sir *George Hume* Treasurer of Scotland, Sir *James Elpingston* his Secretary, and the Lord of *Kinlosse*, made afterward Master of the Rolls: Saturday the seventh of May, he rode towards *London*, where by the way, the Sheriff *Swinerton*, and the Aldermen met him; and by their Oratour Mr. *Richard Martin*, made him an Eloquent Oration; and then he rode on to the *Charter-house* near *Smithfield*, a house belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he stayed four days: and at his departing thence made the Lord *Zouch*, and the Lord *Burgley*, of his Privy Council. But we must not here omit, that from the Kings first setting forth of Scotland, as he was in all places received with Royal entertainment and rich presents, so he again carried himself most affable, and distributed his favours in most plentiful manner: in some places discharging all prisoners, but such as lay for Treason or Murder: but especially in conferring the order of Knight-hood, of which sort the first he made, was Mr. *John Peyton*, son to Sir *John Peyton*, Lieutenant of the Tower. After him divers Scots in sundry places; at *Theobalds*, eight and twenty (of which number the compiler of this work, though the unworthiest, was one); at the *Charter-house* above fourscore: and not many days after, no fewer than at least a hundred; and before the year went about God knows how many hundreds, that one would wonder what the King would do with so many *Milites*, having no war toward: But it was indeed fit to have a vent to the passage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeths* Reign had been so stopped, that scarce any County of England had Knights enow to make a Jury.

Before we go farther, it will not be amiss to shew what great men attended King James out of Scotland; as namely, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and many other great Lords; and many other whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his special favour: first Sir *George Hume*, made afterward Earl of *Dunbarre*; then Sir *Thomas Erskin*, made Earl of *Kelly*; then Sir *John Ramsay* made Earl of *Holderness*; (which two last had the fortune to come first in to his rescue against the *Gowries*) then Sir *James Hay*, made afterward Earl of *Carlile*; and then Sir *Richard Preston* made Earl of *Kildare* in Ireland; but whose great fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom was afterward the occasion of his great misfortune; for coming out of Ireland, he was unfortunately cast away and drowned.

But though King James was now safely come himself to London; yet he accounted himself but half come, untill his Queen and Children were come to him; and therefore there are now appointed to go to conduct them; of Lords, the Earl of *Suffex*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the L. *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carew* Knight, Lord President of *Manster*: of Ladies, the Countess of *Worcester*, the Countess of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herbert* Daughter to *Henry Earl of Pembroke*;

The King sets forward into England.

To whom it belonged to bear the sword before the King at York.

At Godmanchester the King is presented with 70 Teem of Horse and why.

Divers Noblemen of Scotland made of his Privy Council.

What number of Knights the King made.

With what great Lords the King came attended out of Scotland.

Sir Richard Preston Earl of Kildare unfortunately drowned. What Lords and Ladies were sent to attend the Queen at her coming.



broke; the Lord Scroops Lady, the Lady Rich, wife to the Lord Rich, and the Lady Walsingham, one of the late Queens Bed-chamber: But although these only were appointed to go, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themselves to attend her Majesty; as, the Countess of Bedford, the Lady Hastings, the Lady Cecil, the Lady Hatton, the Lady Harrington, and divers other: and with this Princely attendance, the Queen with two of her Children, namely Prince Henry of the age of nine years, and the Lady Elizabeth, on the eleventh of June came to York: where resting themselves some few dayes, on the seven and twentieth of June they came to Easton in Northamptonshire, a house of Sir George Fermors, where the King met them at dinner: and afterward they rode together to a house of Sir John Fortescue, and so to London. The Kings younger son, Charles Duke of Albany came not at this time, as being not three years old, and therefore not thought able to endure such a journey; but the year following falling sick of a Feaver, Doctor Atkins one of the Kings Physicians was sent to conduct him, who in six weeks cured him of his feavour; and the first week of October brought him life to Windsor, where the King then lay; for which service he was so well rewarded, that together with the gains of his usual practice, he grew to a greater wealth than was usual for Physicians.

Lords made by the King.

King James had distributed the meaner Order of Knighthood, very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his distributions to a higher degree, and thereupon the twentieth of May, he made Sir Robert Cecil Baron of Esmond; Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Penbunth; Sir William Knowles Baron of Greys, and Sir Edward Wootton Baron of Morley; and not long after he made the Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton; and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst, he made Earl of Dorset.

Ambassadors from all Princes of Christendom come to congratulate the Kings happy coming to the Crown.

The King had by this time found the love and affection of his own people; but the affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspense; when now to take away that doubt, came first in the beginning of June, an Ambassador from the Palgrave of Rhine; presently after another from the States of Holland and Zeland; another from the Archduke of Austria; another from the King of Spain; from the Seignior of Venice another; another from the Duke of Florence; and lastly, on the eighth of June Monsieur de Rosny from the King of France: all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of England; for entertainment of which Ambassadors, and all other that should come after, the King had erected an Officer by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him two hundred pounds a year Fee; and the first that had the place was Sir Lewis Lewkenor: a Gentleman, who besides other good parts, was very skilful in the neighbouring languages.

The Office of Master of the Ceremonies erected.

Fourteen Serjeants of Law made.

Upon the seventeenth of May this year, were made fourteen Serjeants at Law: whereof eleven had received Writs the last year of Queen Elizabeth: namely, Tho. Coventry, Robert Haughton, Lawrence Tanfield, John Crook, Thomas Foster, Edward Philips, Thomas Harris, James Altham, Henry Hubbard, Augustine Nicholls, and Robert Parker; to whom the King added three new; John Sherley, George Saygge, and Richard

Hutton, who all kept their Feast together in the middle Temple-Hall.

One would think that at this time all Offences against Queen Elizabeth had been forgotten; but King James more tender of wrongs done to her than to himself, would not suffer Valentine Thomas so to escape; who after he had lyen many years prisoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of June arraigned at the Kings Bench Bar; and for conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Council, was on the seventh of June after six a clock at night, drawn to St. Thomas Watrings, and there hanged and quartered.

Valentine Thomas for offences against Queen Elizabeth is hanged and quartered.

About this time the Honourable Charles Lord Montjoy returned out of Ireland; bringing along with him Hugh O'Neal, Earl of Tir-Oen; at whose coming to the King, the Lord Montjoy was sworn of the King Privy Council; and the Earl of Tir-Oen, who had been the cause of so much English blood shed, was yet pardoned, and proclamation made, that by all men he should be used with respect and honour.

The Lord Montjoy brings Tir-Oen into England, who is fully pardoned.

All this while the King had moved within his own Sphear, and had done nothing out of the Realm; his first Impoyment abroad was now in June, to his brother the King of Denmark, to whom he sent in Ambassage the Earl of Rutland upon two occasions: the one to be Godfather to his Son, who was named Christianus, the other to present him with the Order of the Garter; upon the like Impoyment, soon after, he sent the Lord Spencer to Frederick Duke of Wirtemberg; which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and after honourable entertainment returned home.

The Earl of Rutland sent with the Garter to the King of Denmark. The Lord Spencer to the Duke of Wirtemberg.

It was now a time that every man might sit under his Vine, and enjoy the happiness of a peaceable Government; when suddenly like a storm in a fair Summers day, brake forth a Treason of a strange Composition: for where in all Treasons commonly they are all of some one Faction, in this there were people of all sorts, Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen; that one would think it should be a well managed Treason, and yet was the shallowest that ever was set on foot; so shallow that it could scarce be observed, either what the Authors of it ailed, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King James at his first coming to the Crown, shewed to the Earl of Southampton, was like to breed no good blood to those that were his opposites; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlarge the Earl of Southampton, and appointed him to meet him upon the way: so when he heard of an intention that the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh had to meet him, he sent them word they should spare their labour. But whether it were so or no, it seems they found some cause of discontentment, and discontentment will never want Complices; and by this means was the composition of this Treason made up, and thereupon were apprehended Henry Lord Cobham, and George Brook his brother, Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffith Markham, and Sir Edward Parham Knights, Bartholomew Brookesby, and Anthony Copley Gentlemen, William Watson and William Clerk Priests: But though they were apprehended in July, yet they came not to their arraignment till

A Treason of a strange composition.



The Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, others arraigned at Winchester; and why.

November following; for by reason of the sickness, which was then hot in London, the Term was put off till *Craftino Martini*, and, then to be kept at *Winchester* in *Hampshire*, only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards and Liveries, and the Duchy of *Lancaster* were kept in the Kings Manor at *Richmond* in the County of *Surrey*; and so in the fourth of November following, all the foresaid Delinquents were removed from the Tower of London and other Prisons, by strong Guards to *Winchester*, and there Arraigned; Whose Indictment was for Conspiring

1. To kill the King.
2. To raise Rebellion.
3. To alter Religion.
4. To subvert the State.
5. To procure Invasion by Strangers.

Concerning the first Point, it was proved, that the Lord Grey intended to obtain the levying of 2000 men, for defence of the Low-Countries, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Points, It was proved, That the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, met at St. Martins in the Fields, and there consulted about raising Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and to set up the Lady *Arbella*. And particularly for the Point of subverting the State; it was proved, That *Watson* was designed to be Lord Chancellor, *George Brook* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Griffith Markham* Secretary, and the Lord Grey to be Master of the Horse, and Earl Marshal of England. And for effecting of these Treasons, it was proved, That *Watson* the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last point, It was proved, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for six hundred thousand Crowns, and the Lord Cobham to go to the Archduke and to the King of Spain, to perswade them to assist the Lady *Arbella*. These things being proved against them; on the days in which they were severally Indicted, the most which was replied in mitigation of their fault, was first by *Watson*, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crowned; and then by the Lord Grey, that it was but a verbal matter, and never took effect, and therefore could be no Treason: but these assertions being both refuted, they were all (except Sir *Edward Parham*, who only was acquitted) on their several days of Indictment, found guilty of Treason, and had Judgement accordingly. The Priests *Watson* and *Clerk* were executed at *Winchester*, the nine and twentieth of November: *George Brook* was beheaded the fifth of December; but then the hand of Justice stayed, and this was the course which the King held in shewing mercy. After the death of the three before named, he signed three other Warrants for the execution of the late Lord Cobham, the Lord Grey, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, on a certain day then following; but before that day, he privately framed another Warrant written with his own hand to the Sheriff, (who was then Sir *Benjamin Tichburn*) by which he countermanded the former Warrants; and that there might be no notice taken of it, he sent it by Mr. *John Gybbe*, a Scotch-man, and one

And all condemned but Sir Edward Parham. Watson and Clerk executed.

George Brook beheaded. The rest spared, and the course the King held in it.

utterly unknown of all the Company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect, till after their several confessions, and at the very point of their Execution; which was accordingly performed. At which time it was a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents falling upon their knees, lamented their misdoings, and most of all how they extolled the Kings unspeakable mercy. But though thus pardoned, yet were they carried back to the Tower, where the Lord Grey not long after died, and in him was extinct that Barony, which had formerly brought forth many valorous and worthy men. Sir *Griffith Markham* after some time was set at liberty, and passed beyond Sea, where he lived long after in mean account. The Lord Cobham likewise was afterward discharged of Imprisonment, but deprived of his Estate, lived many years in great penury; and in him ended that noble Family, which had flourished in great honour many Ages. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was kept in the Tower, where to his great honour he spent his time in writing, and had been a happy man if he had never been released. But such is our state, that no mans fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad, until it be discovered by the Event.

The Lord Grey dies in the Tower, in which that barony was extinct.

The Lord Cobham discharged of Imprisonment, but lived in great penury, and in him that Barony also was extinct. Sir Walter Raleigh kept in the Tower: where, and how he spent his time.

But in this mean time many things had passed; for his Majesty having deferred the Feast of St. George until his being at some of his own Houses, held now the said Feast at *Windfor*, the second of July, where the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*; and at the same time were elected the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*: though their investing have been spoken of before.

The Prince and others made Knights of the Garter.

And now was preparation made for the Kings Coronation, and for a preparative unto it, he first restored the Earl of *Southampton*, and then raised in honour these following: Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellor, he made Baron of *Elsmere*; Sir *William Russel*, Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Grey*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington*, Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers*, Baron of *Dantsey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerard Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After this he conferred inferior Orders; and made Knights, all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other: and lastly, made Knights of the Bath three-score and two, most of them Noblemens sons, and the rest Gentlemen of special worth. These things done on the five and twentieth of July, being St. James day, the King and Queen were together Crowned, and anointed at *Westminster*, by the hands of *John Whitgift*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in presence of the Nobility and others, namely, Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Major of London, in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and 12 Principal Citizens admitted to attend on them: all other Citizens stayed from passing thither either by water or land by reason of the sickness; and the first of August following all suiters were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court till the Winter following.

Divers Lords made.

The King and Queen are crowned together.



The fifth of August kept holy-day, for the Kings deliverance from the Gowries.

At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had ; which though it were had in *Scotland*, yet he would have notice of it taken in *England*, which was his deliverance from the conspiracy of the *Gowries* on the fifth day of *August* three years before; and thereupon *Friday* being the fifth of *August* was by commandment appointed to be holy day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonfires at night; which was then and after, during his life solemnly observed.

All Letters of Mart called in. A Treaty of Peace with Spain, and who were Commissioners.

King *James* had in him as it were two persons; one as he was the King of *Scotland*; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of *Spain*; another as he was King of *England*, and in this he had some difference with *Spain*, but he, as *Rex pacificus* took the best from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch; and thereupon when at his coming into *England*, he found Letters of Mart granted against the *Spaniards*, he first caused them all to be called in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfect reconciliation: In which Treaty handled at *London*, the 18th of *August*, 1604, the Commissioners for the King of *England* where *Tho. Earl of Dorset*, *Charles Earl of Nottingham*, *Charles Earl of Devonshire*, *Henry Earl of Northampton*, and *Robert Viscount Cranburn*: For the King of *Spain*, *John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile*, *John de Tassis* Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius* Professor of the Law in the Colledge of *Millain*: For the Archdukes, *Charles Count of Aremberg*, *John Richardot* President of the Privy Council, and *Lodowick Werreiken* principal Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and continued in many Articles; the Summer following, the King of *Spain* sent *Don John de Velasco* Constable of *Castile* and Duke of *Fryas*, also *Pedrac de la Syerra*, his great Chamberlain accompanied with divers Marquesses, Earls and Barons, who coming into *England*, were by the Earl of *Devonshire* on the nineteenth of *August* brought to the Court, where the King in his Chapel in the presence of the Commissioners and other *English* Lords, (the Duke of *Fryas* holding the Kings hands between his) took his Oath upon the holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon: and in *March* following, being now the third year of King *James*, *Charles Earl of Nottingham*, Lord high Admiral of *England* was sent into *Spain* to take in like manner the King of *Spains* Oath: who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen and others, to the number of six hundred and fifty, the fifteenth of *April* arrived at *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted to *Valledolid*, three hundred miles off, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, entertained in all places as he passed, at the King of *Spains* charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladness, that it plainly shewed the *Spaniards* were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Ambassador being come to the Court, he caused *Thomas Knoll* Esquire, to deliver the Presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six goodly Horses, with saddles and saddle-clothes very richly imbroidered, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen: two Cross-bows with sheafs of Arrows: four fowling Pieces inlaid with plates of Gold: and a

The Kings Presents to the King and Queen of Spain.

Charles Earl of Nottingham Lord Admiral is sent into Spain to take the Kings Oath, and his entertainment.

A Peace concluded, and the solemn manner of confirming it.

couple of *Lyme-hounds* of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kind manner accepted; and then on the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Ambassador being set for, the King came forth into a large room: where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix, the Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, at the reading whereof the Lord Ambassador held the Kings hands between his; and the King kneeling down, laid his hands upon the Book, and after his Oath subscribed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilest the E. of *Nottingham* was thus employed in *Spain*, the right honourable *Edward Earl of Hertford*, was likewise sent Ambassador to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Archdukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at *Bruxels* the first of *May* with great state and solemnity: After which as the Earl bestowed on the Archdukes servants, to the full sum of 3 thousand pounds; So the Archduke at his departure, bestowed upon the Earl, a Jewel worth nine hundred pounds, and a suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his charges all the time of his stay at *Bruxels*. And now was King *James* truly *Rex pacificus*, in peace and amity with all Princes of Christendom, which few of his Ancestors ever were.

A little before this, in the Month of *August*, in the year 1604, the strong Town of *Ostend* in *Flanders*, after above three years siege, and the slaughter of above a hundred and twenty thousand men of both sides, and in defence whereof, Sir *Francis Vere* General, and his brother Sir *Horatio Vere* had shewed great Valour, was by the Marquess *Spinola* taken; for which service, the King of *Spain* made him Duke of *Santa Severina*, and the Lord General of all the Forces in the *Low-Countries*.

It was now the third year of King *James* his Reign, when he kept Saint *Georges* Feast at *Greenwich*, and there made two new Knights of the Garter; namely, the High and Mighty Prince Duke *Ulrick*, heir of *Norway*, and brother to our gracious Queen *Anne*: and the right Noble Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*. And upon the Saturday following in the Hall at *Greenwich*, being richly hanged with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viscount and four Barons: namely, Sir *Robert Cecil* Viscount *Cranburn*, he created Earl of *Salisbury*: *Tho. Cecil* Lord *Burleigh* his eldest brother, he created Earl of *Exeter*, and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, he created Earl of *Montgomery*, then *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, he created Viscount *Liste*: Sir *John Stanhope*, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord *Stanhope* of *Harington*: Sir *George Carew* Vicechamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*: Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Devonshire*, he made Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*: and Mr. *William Cavendish*, he made Lord *Cavendish* of *Hardwick*.

About this time a strange fancy possessed the brains of a professed Physitian, one *Richard Haddock* of new Colledge in *Oxford*, who pretended to preach at night in his sleep, in such sort, that though he were called aloud or stirred and pull'd by the hands or feet, yet would make no shew of either hearing or feeling. And this he did often, in the presence of many honourable persons, that came

Ostend taken by Marquess Spinola.

An. Reg. 3. 1605.

Earls and Barons created.

Richard Haddock pretending to preach in his sleep.



came to hear him, so as within a short time, his fame was spread through the land, by the name of the sleeping Preacher. At length, the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his Majesty sat up the most part of a night to attend the event: when at last *Haidock* making a shew to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his Division; applying it to his purpose, for in his Preaching his use was to inveigh against the Pope, against the Cross in Baptism, and against the last Canons of the Church of *England*, and having ended his Sermon, seemed to continue sleeping. His Majesty having well observed the manner of his carriage; after a few days called the said *Haidock* before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable sagacity in discovering of Fictions) made him confess, that all he did was but imposture: and thereupon to fall upon his knees, and ask forgiveness: which the King granted, upon condition, that in all places he should openly acknowledge his offence; because many were brought into belief, that his nightly preaching was either by inspiration, or by vision.

Discovered by the King.

The King tries the nature of the Lyon, with a Cock and a Lamb.

We may not here think it unworthy the relating, seeing King *James* thought it not unworthy the seeing, thereby to observe the nature of the *Lyon*, and make a solemn matter of it; for on *Monday* the third of *June* (taking with him the Duke of *Lenox*, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the Lyons Tower, and caused two Lyons, a male and female, to be put forth, and then a live-Cock to be cast before them; which they (as being their natural enemy) presently killed and sucked his blood. Then a live-Lamb to be put down to them, which the generous Lyons (as having respect to its Innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was so bold as to go close unto them. Then the King caused those Lyons to be taken away, and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Mastiffs to be put in to him, who presently flew upon the Lyon, and turned him upon his back; and though the Lyon were superiour to them in strength, yet it seems they were his matches in courage, and so much superior as they were the first assailants, with whom otherwise, perhaps the Lyon would not have offered to meddle.

Charles the Kings younger Son is created Duke of York, and the solemn manner of it.

On *Friday* the fourth of *January* in the Kings second year, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, the Kings second Son, being then but four years old, was created Duke of *York*; which because it was done with extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it here related. First were appointed Knights of the *Bath*, the Duke of *Albany* himself, then the Lord *Willowby*, the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, *Will. Cecil* Son and Heir to the Viscount *Cranburn*, *Allen Percy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Somerset* second Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, *Francis Mannors* Brother to the Earl of *Rutland*; *Thomas Howard* second Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and *John Harington* Son and Heir to the Lord *Harington*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* were Esquires to the Duke of *Albany*: all the Knights took their lodging that night in the first Gate-house going to *Kings-street*; where they supped, and had Bathes provided for them. The next morning being *Saturday*, they went out into the Park in their Hermits

weeds, the Minstrels playing, and the Heralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chapel, where every Knight with his Esquires went to the Altar, and there offered, (the Dean of the Chapel, in a rich Cope, holding the *Basson*.) After this they went up into their lodgings; and there new attired themselves in Robes of *Crimson Taffaty*, with Hats and white Feathers; and so went back to the great Chamber: where; by the King, they were girded with the Sword, and had gilt Spurs put upon them. This done; they were solemnly served at Dinner, and after went again to the Chapel, and there offered their Swords. The next day being *Sunday*, and *Twelfth* day, in Robes of purple *Satin*, with Doctors hoods on their shoulders, and Hats with white feathers, they issued out of the *Revcestry* with the Duke of *Albany* (being then to be made Duke of *York*) into the Hall, where the King sat under the Cloth of Estate, and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the *Bathe* followed, and then the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain came alone, then followed *Henry Howard* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Charles Blunt* Earl of *Devonshire*, carrying the Robes of Estate for the Duke of *York*; after whom *Wriothsley* Earl of *Southampton* carried the Coroner, *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* the Golden Rod, the Earl of *Worcester* the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of *Nottingham* bore the Duke of *Albany* in his Arms, supported by the Earls of *Dorset* and *Northumberland*; who all coming in this order before the King, the Duke of *Albany* was after the Patent read, created Duke of *York*, with the Robes and Coroner put upon him; and the Golden Rod delivered into his hand: all which performed they went to Dinner, and the Solemnity ended.

About this time, on the fifteenth of *June*, *Thomas Douglas* a Scotch-man, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent thither but three days before from the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. His offence was, that he had counterfeited the Kings Privy-Seal to divers Princes of *Germany*; One to the Arch-Bishop of *Cullen*, another to the Archbishop of *Trier*, another to the Duke of *Cleve*, another to the Archbishop of *Moguntia*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; whereof being examined and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into *Smithfield*, and there hanged and quartered.

Thomas Douglas a Scotch-man hanged in Smithfield, and why.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at *Westminster*, on the nineteenth of *March* following, when four days before the day of sitting, the King, the Queen and Prince rode solemnly in great state through the City of *London*, where in divers places were erected Pageants, Presents given, Orations made, and all demonstrations of love and observance; and then the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the House, wherein he signified the cause of his calling it; but in the time when it should have proceeded, there was suddenly discovered a Plot of Treason (so damnable and foul that posterity will hardly think it true, when they shall hear of it,) the Plot was to blow up with Gunpowder both Houses of Parliament at a time, when the King, Prince and all the Nobility should be sitting in the Upper-House, and all the Knights and Burgeses in the lower.

The Gunpowder Treason.



By whom  
first plot d.  
  
And with  
what Alli-  
stants.  
  
By what  
means first  
discovered.

The principal contriver of this Plot was Robert Catesbie, a Gentleman of great account in Northamptonshire, descended from that Catesbie who had been special Counsellour of King Richard the third, to whose family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a disastrous period. This Catesbie not able to perform the work himself alone, draws in many to assist him, as namely, Thomas Piercy, Thomas Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, John Wright, Francis Tresham, Guido Fawkes, and at last Sir Everard Digby, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret; For effecting of this Plot, they hired a house close adjoyning to the Upper-House of Parliament, where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About Candlemasse they had wrought the Wall half through: when suddenly they heard a noise in the next Room, which made them fear they had been discovered: but sending Guy Fawkes (who went now under the name of John Johnson, as Master Piercies man) to see what the matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coals had been laid, and were now a felling, and the Room offered to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room therefore as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament-House, Master Piercy presently went and hired, laying into it twenty Barrels of Powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for being discovered. Thus the first part of the Plot was put in good readines. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of York and the Lady Elizabeth should still be safe, and so they should be no nearer their end than now they were. This work therefore for surprizing the Duke of York, Piercy undertook, and for surprizing the Lady Elizabeth, they agreed upon a march of hunting near to Dunchurch, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire, where she then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be sure to have all things done as they would themselves. Thus far their bloody Plot went fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloody; but now a tendernefs of heart took some of them, lest their Friends should perish together with the rest, and this tendernefs overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter, a Letter was framed, and sent to the Lord Monteagle, Son and Heir to the Lord Morley, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which he received from an unknown man in the street; The Letter was this: *My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: And think not slightly of this Advertisement: for though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.*

My Lord having read this Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at White-Hall, (the King being then a hunting at Royston) and delivered it to the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State, and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlain with it, and then the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Worcester and Northampton, who as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it: the Earl of Salisbury telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a fool, or mad man, because of those words, (*for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter*); for if the danger were so soon past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with Powder; and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament House, and all other Rooms and Lodgings near adjoyning: which search was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Monteagle, who entering the Cellar under the Upper House, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. Piercie's own provision: but then it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr. Piercie, who used to make but little stay in Town, and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrels of Powder; and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other Instruments fit for their purpose; and then spying the said Fawkes to stand suspiciously, they apprehended him, and found in his pocket a piece of Touch-wood, a Tinder-box to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr. Piercie had bought the day before, to try the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the train of Powder. The Plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the confederates met at Dunchurch, as they had agreed; where they divulged many detestable untruths against the King and State: signifying withal, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick cause; hoping thereby to have many to joyn with them in their Rebellion: but this availed them nothing: for first Sir Richard Verney high Sheriff of Warwickshire chased them from thence; and Sir Richard Welch Sheriff of Worcestershire, knowing them to be entred into Mr. Littletons house at Walbach, beset them round, where Catesbie and Piercie issuing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the Wrights, John and Christopher, were likewise slain outright; Thomas Winter was taken alive: all which time, Francis Tresham remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression: but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confessed all, and within a few dayes after died of the Strangury. On the seven and twentieth of January following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for tryal of the rest of the Confederates: namely, Thomas Winter, Guido Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, Robert Winter, late of Hoodington in Warwickshire, Esquire, John Graunt late of Northbrook, in the County of Warwick, Esquire, Ambrose Rookwood, late of Staningfield, in

Fawkes first  
apprehendedCatesbie and  
Piercie slain.The rest of  
the Confede-  
rates arraign-  
ed, condemn-  
ed and execu-  
ted.



in Suffolk, Esquire, Sir Everard Digby, late of Gotthurst in Buckinghamshire, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgement to dye, and on the Thursday following Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Graunt and Bates, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered at the West end of Pauls Church in London, and the Friday the other four: namely, Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawks were executed in the Parliament-yard at Westminster. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as Sir Everard Digby, and indeed worthily; for he was a goodly personage, and of excellent parts, and had it seems been cunningly drawn in, and bound to secrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any such Treason. The seventh of November the Earl of Northumberland, upon suspicion of being acquainted with the plot, was first commanded to his House, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great Plot discovered, and the Plotters punished; to the great rejoycing of all people: insomuch, that even the King of Spain's and Archdukes Embassadors made Bonfires, and threw money among the people in token of joy.

The Earl of Northumberland committed to the Tower; and why.

A Present from the King of Spain to King James.

Another from the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England.

The Lord Montague's reward for being a means of discovering the Treason.

The fifth of November kept holy in thankfulness for this deliverance.

A rumour spread, that that the King was slain at Oaking, but false; and the joy upon the hearing the truth.

And at this time, on the fourth of January, the Spanish Embassador delivered a Present to the King from the King his Master: namely, six Jennets of Andalusia, with Saddles very richly imbroydered, and Saddle-cloths of cloth of Tissue: One of which Jennets was Snow white, and had a mane which reached to the ground. But this was a Present sent before any knowledge had of the Powder-Treason: but as soon as this was known, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England, of purpose to congratulate the Kings happy deliverance from the intended Powder-Treason; and the Present was brought by Don John de Mendosa, which was a Robe of Murrie Sattin, imbroydered all over with Amber leather; and upon the leather, in every seam and skirt twice imbroydered about with Gold; the forepart whereof was set with eight and forty tags three inches long of beaten Gold, hollow within, and filled with Amber-griese, also two large Chains of Amber-griese; Two Carkanets of Amber-griese, a Velvet Cap with gold Buttons, curiously enameled, and a Girdle suitable to the Buttons; all which were presented together in a large Vessel of Gold, in form of a Bason; so as it seems there was none rejoyced more for the overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick cause, than the Catholick King himself. And now King James, not to be unmindful to the Lord Montague, for being the means of discovering this Treason, he gave unto him in Fee Farm of Crown-land 2000 l. to him and his Heirs, and 500 l. a year besides during his life: and not to be unthankful to God for the deliverance, he caused the fifth of November, being the day of the discovery, to be kept holy, with Prayer and Thanksgiving to God, which was then solemnly performed, and hath been since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

But in the midst of this great joy, there was suddenly spread a rumour of great sorrow; for on Saturday the two and twentieth of March, news was brought to the Court for certain, that the King was slain at Oaking, twenty miles from London, stabbed with an invenomed knife, whereupon

the Court gates were presently shut, and double guard set in all places about London, and all mens minds were infinitely distracted; but within two hours all these clouds were clean dispersed, and the Sun began to shine out again; and it was certainly known, that the King was safe, and in perfect health: for which a Proclamation was presently sent forth to signifie it to the people; and that afternoon the King came himself to Whitehall, where thousands of people ravished with joy, came flocking to see him; and so general was the rejoycing, that the Spanish Embassador gave Sir Lewis Lewknor, Master of the Ceremonies, a Chain of Gold of good value, for bringing him the news: Though afterward it was thought by some, that this rumour was but politickly devised to make the Parliament and people more tender of the Kings safety, and by making them more sensible what a treasure they had of his life, to make them more willing to part with their treasure for his living, as indeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subsidies than are usual.

The eight and twentieth of March following, Henry Garnet Provincial of the English Jesuites, was arraigned in Guild-hall, for concealing the foresaid treason, where he had Judgement to be hang'd, drawn and quartered, and accordingly on the third of May, was drawn from the Tower to the West end of Pauls Church, and there executed. At his death, he confessed his fault, asked forgiveness, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any treason against the King or State, as a course which God would never prosper.

Henry Garnet a Jesuite executed; and why.

On Tuesday the twentieth of May, were enstalled at Windsor Knights of the Garter, Rob Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and Thomas Howard Viscount Byndon; both of them honourably attended, but the Earl of Salisbury beyond ordinary proportion.

There was yet a Bag end of the late Powder-Treason behind to be examined: whereupon two Barons of the Realm; namely, Henry L. Mordant, and Edward Lord Sturton, were brought from the Tower to the Star-chamber: and there, not charged indeed with any point of the treason, but only reflectingly, because they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to the summons; for which neglect only, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King; the Lord Mordant ten thousand Marks, and the Lord Sturton six thousand, and to be prisoners during the Kings pleasure. But on the 27 of June, Henry Earl of Northumberland was likewise brought from the Tower to the Star-chamber, and more directly charged with circumstances concerning the Treason, specially in regard of Thomas Piercy, whom he had admitted to be one of the Kings Gentlemen Pensioners, without ministring unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recusant; for which, and some misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept prisoner during the Kings pleasure, as indeed he continued many years, and at last released, was yet confined.

Henry Lord Mordant, and Edw. Lord Sturton fined; and why.

Henry Earl of Northumberland fined; and why.

It was now the fourth year of King James his Reign, and was a time of Princely vilitation; for this Summer, the 17 of July, Christianus King of Denmark, Brother to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight ships came into the River of

1606.  
Christianus K. of Denmark the Queens Brother comes into England, and of his entertainment.



Thames, and anchored before *Graves-end* to whom the next day, King James with Prince Henry, and divers of the Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to *London*, where he stayed till the 12 of *August* following: in which time, he was entertained with all the Magnificence that could be devised; the King and he riding in great state through the City; where Pageants in many places were erected; and after he had been shewed the chief places about *London*, as namely, the *Old Change*, the *Tower*, the *Monuments* at *Westminster*, and had gone up to the top of *Pauls*, had been feasted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury* four dayes together at *Theobalds*; had seen *Tilting*, *Fencing*, *Wrestling*, and many other pastimes; on the twelfth of *August*, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince, with many other great Lords, he departed to his ships, and in eight days arrived at home: A happy thing when Princes can converse together like private persons, and are not kept asunder with jealousies of State.

Francis Prince of Vandemont comes into England, with what he at train, and of his entertainment.

After the King of *Denmark*'s departure, on the 23 of *September* arrived at *London* Francis Prince of *Vandemont*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorraine*, accompanied with seven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of quality, and sixscore common persons; who all the five and twentieth of *September* went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where fourteen dayes together they were feasted and royally entertained, and then returned.

An Insurrection in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire about inlosures, by Captain Pouch, and how suppressed.

But these Festivals were followed with a little disturbance; for in *May*, the year after, great Assemblies were gathered together in *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire* and *Leicestershire*, throwing down Inclosures at first, without any particular head: but at last rose up a base Fellow, called *John Reynolds*, whom they named Captain *Pouch*, because he had a great leather Pouch hanging by his side, who affirmed to the Company, that in that Pouch he had sufficient to defend them against all comers: but when he was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch searched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green Cheese. Proclamation was made, commanding them to surcease their disorder: But this prevailed nothing, till the King sent *Henry Earl of Huntington*, *Thomas Earl of Exeter*, *Edward Lord Zouch*, and *Sir Edward Cook* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, to suppress them by force of Arms, and to punish the Levellers according to the nature of their offences; some by death, as for Treason; some by Fines; as for Routs; but Captain *Pouch* was made exemplar.

The King is made free of the Cloth-workers.

On *Friday* the twelfth of *June*, his Majesty attended with divers Lords, dined with the Lord Mayor *Sir John Wals*, who after dinner presented him with a purse full of Gold, and humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be pleased to be free of his Company the *Cloth-workers*: To which the King graciously condescended; and thereupon called to *Sir William Stone* Master of the Company, and said, *Stone* give me thy hand; and now I am a *Cloth-worker*. And in token of my special favour to this Fraternity, I do here give to this Company a brace of Bucks yearly for ever, against the time of the Election of the Master and Wardens: at which time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the *Cloth-workers*.

On *Thursday* the 16 of *July*, the King and Prince with many Lords dined at Merchant-Taylors Hall, where the Master and Wardens of that Society presented the King with a purse of Gold, giving him humble thanks for gracing their Fraternity with his Royal Presence; and therewithal shewed him a Roll, wherein were registred the names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Duchesses, one Archbishop, one and thirty Earls, threescore and six Barons, seven Abbots, seven Priors, with a great number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which his Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, that he himself was already Free of another Company: but the Prince his Son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his head: whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, that not only himself would be free of the Merchant-Taylors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like, all which was performed with great solemnity.

The Prince is made free of the Merchant-Taylors, and a list of great Personages that had been of that Company.

The fourth of *July* this year, *Sir Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament by the name of Baron of *Estrick*, the next day *Sir Julius Caesar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sworn a Privy Counsellor; and the sixteenth of *November* following, *Sir Jervis Clifton* Kt. was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the name and title of Baron of *Layton Brameswold*, whose only Daughter and Heir, was soon after, married to *Eysme Steward*, Baron of *Aubigny* in *France*, sole Brother of the Duke of *Lenox*; whom he afterward succeeded in that Dignity.

*Sir Thomas Knevet* and *Jervis Clifton* made Barons by calling them to the Parliament.

About this time, *Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen*, most ungrateful and utterly forgetful of the Kings great clemency to him, together with *Terconell*, *Hugh Baron of Dungannon*, and divers other Irish Lords fled into the parts beyond Sea, with purpose to sollicite foreign Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope, which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

The Earl of Tir-Oen flies beyond Sea, to sollicite Princes against the King.

On the eleventh of *April* this year, *George Jervis* a Seminary Priest, and the three and twentieth of *June* following, *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuite, were both executed at *Tyburn*; *Tho. Garnet* having the favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refused.

*George Jervis* a Seminary Priest, and *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuite executed; and why.

The 19 of *April* at *Whitehall*, died *Thomas Earl of Dorset* Lord Treasurer, (whose death because he died suddenly as he sate at the Council Table) was by some untowardly interpreted; but being dead, and his head opened, there were found in it certain little bags of water, which whether by the straining of his study the night before, in which he sate up till eleven a clock, or otherwise by their own maturity, suddenly breaking and falling upon his brain, caused his sudden death. So certain it is, that death comes not alwayes by determinate steps, but sometimes per saltum, and we all carry about us the causes of sudden death, though unsensible of them till we be unsensible. This Lord was of excellent parts, and in his place exceeding industrious, and I have heard many Checker-men say, there never was a better Treasurer, both for the Kings profit, and the good of the Subject.

The Earl of Dorset Lord Treasurer of England dies suddenly.

The



The twentieth of May at Windsor, were made two Knights of the Garter; George Earl of Dunbar, and Philip Earl of Montgomery; but the Earl of Dunbar, within a year or two after left both his honour and his life; but not his life without honour, having been a faithful Servant, and a wise Counsellor to the King, and was honourably interred in the Church at Westminster.

Divers English Pirates turn Turks.

About this time were many famous English Pirates that stuck not for to turn Turks, and lived in great state at Tunis, of whom the chief were Ward, Bishop, Sir Francis Verney and Glanville, whom after many depredations and outrageous acts at Sea, partly the King of Spain suppressed, and partly the King of England, and nineteen of their associates being taken, were hanged at Wapping.

The New Exchange in the Strand builded.

Also at this time, in the Strand on the North side of Durham-house, where stood an old long stable: Robert Earl of Salisbury now Lord Treasurer of England, caused to be erected a stately building; which upon Tuesday the tenth of April, in the year 1609, was begun to be richly furnished with Wares; and the next day after, the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to see it: and then the King gave it the name of Britains Bourse.

Fishing upon the English Coast forbidden to strangers.

On the eighth of May this year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all forain Nations, that after August they should not fish upon any of the Coasts of England, Scotland, or Ireland, nor the Isles adjacent, without the special licence from the Commissioners in that behalf ordained.

Allum first made in England, and by whom.

At this time the making of Allum, which heretofore with great charges had been fetched from forain parts, was by divers that laboured in it; and now lastly by Sir John Bourchier brought to perfection in England, and thereupon the King prohibited upon pain of confiscation, any Allum to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole traffique thereof to himself.

The King hath aid of his Subjects for making Prince Henry Knight.

And now the King according to an ancient custom, had aid of his Subjects through England, for making his eldest Son Prince Henry Knight, which yet was levied with great moderation, and the Prince to shew himself worthy of it, performed his first Feats of Arms at Barriers, with wonderful skill and courage: being not yet full sixteen years of age.

1610. An. Reg. 8.

The Prince is created Prince of Wales, and the solemn manner of his creating.

It was now the eighth year of King James his Reign, being the year 1610, when Prince Henry being come to the age of seventeen years, it was thought fit he should be initiated into Royalty: and thereupon the thirtieth of May this year, he was created Prince of Wales in most solemn manner: which was thus, Garter King at Arms, bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of Suffolk the Robes of Purple-Velvet, the Earl of Huntington the Train, the Earl of Cumberland the Sword, the Earl of Rutland the Ring, the Earl of Darby the Rod, the Earl of Shrewsbury the Cap and Coronet, the Earls of Nottingham and Northampton supported the Prince, being in his Surcoat only and bare-headed: and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the Bath, five and twenty in number, all great men, and great mens sons, the Earl of Salisbury principal Secretary, read the Letters Patents; the Prince kneeling all the while before the King: and at the words accustomed, the King put on him

the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and the Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then kissed him on the cheek, and so the solemnity ended.

After this, it was thought fit, he should keep his Court by himself: and thereupon Sir Thomas Chaloner, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governour, was now made his Lord Chamberlain, Sir Edward Philips his Chancellor, and all other Officers assigned him, belonging to a Princes Court: wherein he shewed himself so early ripe for Majesty, that he seemed to be a King, while he was yet but Prince: and all mens eyes began to fix upon him.

He keeps Court by himself, and who were his great Officers.

King James had long since shut up the Gates of Janus, and was in peace with all Princes abroad; his only care now was to keep peace at home; and to this end, the three first dayes of June, in his own Person he heard the differences between the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Judges argued, touching the Protections out of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas; to this end, the eighth, ninth, and tenth of June, he heard the manifold complaints of the abuses of the Victuallers, and other Officers of his Navy Royal; to this end, the fourth of June, 1610, he once again by Proclamation, commanded all Roman Priests, Seminaries and Jesuites, as being the chief Incendiaries of troubles, to depart this Kingdom by the fifth of July next, and not to return upon pain of severity of the Law: as also all Recusants, to return home to their dwellings, and not to remain in London, nor to come within ten miles of the Court, without special Licence.

Seminaries and Jesuites commanded to avoid the Realm; and w<sup>h</sup>o

After which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegiance was presently ministered to all sorts of people, and their names certified to the Lords of the Council, that refused to take it; and this he the rather did out of consideration of the bloody fact, committed lately by one Ravillack, upon the person of the renowned K. of France, Henry the fourth: and whereas Queen Elizabeth in her 43 year, had granted her Letters Patents to continue for 15 years to the East-India Merchants; now upon their humble Petition, the King was pleased to enlarge their Patents, giving them a Charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a body Corporate and Politick, which so encouraged the Merchants, that they built a Ship of twelve hundred tun, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honoured with going to Deptford to see it, and then named it, The Trades increase: and at this time gave to Sir Thomas Smith (Governor of that Company) a fair chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his Picture. But this great Ship having been in the Red Sea, and returning to Bantham, was there lost, and most of her men cast away. But then the King himself builded the goodliest Ship of War that was ever built in England, being of the burthen of 1400 Tun, and carrying threescore and four pieces of great Ordnance, which he gave to his Son Prince Henry, who named it after his own dignity, The Prince.

The East-India Company made a Corporation with large Priviledges. They build a ship of twelve hundred Tun, called The Trades increase, which was cast away in the Red-Sea.

Thereupon the King builds a ship of 1400 tun, called The Prince, and gives it to the Prince.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this year, and was prorogued to a certain day; the King perhaps not finding it to comply with his designs, or for some other cause known to himself, on the last day of December, under the great Seal of England dissolved it.

The King dissolves a Parliament under the Great Seal of England.

Before



Sir Robert  
Carre comes  
into the  
Kings fa-  
vour, and of  
the many ho-  
nours heaped  
suddenly up-  
on him.

Before this time one Sir Robert Carre, a Gentleman of Scotland, or of the Borders, at a time of Tilting before the King, chanced with a fall off his Horse to break his Leg; upon which mischance, he was forced for some dayes to keep his bed, in which time the King was some time pleased to come and visit him: and then it was first perceived, that the King had begun to cast an eye of favour upon him: and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman, and very wise) many great favours were heaped upon him: So as on Easter Munday, in the year 1611, he was created Viscount Rochester. On the two and twentieth of April, 1612. was sworn a Privy-Counsellor. On the fourth of November, 1613. was created Earl of Somerset, and the tenth of July following made Lord Chamberlain.

But this Sun-shine of Fortune lasted not long; yet not by any inconstancy in the King, but by the Earls own undeserving, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable Robert Earl of Essex had before this time married the beautiful Lady Frances Howard, Daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, who upon causes judicially heard, were afterward Divorced, and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great Favourite (the Earl of Somerset) takes her for wife; the King gracing their Marriage with all demonstrations of Love and Favour; and the Lords gracing it with a stately Masque that night; and a few dayes after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, were Feasted at Merchant-Taylors Hall by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. But see how soon this fair weather was overcast: For it happened, that one Sir Thomas Overbury, a very ingenuous Gentleman, and the Earls special Friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a Wife: and it seems not thinking the Lady in all points answerable to his description, had been an earnest dissuader of the Match, and to strengthen his dissuasion, laid perhaps some unjust imputation upon the Ladies Fame, which so incensed them both against him, that a less revenge could not give them satisfaction, than to take away his life: So true is that saying,

*Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?*

Sir Thomas  
Overbury  
Poisoned.

Sir Jervis  
Trelvis Lieu-  
tenant of the  
Tower exe-  
cuted.  
The Earl of  
Somerset and  
his Lady  
condemned,  
but their  
lives spared.

Upon this, they find Pretences to have the said Sir Thomas committed to the Tower, and there by their Instruments effect their Revenge: some say by a poisoned Tansey sent him to eat, some by a poisoned Glyster ministred unto him, but howsoever effected it was; for which fact Sir Jervis Trelvis then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or four other of inferior condition were put to death, the Lady and Earl themselves were arraigned and condemned: but through the Kings great clemency had their lives spared, but in such sort, as was to them no less grievous than death it self, being never after suffered to see the Kings face, nor to come near his Court.

This Favourite being thus out of Favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King James was of so sociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an *Alter idem*; a bosome Friend with whom to communicate his *Internos sensus*, and upon whose

shoulders he might sometimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to bear himself; and this new Friend was Mr. George Villiers, a Gentleman of a good House, but a younger Brother, but of so delicate a composition of body, and withal of so excellent parts of mind, as if nature had framed him on purpose to be a Kings Favourite. And indeed never any man was partaker of the Royal influence like to him, made first a Knight and Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, soon after made a Viscount and Master of the Horse; a while after created Earl of Buckingham, then Marquess of Buckingham, and made Lord Admiral: Lastly, made Duke of Buckingham, the greatest Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of, and yet this Title not greater than his Power: for all matters of Grace passed from the King by him, and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Fathers death, had married a younger Son of the Lord Comptons) was created Countess of Buckingham, his Sister who had married a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her Husband made Earl of Denbigh, his two brothers were made, one of them Viscount Purbeck, the other Earl of Anglesey; besides many other of his Friends and Kindred highly advanced; For this Lord affected not an advancement that should be only personal, but rather be in common to all his Family; and was not of the disposition of some, who like to great Oaks, love to keep all that are near them underwood; though it be in truth both against Nature and Policy to stand alone, when they would be less subject to the violence of Winds, if more stood together. And though never any man had juster cause to be envied than he, yet never any man was less envied; because though his Honours made him great, yet they made him not swell, but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his advancement, as he had done before.

But before all these Favours were heaped upon him, many other great passages had intervened; for first, after the death of Thomas Earl of Dorset, Robert Earl of Salisbury had been Lord Treasurer, and after him Thomas Earl of Suffolk. But this Lord, though of a most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up another way, seemed less ready in discharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Ladies taking too much upon her by his indulgence; the Staff was soon after taken from him; after whom there came in such a sequence of Treasurers as no Age before had ever seen; all wise and able men indeed; but yet in whom the Office seemed an employment, rather to ennoble the Officer than to enrich the King. For first Sir Henry Mountague was taken from the Kings Bench: and on the fourth of December, 1620. made Lord Treasurer, and presently upon it Earl of Manchester, and before the year went about put off. After whom Sir Lyonel Cranfield, from Master of the Wards was made Lord Treasurer, and shortly after Earl of Middlesex: and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King fifty thousand pounds: After him, Sir James Lee from chief Justice of the Kings Bench was made Lord Treasurer, and soon after Earl of Marleborough; and then having made a good return of his Place put it off himself. After him Sir Richard Weston, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treasurer, and soon

Mr. George  
Villiers  
comes into  
the Kings fa-  
vour, and of  
the many ho-  
nours heaped  
suddenly  
upon him.

Thomas Earl  
of Suffolk  
Lord Treas-  
urer hath  
the Staff ta-  
ken from  
him.

Four Lord  
Treasurers  
made in four  
years.



soon after Earl of *Portland*: so as within the compass of little more than four years, four Treasurers in a row were made four Earls; enough to make a prescription for all Treasurers hereafter, to claim a right of being made Earls, which yet I speak not as derogating from those worthy men, whose memories I reverence, but as observing, *Fataque fortunasque Virum*; so rare as that there was never any Precedent of the like.

1612.  
The Lord  
Sanquer of  
Scotland  
hanged; and  
way.

Also the five and twentieth of *June*, 1612. the Lord *Sanquer*, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, having in a private revenge suborned *Robert Carlile* to murder *John Turner* a Master of Fence, thought by his greatness to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for villainy, but according to the Law, on the nine and twentieth of *June*, the said Lord *Sanquer* having been arraigned and condemned by the name of *Robert Creighton*, Esquire, was before *Westminster-Hall* Gate executed, where he dyed very penitent.

A Lottery  
granted for  
the Plantation  
of *Virginia*.

About this time, the King in special favour for the present Plantation of *English Colonies* in *Virginia* granted a Lottery to be held at the West end of *Pauls*; whereof one *Thomas Sharplys* a Taylor of *London* had the chief Prize, which was four thousand Crowns in fair Plate.

At this time also the Corps of *Mary*, late Queen of *Scotland*, the Kings Mother, was translated from *Peterborough*, to *St. Peters Church* in *Westminster*, and from thence was carried to the Chappel-Royal there; where it was interred in a Royal Tomb, which the King had erected for her.

Sir Robert  
Sherley comes  
into England  
Embassador  
from the  
King of  
*Persia*.

About this time also Sir *Robert Sherley*, third Son of Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Suffex* Knight, who sixteen years past had betaken himself to travel, and had served divers Christian Princes for the space of five years; but chiefly *Rodolbus* the Roman Emperour; who for his Service, made him an Earl of the Empire: he afterward went into *Persia*, and served the *Persian* ten years, who made him General of the Artillery; and held him in so great account, that he gave him the Lady *Teresa* in Marriage, whose Sister was one of the Queens of *Persia*, after which the *Persian* employed him to sundry Princes of *Europe*; and sent him in special Embassage into *England* to King *James*, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission; all which signified the *Persians* great love and affection to his Majesty: with frank offer of free Commerce to all his Highness Subjects through all the *Persians* Dominions: After a years stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a Son, to whom the Queen was God-mother, and Prince *Henry* God-father; he left the child here in *England*, and then with his Lady departed into *Persia*.

Ar. Reg. to  
Frederick  
Prince Palatine  
of the  
*Rhine* comes  
into England

It was now the year 1612, and the tenth of King *James* his Reign, when the Illustrious Prince *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, with whom a Treaty of marriage had been before with the Lady *Elizabeth*, on the sixteenth of *October* arrived at *Gravesend*; to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to *White-hall*, and from thence into the great Banqueting-house, where the King, the Queen, Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* entertained him in all kind manner,

and after by Barge conducted him to *Essex House*, appointed for his lodging. It was many years since any Kings Daughter had been married in *England*; which now happening; and to so Illustrious a Prince, was just cause of Triumph and rejoicing; but see the misery of Humane Affairs; joy can no sooner be setting forth, but sorrow will be sure to follow her at the heels, as now indeed it happened: for on the nine and twentieth of *October*, the Prince *Palatine*, with all the great Lords of the Kingdom, in most jovial manner dining at *Guild-hall*; Prince *Henry* who was also invited and expected, could not come being newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular malignant fever, which reign'd that year in most parts of this Land: whereof on the sixth of *November*, between seven and eight a Clock at night, at his Court of *St. James's* he died: But he being infinitely beloved of the people; and one that had given great hope of proving an Heroick Prince, it caused suspicion in many mens heads; that death was not without violence offered to Nature; some said, by bunches of Grapes given him to eat: some by Gloves of a poysoned perfume, given him for a Present: but these were but idle rumours and conceits: It seems the Divine Providence had ordained it should be said of him; *Hunc tantum terris ostendent Fata, nec ultra esse sinent*: whose death would have given a great blow to the happiness of this Kingdom, if there had not been another Prince left, of a milder Spirit perhaps, but so accomplished with all excellent endowments, that there could be no great want of Prince *Henry*, as long as there was left Prince *Charles*. The Corps of Prince *Henry*, who dyed at the age of eighteen years; eight months, and seventeen days, was drawn in a Chariot to the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Chapel-Royal, on the seventh of *December* following.

Prince Henry  
falls sick, and  
dies.

This Accident something appalled the general joy, but yet Triumphs went on. Upon Saint *Thomas* day, the *Palsgrave* and *Grave Maurice* were elected Knights of the Garter; and the seven and twentieth of *December*, the *Palsgrave* was betrothed to the Lady *Elizabeth*. On Sunday the seventh of *February*, the *Palsgrave* in person was enstalled Knight of the Garter at *Windfor*, and at the same time was *Grave Maurice* enstalled by his Deputy, Count *Lodowick* of *Nassaw*. On the fourteenth of *February*, being *Shrove-Sunday*, and Saint *Valentines* day, this happy marriage of the *Palsgrave* with the Lady *Elizabeth* was solemnized in the Chappel at *White-hall*: The Bride was led to Church by two Batchelors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton* Lord Privy Seal: she was attired all in white, having a rich Crown of Gold upon her head, her hair hanging down at length, curiously beset with Pearls and precious Stones, her Train supported by twelve young Ladies in white Garments: The King gave her in marriage, the Archbishop of *Caterbury* married them, the Bishop of *Bathe* and *Wells* preached the Bridal Sermon: which ended, the Bride was led home by two married men, the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral. This marriage was solemnized the first night with a stately Masque of Lords and Ladies: the second night with a magnificent Masque of the Gentlemen

The Count  
*Palatin* is  
betrothed to  
the Lady  
*Elizabeth*.  
Is married to  
her: and the  
solemnity of  
the marriage



Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple*, and *Lincolns-Inne*: The third night with a sumptuous Masque of the Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple*, and *Graves-Inn*, provided indeed then, but was not performed till *Saturday* night following, by reason the concourse of people was so great, it would have hindred the Show. After this, the Lord Major and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valued at two thousand pounds: now when all things had been done for honouring their Marriage, which either love and observance could devise, or art and magnificence could perform, on the tenth of *April* the Bridegroom with his Bride took leave of the King and the Queen at *Rochester*, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking Ship on the nine and twentieth of *April* they arrived at *Flushing*; from whence the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harington* waited upon them to their chief City of *Heydelburg*, in all places as they passed being received with all state and magnificence: but then on the fourteenth of *June*, the *English* Lords returning home, the Lord *Harington* died by the way at *Wormes*, whose Corps was brought over, and buried in *England*. And here it will not be amiss, to shew of what extent and largeness the *Palsgrave's* Country is, because of the iniquity of some that seek to disgrace it. It is in length about two hundred *English* miles, taking the lower and upper Country. In the lower he hath six and twenty walled Towns, besides an infinite number of fair Villages, and two and twenty Houses of residence. In the upper, not so many walled Towns, and Houses, but those that are, generally fairer than in the lower, especially *Amberg* and *New-market*.

But it is now time to look home; in the year 1609, the King having care for the quietness of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* the present possession and Plantation in the Province of *Ulster*: whereupon, afterward in the year 1612, they sent thither about three hundred persons, of all sorts of handy-crafts men, chiefly to inhabit the two Cities of *London-Derry* and *Colerain*: where they ordained Alderman *Cockain* for the first Governour. And for their advancing of this, or the like Plantation in *Ireland*, King *James* about this time began a new Order of Knights, which are called *Baronets*, because they take place next to *Barons* younger Sons; and he appointed certain Laws, to make them capable that should be admitted. First, that they should maintain the number of thirty foot Souldiers in *Ireland* for three years, after the rate of eight pence a day, and to pay the wages of one whole year, upon the passing of their Patent: Then that they should be Gentlemen of Blood of three Descents; and lastly, should have land of Inheritance, in possession or immediate Reversion, to the value of a thousand pounds *per annum*: And to keep the Order from swarming, he stinted it within the number of only 200, and as the issue should fail the Order to cease. But he that will look how well the end of the Institution, and the Laws of it have been observed, shall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the order of *St. Michael* in *France*, into which at first there were none admitted, but Princes and eminent Persons: but afterwards, all sorts of men, without any diffe-

rence, were admitted, that it came almost to be doubted, whether the dignity of the Order did more grace the persons, or the meanness of the persons disgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a kind of nullity in the collation.

About this time, on Sunday the 24th of *October*, an exemplar penance was imposed upon Sir *Pecksall Brockas* Knight, which was to stand at *Pauls* Crosse in a white sheet, holding a stick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commissioners, for many notorious Adulteries with divers Women.

This year 1614, in the month of *July*, *Christianus* King of *Denmark*, (out of his love to his Sister and King *James*) came the second time into *England*; but as being now secure of himself, privately, and with a small company, so as he came to the Queen at *Somerset* House unexpected, and before any knowledge was had of his coming; but King *James* being then in Progress in *Bedfordshire*, and hearing of it, came presently back; and after he had entertained him here with Hunting, Hawking, running at Ring, Bear-baiting, Plays, Fire-works, and Fencing, on the first of *August* Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, who then took his leave, and returned home.

In *October*, this year, was a call of Serjeants at Law, being 11 in number, namely, *George Wilde*, *William Towes*, *Richard Bawtry*, *Henry Finch*, *Thomas Chamberlain*, *Francis Moore*, *Thomas Atton*, *John Moore*, *Francis Harvey*, *Charles Chiburn*, and *Thomas Richardson*; and in *Trinity* Term before there had been two other called, namely, Sir *Randall Crew* of *Lincolns-Inn*, and Sir *Robert Hitchin* of *Graves-Inn*, Knights.

About this time an Ambassador came from the young Emperor of *Russia* to King *James*, desiring his continual love and amity, and to be a means of making atonement between him and the King of *Swedeland*, and withall presented him with a rich Present of Furs: which was no small honour to the King of great Britain to have so great a Potentate as the Emperour of *Russia* solicit him to be his mediator.

Though King *James* out of a natural goodness was addicted to peace, yet out of providence he neglected not to be prepared for War, and thereupon in the year 1610, had granted privileges to a Society called of the *Military Garden*; and this year 1614, caused a Muster of Men to be presented before him; which was performed to his great liking, and to the great commendation of the City.

About this time a memorable Act was performed by Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, Citizen and Goldsmith of *London*, and born in *Denbighshire*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite cost and indefatigable labour, brought Water to the City of *London*, from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell* in *Hertfordshire*; having cut a Channel from thence to a place near *Islington*, whither he conveyed it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all places of the City; for as the Poet saith:

They take  
their leave  
and depart.

The extent  
and largeness  
of the *Palsgrave's*  
Country.

The order of  
*Baronets*  
erected: and  
why.

Sir *Pecksall Brockas* stands in a white sheet at *Pauls*; and why.

*Christianus* King of *Denmark* comes the second time into *England*; and how entertained.

A call of Serjeants at Law.

The *Military Garden* first erected.

Water brought to *London* from *Chadwell* in *Hertfordshire* by Sir *Hugh Middleton*.



Ἀείνον ὡς ὕδωρ.

Nothing is so commodious for the life of man,  
as water.

Moorfields  
made into  
Walks.

Another memorable act was about this time, done on the North side of London, called *Moorfields*, which being before environed with deep stinking Ditches and noysome common Shoars, was now, not only made fair and sweet, but so levelled into Walks and set with Trees, that it is the pleasantest place in all the City.

1615.

Smithfield  
first paved  
all over.

The next year being 1615, another memorable act for the benefit and beauty of the City of London, was performed; for *Smithfield* which was before a rude dirty place, was now paved all over, and strong rails sequestering the middle part of it, were set up to make it a fair walking place, and fit for Market or any other use.

The Lady  
Arbella  
secretly mar-  
ries Mr. Wil-  
liam Sey-  
mour.

The Lady *Arbella* a near Kinswoman of the Kings, had sometimes before, without the Kings privy, secretly married Master *William Seymour*, younger Son of the Earl of *Hertford*, now Earl of *Hertford* himself; for which they were both committed to the Tower: and now this year on the seven and twentieth day of September she endeth her life there, and was buried in the Chapel Royal at *Westminster*.

She dies in  
the Tower.

This year also in July were enstalled Knights of the Garter, *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, *Sir George Villers* Master of the Horse, and *Sir Robert Sidney* Viscount *Lisle*; and in another kind of Honour the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Carews* and Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, were sworn Privy Counsellours.

Prince  
Charles  
is created  
Prince of  
Wales.

*Wales* by the death of Prince *Henry*, had been a good while without a Prince, and now to supply that place Prince *Charles* is created Prince of *Wales*; In joy whereof, the Town of *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, and City of *London*, performed great Triumphs: and the more to honour his Creation, there were made five and twenty Knights of the Bath; all of them Lords or Barons sons: and yet more to honour it, there were forty selected Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court*, that performed solemn Justs at *Barriers*, with great magnificence.

Sir Edward  
Coke, the  
Lord Egerton,  
and Sir  
Henry Yelver-  
ton, put from  
their places.

This year was a Censure of divers great Delinquents; for first *Sir Edward Coke* was upon displeasure discharged from being Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; and two days after his discharge, *Sir Henry Montague* the Kings Serjeant at Law, was placed in his room: Next to him the Lord *Egerton*, whether disabled by sickness or age, to exercise the place, or upon displeasure also, had the Seal taken from him, which was delivered to *Sir Francis Bacon* the Kings Attorney; he made first Lord Keeper; and the Lord *Egerton*, dying soon after, Lord Chancellor: Not long after him *Sir Henry Yelverton* the Kings Attorney, for adding new Priviledges to the *Londoners* Charter, without the Kings privy, was in displeasure put from his place; and in his room was placed *Sir Thomas Coventry*, the Solicitor. But a while after, *Sir Henry Yelverton*, was made a puisny Judge of the Common-Pleas; having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

And yet this work of Censuring stayed not here; for much about this time *Thomas* Earl of

*Suffolk* Lord Treasurer of *England*, had the staff of his Office taken from him; which was soon after delivered to *Sir Henry Montague*, Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. If *Sir John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, had made a little more haste, he might have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came short three or four years; and then being charged by his own servant with bribery, he was put from his place, and censured in the Star-Chamber to pay twenty thousand pounds: and in his room was placed *William Byrde* a man of more integrity.

Sir John  
Bennet, Judg  
of the Pre-  
rogative  
Court put  
from his  
place; and  
why.

Though King *James* upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, came to reside in *England*, yet he forgot not that *Scotland* was his native Country; and therefore after he had spent some years in *England*, to acquaint himself with the State of the Kingdom, in *March* this year one thousand six hundred and sixteenth, he made a Journey into *Scotland*: for though he had left very able men to sit at the Helm there in his absence, yet he knew that it is the Masters Eye that makes the Horse fat: so it is the Princes presence sometimes that keeps out many distempers in a State, that would otherwise creep in; and now, when in his staying six Months there, he had seen all things well seled both in the Ecclesiastical State, and in the Temporal, and made it appear that he resided not in *England* out of any neglect of *Scotland*; but to the end he might be in the place of most conveniency to both Kingdoms: on the fifteenth of September he returned to *London*, not more to the grief of the Scots to leave him, than to the joy of the English to receive him; so much was King *James* as a just and wise Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

The King  
makes a  
Journey into  
*Scotland*,  
where he  
stays six  
months.

The 15th of February 1617, in the Fifteenth year of this King, *Francis Ashley* of the Middle Temple *London* Esquire, where he had been Reader the year before, was by a Writ called to be Serjeant at Law, *eo tempore solus Serviens ad legem electus*, and the fifth of July following was Knighted, and about that time was Steward of the Marthalsey of the Kings house, and by King *Charles*, the fifth of May, in the first year of his Reign, was by Letters Patents made one of the Kings Serjeants at Law, and so continued unto his death, which happened by the will of God the 28th of November, 1635, at Serjeants-Inne in *Fleetstreet*, and was Recorder of *Dorchester* in *Dorsetshire*, where together with his Lady in the great Church he lies Involted: leaving *Dorothy* his only Daughter and Heir (by the Lady *Anne* his wife, the eldest Daughter and Coheir of *Bar-nard Samways* of *Wynterborne St. Martyn* in the County of *Dorset* Esquire) married unto the Honourable *Denzell Holles* Esquire, whose only issue is *Francis Holles* of *Wynterborn St. Martyn* aforesaid Esquire.

1617.

Afterwards  
Baron Holles  
of *Ipsfield*.  
Afterwards  
Sir Francis  
Holles Bar-  
onet.

Now comes to be related a matter of special observation; *Sir Walter Raleigh* had lived a condemned man many years in the Tower, and now his Destiny brought him to his end by liberty, which it could not do by imprisonment; for out of a longing for liberty, he propounded a project to the King, upon which (as he was a well spoken man, and of a great capacity) he set such colours of probability; especially gilding it over with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in *Guyana*; and that without any wrong at all to the King of

Sir Walter  
Raleigh is set  
at liberty to  
fetch Gold  
from *Guyana*.

M m m

Spain



He sacks and pillageth the Town of St. Thome.

This fact Gundamore aggravateth against him.

For which he is beheaded.

The King makes a Progress to Cambridge; where he stays three days.

1619.  
An. Reg.  
17 Queen  
Anne dies.

Spain (if he might be allowed to go the Journey) that the King, if he gave not credit that he could perform it, at least gave way that he should undertake it: and thereupon with divers Ships, accompanied with many Knights and Gentlemen of Quality, he set forward on the Voyage; but when after long search or shew of search, no such place of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be found, whether it were, that he thought it a shame to return home with doing nothing: or that his *malus Genius* thrust him upon the Design, he fell upon Saint Thome, a Town belonging to the King of Spain; sacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it: and here was the first part of his Tragical Voyage acted, in the death of his eldest Son: the last part was acted in his own death at his return: For Gundamore the Spanish Lier, did so aggravate this fact of his to the King, against him, that it seemed nothing would give satisfaction but Raleigh's head, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. Raleigh excused it, by saying that he was urged to it by the Spaniards first assaulting of him; and besides, that he could not come at the Myne, without winning this Town: but Gundamore was too strong an Adversary for him; and the King preferring the publique Peace, before the life of one man, already condemned, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon, brought to the Kings-Bench Bar, he was not newly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already *Mortuus in Lege*, but only hath the former sentence averred against him, and so carried to the Gatehouse, and from thence the next morning to the Parliament Yard: a Scaffold was there erected, upon which after fourteen years reprimand, his head was cut off: at which time, such abundance of blood issued from his veins, that shewed he had stock of Nature enough left to have continued him many years in life, though now above threescore years old, if it had not been taken away by the hands of Violence.

And this was the end of the great Sir Walter Raleigh: great sometimes in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, and next to Drake the great scourge and hate of the Spaniard, who had many things to be commended in his life; but none more, than his constancy in his death, which he took with so undaunted a resolution, that one might perceive he had a certain expectation of a better life after it: so far he was from holding those Atheistical opinions; an aspersion whereof some traducing persons had cast upon him.

About this time King James made a progress to the University of Cambridge, where delighted with the Disputations and other Scholastical exercises, he stayed three whole days, and could have been content to have stayed as many years: for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholar.

In the year 1619, being the seventeenth year of King James his reign, that knot of love which above twenty years had been tyed, between him and his Queen, was by death dissolved; for on Tuesday this year the second of March, Queen Anne died at Hampton Court, whose Corps was brought to Denmark house, and from thence conveyed to Westminster: where in the Royal Cha-

pel with great solemnity it was interred: a Princess very memorable for her virtue, and not a little for her Fortune, who besides being a Queen, was so happy as to be Mother of such admired Children, as she brought into the World. But the dissolving of this knot cast the King into an extream sickness; and after some recovery, into a Relapse: from which notwithstanding, it pleased God to deliver him, as having yet some great work to do.

This year on Munday the third of May, one Mr. Williams a Barrester of the Middle Temple, was arraigned at the Kings Bench, for libelling, and for writing Books against the King: and upon Wednesday following was hanged and quartered at Charing-Cross.

But an action of another nature was performed this year, the seventeenth of July, not unworthy the relating, which was this: that one Bernard Calvert of Andover, rode from St. Georges Church in Southwark to Dover, from thence passed by Barge to Calice in France, and from thence returned back to Saint Georges Church the same day, setting out about three a clock in the morning, and returned about eight a clock in the Evening, fresh and lusty.

In the year 1621, a Parliament was holden at Westminster; wherein two great examples of Justice were shewed; which for future terror are not unfit to be here related: One upon Sir Gyles Montpeyson, a Gentleman otherwise of good parts; but for practising sundry abuses in erecting and setting up new Inns and Alehouses, and exacting great sums of money of people, by pretence of Letters Patents granted to him for that purpose, was sentenced to be degraded, and disabled to bear any office in the Common-wealth, though he avoided the execution by flying the land; but upon Sir Francis Michell, a Justice of Peace of Middlesex, and one of the chief Agents, the sentence of Degradation was executed, and he made to ride with his face to the Horse rail through the City of London. The other example was of Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, who for bribery was put from his place, and committed to the Tower: but after some few days enlarged, in whose place, Doctor Williams Dean of Westminster was made Lord Keeper.

The Count Palatine being now strengthened with the alliance of the King of Great Britain, was thought a fit man to be King of Bohemia, and accordingly was elected by the States of that Kingdom; but he was no sooner invested in the Crown, but the Emperor with great Forces assaulted him in Prague, and not only drove him with his wife and children from thence; but took from him also his own Patrimony the Palatinate, so as though now a King, he was fain to fly to the States of the Low-Countries for a place of residence. King James though he had never given his consent to the Palsgraves taking upon him that Kingdom, as fore-seeing in his great judgment what the event would be; yet in this distress he could not forbear to take care of his Daughter; and thereupon sent Sir Richard Weston, the same that was after Lord Treasurer, in Embassy to the Emperor, to sollicite the restoring of the Palatinate to the Palsgrave; but he returning without success, the K. had then conference with Count Gundamore

Bernard Calvert, his speedy Journey from Southwark to Calice, and back again in one day.

1621.  
Sir Gyles Montpeyson is sentenced to be degraded; and why.

Sir Francis Michell is degraded, and in what manner.

Sir Francis Bacon Lord Chancellor put from his Place for Bribery.

The Palsgrave is chosen King of Bohemia, but is soon driven out, and his Palatinate seized on.



The King hath Conference with Gundomar how the Palatinate might be restored. Gundomar advise by making a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain.

Gundomar the King of Spain's Leiger in England, what course might be taken to procure the restoring it: who made him answer, There could be no better course than to make a marriage between his son the Prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain, which he said would easily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into Spain. King James though he considered the inveterate grudges between Spain and England, and how dangerous it might be to put the Heir of the Kingdom into the Spaniards hands, yet grounding himself upon a saying, *Fidelem si pu:averis, facies*: and drawn on by the insinuating speeches of Count Gundomar, not perhaps without some inclination in the Marquess of Buckingham, was contented at last the Prince should go. And so Prince Charles sending his Ships about, and taking along with him only the Marquess of Buckingham (who in the time of his being in Spain was created Duke of Buckingham) Endymion Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottington; (two that were well acquainted with the language and affairs of Spain) he took his journey by the way of France, went to Paris, and secretly in disguise to the Court there, where he had the sight of that Lady, that might well have stayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

Hereupon the Prince is sent into Spain, and how accompanied.

Gundomar gets much money of Ladies, by persuading them of the certainty of the Match.

The Prince entertained in Spain.

What hindered the proceeding of the Match.

In the mean time Gundomar a cunning man, and one that besides his Master's had ends of his own, and could play his game no less for his own profit than his Master's Honour, as he had perswaded the King of the facility of the Match with Spain, so he perswaded a certainty of it, especially among Catholick Ladies, by which means he brought no small store of Grist to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred pounds to be made Groom of the Stool, when the Spanish Princess should come; of another a good round sum to be Mother of the Maids, and of divers other the like for other places.

But the Prince being arrived in Spain, was received indeed with all the demonstrations of love and kindness that could be devised, so as the charge of his entertainment was said to stand the King of Spain in nine and forty thousand Duckets: but yet his acquaintance with the Lady was much restrained; for in all the time of his staying in Spain, (which was no less than eight Months, being from February to October) he saw her but very seldom, and that at good distances, never spake with her but twice, and that before company, besides that his speeches were limited, how much and what he should say, far from any means of tying the Knot between them which was pretended. What the cause should be was much in obscurity; some thought that a difference between the Duke of Buckingham, and the Count Olivares, the King of Spain's great Favorite, was a great hinderance of the proceeding: but others, and more likely, that the Spaniard indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into Spain for other ends: but what those ends were, was no less uncertain; one thought it was done to hold the Prince in a Treaty of marriage with a Daughter of Spain, till the Daughter of France should be bestowed, thereby to keep him from that Alliance: but others and more likely, that the King of Spain entertained this Treaty with the King of Great Britain, meaning to spin it out till he had com-

passed some designs in the Low-Countries, and the Palatinate, at least to make King James less vigilant for those parts.

But when much time had been spent in protracting, upon pretence of difficulties in obtaining the Popes dispensation, King James partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with delusion, sent to the Prince, with all speed to return into England, which the Prince presently signified to the King of Spain, and had his leave to depart; but upon promise to continue the Treaty of the marriage still. Though it was said, the Prince was gone but a few daies on his Journey, when a Post was sent to have stayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was so or no, it was God's Providence that he came safely to his Ships, and in them safely into England; arriving at Portsmouth where he was beheld of the people, with no less gladness, than the Sun after a long Eclipse: and now his safe returning did both justify King James his judgement in suffering him to go, and the King of Spain's justice, in suffering him to come back: and was cause, that the people began to have a better opinion of the Spanish faith, than they had before. But now it presently breaks out, that this Match with Spain could never take effect: for King James having received Declarations of the Articles touching the Marriage, found very many strict and large for exercise of the Catholick Religion: but none at all for restitution of the Palatinate; which made him so much discontented, that he presently brake off all Treaty of the marriage, and signified as much, not only to the King of Spain, but to divers other Princes of Christendom: Upon which breach two great Points were presently had in consultation: One for preparing Forces, for recovering the Palatinate by way of Arms, which could not be done by way of friendship: and for this purpose, a Council of War was called, and a proposition resolved on both of men and money, for undertaking the enterprise: as also a great contribution by way of benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this work, gave himself fifty pounds: as many other far greater summs, though the Collection went not through the whole Land; by reason there was hope given of a peaceable reconciliation: so as many that were not over-hasty in their payment escaped without contributing at all. The other point was for providing a fit Wife for the Prince, in some other place. It was said the States of Holland offered a very great portion in marriage to the Prince, if he would Match with some Lady of that Country, but Matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of France destined to his bed: and for this purpose, the Earl of Carlile, and the Earl of Holland were sent into France, to treat of a marriage with the younger Daughter of King Henry the fourth, King of France deceased, and Sister to the present King Lewis; which marriage afterward took effect, but was not accomplished in King James his daies, who died soon after the agreement.

The King sends for the Prince to return home.

The King breaks off all Treaty of the Match, and why.

A Consultation had to recover the Palatinate by Arms.

A Treaty of Marriage with a younger daughter of the King of France, which afterwards took effect.

It was now the year 1623. in which in Michaelmas Term, there was a Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast in the Middle Temple Hall.

1622.  
A Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law.



Two things in this Kings daies grew to lose their Lustre. One, the exercise of Tilting; which in Queen *Elizabeths* time, was so much used, that no year passed without a special solemnity in that kind. The other, the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard: which in her time consisted of the choicest persons both for stature and other good parts throughout the Realm; and was so great a grace to her Court, that no Prince of Christendom could shew the like: but King *James* was so intentive to Realities, that he little regarded Shews: and thereby both these in his time came utterly to be neglected: No solemnity of Arms but very rare, no regard had what persons were admitted into the other places.

We may here observe, how the Sirname of the Kings of *England*, hath at sundry times been changed. From *William* the Conquerour, to King *Henry* the second, what sirname they had or whether they had any or no, is most uncertain: but then King *Henry* the second brought in the *French* sirname of *Plantagenet*: which continued in all the succeeding Kings, till King *Henry* the seventh; and he brought in the *Welsh* sirname of *Teuther*, which continued the sirname of all the succeeding Princes, till King *James* the sixth of *Scotland*: and he brought in the *Scottish* sirname of *Steward*: in which it is likely to continue, (and God grant it may do so) to the worlds end.

*Some passages of small moment I confess are omitted by me in this Reign of King James, as whereof for want of knowing the particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation: which if some men would have done, the Truth of our Chronicles should not have been mingled with so many falsities.*

#### Of his Taxations.

The Customs of Merchandise raised.

In his second year, in the month of *September*, he sent Privy Seals to the wealthiest Citizens of *London*, for moneys to be borrowed of them: and in *October* following, the Customs of Merchandises, both outward and inward were raised, and then were letten out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the third year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subsidies, and six Fifteens by the Temporality, and by the Clergy four entire Subsidies. This year also *Henry Lord Mordane*, convicted in the Star-Chamber, for divers misprisions, was fined to pay ten thousand Marks, and *Edward Lord Sturton* for the like offence to pay thirty thousand pounds, and some years after *Sir John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative-Court was fined to pay twenty thousand pounds. In his fourth year he repayed threescore thousand pounds to the Citizens of *London*, which the *Londoners* lent to Queen *Elizabeth*, three years before her death; an act by which he got more love, than he payed money. In his seventh year, he had aid throughout *England*, for making his eldest Son Prince *Henry* Knight: which though they levied with great moderation, brought him in great summs of money. In his eighteenth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, the Temporality gave him two Subsidies, and the Clergy three: and in another

Parliament, in the year 1623. the Temporality gave him three Subsidies, and three Fifteens; the Clergy four Subsidies. Besides these Subsidies he sent abroad many Great Privy Seals, and had also a Benevolence throughout the Realm: not without some grudging, but without any just cause; for it should have been remembered, that he took it not of covetousness to gather wealth, but out of very necessity to supply wants: For by his imploying many Embassadors in Ordinary, many Extraordinary, by his necessary bounty to his followers, and by his charge of keeping several Courts; none of all which he could avoid: his Expences were far greater than any of his Predecessours had ever been.

Privy Seals sent out, and also a Benevolence.

The cause of the Kings great Expences.

#### Of his Laws and Ordinances.

THE day of his removing from the *Charter-House*, at his first coming into *England*, he caused Proclamation to be made, That all Monopolies and Protections should cease; as likewise all oppressions done by Salt-Peter-men, by Purveyors and Carters. On the 26th of *May* following he set forth a Proclamation, restraining all persons under great penalties from killing of Deer, or any kind of Fowl used for Hawking. The seventh of *May*, Proclamation was made against Robberies on the Borders: and on the nineteenth of *May*, another for uniting the people inhabiting about the Borders of *England* and *Scotland*, to live in love and quietness. In this first year, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That neither Arch-bishop, nor Bishop should Alienate, Grant, or Demise, or in any sort convey to the King, his Heirs or Successors, any of the Honours, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcel of the possession of his Arch-bishop- or Bishoprick: or if any were, it should be utterly void, and of no effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary. He then also caused himself by Proclamation to be entituled King of *Great Britain*, that the division of *England* and *Scotland* might be no more remembered. In his second year, by his Letters Patents he incorporated the Felt-makers of *London*, by the name of Masters, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Myserie of the Felt-makers, granting them divers Priviledges and Liberties, for the good Government of their Corporation. In *November*, of his second year, were proclaimed in *London* certain new pieces of Coyn, both of gold and silver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, *English* and *Scottish*. In a Parliament holden the third year of his Reign, the Oath of Allegiance was devised and ordained, and soon after ministred to all sorts of people.

Killing of Deer, or Fowl restrained.

No Bishop to alienate any Lands, not to the King himself.

He is entituled King of Great Britain.

The Felt-makers made a Corporation.

The Oath of Allegiance first devised and ordained.

Flags how to be born in Ships.

This year also he made Proclamation to redress the mis-employment of Lands, or Goods given to Charitable uses. Also this year, he set forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in Ships to be in this manner, that from thenceforth all the Subjects of *Great Britain* should bear in their main-top, the *Red Cross* commonly called *St. George's Cross*, and the *White Cross*, commonly called *St. Andrew's Cross*, joined together, and the Subjects of *South Britain* should carry in their Fore-top only the *Red Cross* as they were wont;



Inmates forbidden, and new Buildings restrained.

The Fore-fronts to be made of Bricks.

An Order for planting of Mulberry Trees for encrease of Silk-worms.

Coyns of Gold raised.

The Apothecaries made a Corporation.

Duels and single Combats restrained.

A Conference in matters of Religion is held before the King at Hampton-Court, and how the matter proceeded.

wont; and the Subjects of *North Britain* only the *White Cross*. In his fourth year on the tenth of *June* he set forth a Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Fryers to depart the Realm before the first of *August* following; and never to return upon pain of death, according to divers Statutes in that behalf provided. In his second year he had set forth a Proclamation against Inmates and increase of new buildings, which being little regarded, now in his fourth year he renewed the said Proclamation, adding withal, That the fore-fronts and Windows of all new buildings should be either of Brick or Stone; for disobeying whereof, many were called in the Star-Chamber, and there fined. In his fifth year, he gave order for planting of Mulberry Trees, and breeding of Silk-Worms, that *England* might be a Country as well of Silk as Cloth. In his eleventh year, he instituted the Order of the Barons, which hath much degenerated since his institution, and thereby having been devised for the benefit of *Ireland*, hath caused but little contentment unto *England*. This year also the King himself in Person came to the Star-Chamber, where he had appointed the Mint-men to meet, and there, for the better keeping of Coyns of Gold within the Realm, he raised the prices of them; ordaining the piece called the Unity, which went before but for twenty shillings, to be current now for two and twenty, the double Crown and all other pieces to increase in the like proportion. In his fifteenth year, he granted to the Apothecaries of *London* to be a Corporation for themselves, and their successors for ever; and by Letters Patents made them a Body Politick, and Corporate. In his time by his appointment a strict Decree passed in the Star-Chamber against Duels and single Combats, and a strict Law was made in Parliament against stabbing with a Dagger or Knife, making it to be wilful Murder.

*Affairs of the Church in his Time.*

THE King as a Religious Prince, desiring nothing so much as to settle Peace in the Church, and hearing of some dissension of his Divines in point of Religion, in the very first year of his Reign, appointed a Conference to be holden before himself at *Hampton-Court*, to which were called divers Bishops, Deans and Doctors of one side; and of the other, four eminent Divines; namely, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chadderton: who all meeting before the King the 14<sup>th</sup> day of *January*: The King first signified the cause of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to hear what they could object or say against the present Government of the Church: whereupon Dr. Reynolds being their Fore-man, reduced all matters disliked, or questioned, into these four Heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to Gods Word.
2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.
3. That the Church-Government might be sincerely administered, according to the Word of God.
5. That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more increase of Piety.

Out of these Heads, he drew and moved divers Points: One, that Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastor in his Parish might Confirm: But this was thought to trench too much upon the Jurisdictions of Bishops, and to be a step to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much disliked; and the Bishop of *Winchester* challenged Dr. Reynolds with all his Learning to shew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times, by any other than by Bishops. Another motion of Dr. Reynolds was, That there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because the present Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the Original; whereof he alledged divers Examples; particularly that in the 105 *Psal.* 28. v. where it is said, *They were not Obedient*, when in the Original it is, *They were not Disobedient*: To this it was agreed, That a new Translation should be made: and accordingly soon after was performed by the most Learned Divines of the Kingdom; and is that, which is now used. After many other Points moved by Dr. Reynolds, he came at last to subscription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good men refused for these reasons: First, because the Apocryphal Books are by the Common-Prayer-Book appointed to be read; albeit in some of them there are manifest errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this, the King himself answered, That as he would not wish all Canonical Books to be read in the Church, unless there were one to interpret; so he would wish no Apocryphal to be read, wherein was any error: but for the other which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read; seeing there was good use of them, to make up the story of the Persecution of the Jews; but withal he would have the people be taught, they were not to teach a man, either to sacrifice to the dead, or to kill himself. The next scruple against subscription was, That in the Common-Prayer-Book it is twice set down, *Jesus said to his Disciples*, when by the Original Text it is plain, *He spake to the Pharisees*. To which it is answered, That for any thing could be gathered by the place, he might speak as well to the one as to the other: But the King for more plainness sake, willed, That the word *Disciples*, should be omitted, and only the words, *Jesus said*, to be Printed in a different letter, that it might appear to be no part of the Text.

Another scuple was, concerning the Cross in Baptism, which Dr. Reynolds confessed to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entering into the Church, or at their Prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptism: to which the Bishop of *Winchester* answered, that in *Constantine's* time it was used in Baptism, and the Dean of *Westminster* shewed out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, and others, that in their time it was used in *Immortali lavacro*, which could be nothing but Baptism: and this the King judged to be antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Mr. Knewstubs moved how far an Ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without impeachment of their Christian liberty: At which the King seemed much mov'd, and told him,

Concerning the Cross in Baptism.



him he would not argue that point with him, but answer therein as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament *Le Roy's avisero*; and therefore I charge you (said he) never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey, when the Church hath once ordained it. Dr. Reynolds added; that the Crofs should be abandoned, because in the time of Popery it had been superstitiously abused. To which his Majesty answered, That his very reason was an inducement to have it retained still: For in as much as it was abused (so you say) to superstition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well used before Popery.

Concerning  
the Wearing  
of the Sur-  
plice.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplice: to which the King answered, That seeing it appeared out of Antiquity, that in the celebration of Divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Ministry, and principally of white Linnen; he saw no reason, but that in this Church as it had been for comeliness and order sake, it might be still continued.

Last of all, Mr. Chadderton, and Mr. Knewstabs requested, That in regard of some tender Consciences, the Surplice and Crofs in Baptism might not be urged: To which the King himself answered, If after the Gospels preaching five and forty years amongst you, there be any yet in these points unsatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of stubbornness of opinion, than out of tenderness of Conscience; and therefore let them conform themselves, or else they shall hear further of it.

Concerning  
the Ring in  
Marriage,  
and Bishops.

It was now observed, that in all their Objections, there was not a word spoken against Bishops, nor against the Ring in Marriage; for Dr. Reynolds himself confessed that the Ring was a very meer ceremony; and the King affirmed he should not think himself rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring: And as for Bishops, he declared himself to be verily perswaded, they were *Divine Ordinationis*, and most necessary to Monarchy; and would often say, *No Bishop, no King*. Many other points were handled, as about Predestination Absolution and Remission of sins, Baptizing by women, about the words in Marriage, *With my body I thee Worship*, the Oath *Ex officio*, the high Commission and some other: in all which the King gave so good satisfaction, that they all jointly promised to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his mind to have it so: and the King was so admired for his excellent Resolutions and Answers, that the Arch-bishop of Canterbury said, undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of Gods Spirit. After this Conference, the King in his second year set forth a Proclamation, to confirm the Ecclesiastical Government, and the Book of Common-Prayer, in the Form and estate as Queen Elizabeth left them.

The Book of  
Common-  
Prayer: con-  
firmed by the  
King.

After this he sent divers learned Divines into Scotland, to have a Conference with the Divines there; and if it might be, to reduce the two Kingdoms to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an union of Possession. And now entering into consideration of this Title, of being *Defender of the Faith*: he conceived it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in some sort to Neighbouring Countries: if not in Authority, at least in care: and hereupon hearing that the

States of the *Low-Countries* were determined to entertain one *Vorstius* to be publick Professor of Divinity in *Leyden*, and knowing him, though otherwise a learned man, yet tainted with many erroneous opinions, concerning the Essence and Substance of God, making him to be *Quale ex quantum*, changing Eternity into Eviternity: teaching Eternity to consist of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Purus actus*, but to have in some sort *aliquid Diversitatis, & Multiplicitatis in seipso; etiam Principium cujusdam mutabilitatis*: He earnestly solicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Leiger, Sir Ralph Winwood, by no means to admit the said *Vorstius* into that place; lest his doctrine having once infected their Country might soon after spread it self into his Dominions. Which request of his, after much soliciting, the States at length granted, and expelled *Vorstius* from amongst them.

The King so-  
licitates the  
States of the  
*Low-Coun-  
tries* not to  
admit *Vor-  
stius*; and  
why.

At this time a Synod was assembled at *Dort* in *Holland*, consisting of learned Divines, sent from the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, from *Hassia*, from *Switzerland*, from the Church of *Geneva*, from *Bern*, *Embsden*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friezeland*, and other Provinces; Some also sent from *England*, as namely, George Bishop of *Landaffe*, John Davenant Professor of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge*, Samuel Ward Master of *Sidney Colledge* in *Cambridge*, Thomas Good Doctor of Divinity, and Walter Belcanquell a *Scottish-man* Bachelor of Divinity: Which Synod was Assembled to examine and determine the Doctrine of *Arminius*; first concerning Gods Predestination, Election, and Reprobation; then concerning Christ's death and Man's redemption by it; then concerning mans corruption and conversion to God; then concerning the perseverance of the Saints. In all which points the doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as also of *Vorstius*, and the true Doctrine by a general consent, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States; which yet the Papists made so little reckoning of, that one of them in scorn, made Echo to censure it in this Distich:

A Synod held  
at *Dort* to  
examine the  
errors of *Ar-  
minius*, to  
which Synod  
many *En-  
glish* Divines  
went.

*Dodraci Synodus? Nodus, Chorus integer?*  
(ager;

*Conventus? Ventus, Sessio Stramen? Amen.*

But who knows not, that ill-will never speaks well, and that nothing is so obvious in the mouth of an adversary, as scandals and invectives.

In the year 1616. Mar. Antonius de Dominis, Arch-bishop of *Spalato*, in the Territory of *Venice*; came into *England*, leaving his Country (as he affirmed) for Religion; whereof he set forth in writing many Reasons, and being thereupon entertained by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, was afterward made Dean of *Windfor*, and Master of the *Savoy*; in which time he preached publicly divers times before divers Lords of the Council, Printed in *London* the first four of his Ten Books, Intituled, *Of the Common-wealth of the Church*: wherein with great earnestness he maintained the Doctrine and Discipline of the Protestants: But after all this, whether all he had done was but dissimbling from the beginning, or whether out of remorse of conscience he repented him of that he had done: after five years staying here, he retracted all he had said or written before: which so incensed King James, that he commanded him (within three daies at his peril) to depart the Realm;

Antonius de  
Dominis  
Arch-bishop  
of *Spalato*  
comes into  
*England*,  
and sets  
forth Books  
for the Pro-  
testant Re-  
ligion.

After five  
years stay  
here he re-  
tracted all,  
and went to  
*Rome*, but  
died therein  
Prison.



Realm; who thereupon went to *Rome*, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Protestants, as he had done in *England* against the Papists; hoping at least for Pardon, if not for Preferment: but notwithstanding his Recantation, according to the Law of the Inquisition (having once Revolted, though now Returned) he suffered the death of an Heretick, though not the shame; had the punishment of a Martyr, but not the honour; and was publicly burnt at *Rome*, yet not burnt alive, but dying in prison and then buried, it is said his body was afterwards taken up & burned.

In the Kings tenth year, two obstinate Arian Hereticks, *Bartholomew Legat*, and *Edw. Wightman*, were burnt for Heresie, Legat in *Smithfield*, and *Wightman* at *Lichfield*.

*John Trask* holding divers Judaical Opinions is censured, and after three years recants. In his sixteenth year, one *John Trask* a pretended Minister, was Censured in the *Star-chamber*, for depraving the Ecclesiastical Government, and for holding divers Judaical Opinions; as, that it was not lawful to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath; for which he was set on the Pillory at *Westminster*, and from thence whipt to the *Fleet*, and there to remain prisoner: but three years after he writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies and Schismatical Opinions.

*George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being a hunting in a Park, and shooting at a Deer; his Arrow by mischance glanced and kill'd a man: upon which fact it was much debated, whether, by it he were not become irregular, and ought to be deprived of his Archiepiscopal Function, as having his hands imbrued (though against his will) in blood: but *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester* standing much in his defence as likewise *Sir Henry Martin*, the Kings advocate, gave such reasons in mitigation of the Fact, that he was cleared from all imputation of crime; and thereupon adjudged Regular, and in state to continue his Archiepiscopal charge: yet himself (out of a religious tenderness of mind) kept the day of the year, in which the mischance happen'd, with a solemn Fast, all his life after.

*Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.*

Structure of Piety King *James* made none at all, nor many of magnificence, only the great Banqueting House at *White-Hall*, a wall of Brick about his Park at *Greenwich*, another at *Theobalds*, and some little buildings at *Royston*, and such like. His greatest charity was expressed by largesses and Pensions: as first were the Gentlemen of his Chapel, being 33 in number, had each of them but 30 pounds a year fee, he made it up 40. Then he enlarged the Pensions of his Alms Knights of *Windsor*, being 13 in number, from twelve pence a day to two shillings. Then as he increased the number of the Yeomen of the Guard, from seven score to two hundred, so he increased their Pensions from two shillings a day for three months in the Summer, to seven groats a day for six months in the Summer. Then, whereas at his coming, he found but only four Judges in each Court of Law at *Westminster*, he addeth a fifth, with the like allowance as the former had; besides many other Pensions of like nature. But the works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many, whereof we may

justly set in the first place, the repairing of *Pauls* Church, begun in his time, though not finished till many years after; a work of as great cost and labour, as the first founding of it: towards the furtherance whereof though many well devoted persons contributed liberally, yet none was more industrious, than the Learned Doctor *Laud*, first Bishop of *London*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who also was a bountiful Benefactor to the Colledge of *Saint Johns* in *Oxford*, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predecessor next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Almes-house at *Guilford* in *Surry* where he was born, as likewise *Robert* the second Earl of *Dorset*, founded another in *Sussex*; to the maintenance whereof, he gave Lands to the value of three hundred pounds a year. But of all the Almes-houses that ever were founded in *Christianity*, there is none I think can parallel that of *Thomas Sutton*, Esquire. This man born at *Snayth* in *Lincolnshire*, having always lived a Bachelor, and by sundry employments, and parsimony, being grown to great wealth, bought of the right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, his Mansion house, called the *Charter-house*, near to *Smithfield* in *London*, and out of a pious mind converted it into an Almes-house, by the name of *Suttons* Hospital, endowing the same with above three thousand pounds of yearly rent: wherein are maintained four score poor men, with convenient lodging, diet and allowance of money for apparel: also forty poor children with the like provision, and a Grammar-School, with a Master and Usher to teach them: over all whom, he ordained a Learned man to be Master of the household, and to be chosen by the Governours, whom he appointed for the present, by the Authority of the Kings Letters Patents, to be *George* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Elsemore* Lord Chancellor, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer, *John* Bishop of *London*, *Lancelot* Bishop of *Ely*, *Sir Edward Cook* Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, *Sir Thomas Foster*, a Judge of the Common-Pleas, *Sir Henry Hubbard* the Kings Attorney-General, Doctor *Overall* Dean of *Pauls*, Doctor *Mountain* Dean of *Westminster*, *Henry Thursby* Esquire, Master of the Chancery, *Richard Sutton* Esquire, Auditor of the Imprests, *Jeffery Nightingall* Esquire, *John Low* Gentleman, *Thomas Brown* Gentleman, and Master of the Household for the time being, to be always one: and as any of these sixteen Governours should die, the Survivors to make present addition of others. Next to this was a fair Colledge in *Oxford* founded by *Nicholas Wilbe* Esquire, and called after his name. About this time also *Edward Allen* of *Dulwich* in *Surrey* founded a fair Hospital at *Dulwich* for six poor men, and six poor women, and for twelve poor Children, from the age of four or six years, to be there maintained and taught till the age of fourteen or sixteen, and to have a School-master with dyet, and a convenient stipend. This man may be an example, who having gotten his wealth by Stage-playing, converted it to this Pious use, not without a kind of reputation to the Society of Players. In this Kings time also *William Cambden* King of Arms, founded an History Professor in *Oxford*, to which he gave the Mannor of *Boxley* in *Kent*, which some years

The repairing of *Pauls* Church begun.

*Suttons* Hospital founded.

An Hospital founded at *Dulwich* by *Edward Allen* sometimes a Player.

A History Professor in *Oxford* erected, and by whom.

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard increased, and also their pay.

Five Judges in every Court.



Hicks-bail in  
St. Johns  
street built,  
and by  
whom.

years expired, will be worth four hundred pounds a year. In his tenth year Sir *Baptist Hicks*, one of the Justices of Peace in *Middlesex*, who was afterwards made Viscount *Cambden*, built a fair Sessions-house of Brick and Stone in *St. Johns-street*, which by the Justices was called after his name *Hicks*, a great convenience for the Justices; who sat before in a common Inn called the *Castle*. He also founded a fair Hospital of Free-stone, at *Cambridge* in *Gloucestershire*, for six men and six women, allowing each of them a yearly Gown, and two shillings six pence a week, with two Rooms and a Garden. In this Kings time, *George Patyn* Citizen and Grocer of *London*, gave to good uses, three thousand and six hundred pounds, whereof twelve hundred pounds to the two Universities, nine hundred pounds for an Alms-house, and a certain sum of money to buy two Bells, and make a Chyme in *Bow-Church*. Also *Thomas Teasdale* of *Glympton* in the County of *Oxford* Gentleman, gave five thousand pounds to purchase Lands for perpetual maintenance of seven Fellows, and six Scholars, to be placed at *Balyoll* in *Oxford*, and to be chosen thither from time to time, out of the Free School of *Abbing-ton* in *Berkshire*, to which School he also gave Lands for the maintenance of an Usher. In this Kings time also, Sir *Marmaduke Darrell*, being Lord of *Fulmer*, being a Town in *Buckinghamshire*, where was an old ruinous Church, standing a mile distant from the Town, pulled down that old Church, and at his own charge builded a fair new one in the Town, and furnished it with a Font, a Pulpit, and all Ornaments necessary. Also *Thomas Watson* of *Halstead*, in the County of *Kent* Esquire, new builded a fair Chapel on the North side of the Parish Church of *Halstead*, of Free-stone from the ground, and gave to the Church four new Bells, and two Pulpits. In his time also Doctor *Alymer* Bishop of *London*, and *Elizabeth* Countess Dowager of *Shrewsbury*, gave certain sums of money towards the better maintenance of Sermons at *Pauls Cross*: As likewise *Thomas Russell* Draper gave ten pounds a year for ever, to be given to unbefitted Ministers, that should preach there; and to the same use, *George Bishop* Stationer of *London*, gave ten pounds a year more. In this Kings time also, the Citizens of *London* new builded *Aldgate*, where pulling down the old Gate, they found many ancient Roman Coyns. *John Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Alms-house in *Croydon*.

Aldgate in  
London new  
builded.

Henry Earl  
of Northampton  
dies, who founded  
three Hospitals,  
and where.

On the fifteenth of June, 1614. died *Henry Earl of Northampton*, who built from the ground a house near *Charing-Cross*; and dying, was buried in the antient Chapel of *Dover Castle*, who in his life-time founded three fair Hospitals, and endowed them with large maintenance for ever, one at *Rising* in *Norfolk* for twelve poor women and a Governess, a second at *Clun* in *Shropshire*, for twelve poor men and a Governor: The third at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, for a Governour and twenty poor Alms-men. In this Kings time also, Master *Robert Dows* of *London* Merchant-Taylor, gave a competent maintenance for ever unto *Sepulchers* Parish, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding some Divine to come to the Prison of *Newgate*, the midnight before Execution, and there to ring a hand Bell, and to put the

prisoners in mind of their approaching death, with a Christian remembrance and exhortation; and the next morning to toll the great Bell from six a clock till ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution should be past. He also established a free singing School in *Christs Hospital* for the better education of the poor children there: besides many other good deeds of Alms. About the same time *Robert Peake* of *London* Goldsmith, gave to *Sepulchers Church* a Communion-Table of two yards long, and three quarters and a half broad, richly gilded over, and at every corner imbossed with plates of silver. In this Kings fourteenth year, *William Jones* of *London* Merchant, gave about eight thousand pounds to found a Free School in *Wales*, where he was born, with Alms-houses and Pensioners in *London*, and a hundred pounds a year for ever to a learned Preacher in *London*, ordaining all things to be ordered by the Company of *Haberdashers* whereof himself was free. This year also the old ruinous Gate called *Aldersgate*, was taken quite down, and new builded from the foundation, towards the building whereof, *William Parker*, Merchant-Taylor of *London*, gave a thousand pounds. In this Kings time also, was erected a Building near *Chelsey*, with a purpose to be a Colledge for Divines to study the Controversies of Religion, but upon second thoughts, the Cage indeed stands finished, but no Birds have ever yet been brought to sing in it; and perhaps never will. If any other deeds of Alms, or publick benefits were done in this Kings time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleased both here and in other King Reigns, to add them, as he meets with them: for partly to this end, I have digested this Cronicle into such several Heads and Chapters.

Aldersgate in  
London new  
builded, and  
by whom.

#### Of Casualties happening in his time.

In his first year, on the seven and twentieth of April, thirteen persons were slain by misfortune with Gun-powder, at the Gunpowder Mill in *Redriffe*, and much other hurt done in divers places. This year also, the Plague in *London* was so great, that from the three and twentieth of December 1602, to the two and twentieth of December following, there died in *London*, and the Liberties, eight and thirty thousand, two hundred and four and forty, where of of the Plague thirty thousand, five hundred threescore and eighteen, of them in one week three thousand fourscore and ten, where the next year after, though the City were increased with great number of strangers, yet there died that year of all diseases, within *London* and the Liberties, but only four thousand two hundred threescore and three persons. In the second year of his Reign, a strange accident happened, to the terrour of all bloody Murtherers, which was this; one *Anne Waters* enticed by a Lover of hers consented to have her husband strangled, and then buried him secretly under the dung-hill in a Cow-house; whereupon the man being missing by his neighbours, and the Wife making shew of a wondering what was become of him; It pleased God, that one of the Inhabitants of the Town dreamed one night, that his

A great-  
Plague in  
London.

A Murther  
discovered  
by a Dream.



1624. his neighbour *Waters* was strangled, and buried under the dung-hill in a Cow-house; and upon declaring his dream, search being made by the Constable, the dead body was found as he had dreamed: and thereupon the wife was apprehended, and upon examination, confessing the fact was burned. And now what hope can murderers have of being concealed, when they are subject to be discovered by any mans dream? The 19th of *January* in his third year, a great *Porpus* was taken at *Westham*, in a small Creek, a mile and a half within the Land, and within a few days after a *Whale* came up within eight miles of *London*, whose body was seen divers times above water, and judged to exceed the length of the largest Ship in the River: But when she tasted the fresh water, and scented the Land, she returned into the Sea. In his fourth year, being the year 1607, a mighty West wind brought in the Sea into the River of *Severn*, with such violence, that in some places of *Somersetshire* and *Gloucestershire*, the Waters in divers Towns and Villages, grew higher than the tops of their houses; so as (notwithstanding all courses that could be taken) there were drowned in *Somersetshire* 80 persons, and damages done to the value of twenty thousand pounds. At *Coventry* also the seventh of *April*, so sudden a flood came into the Suburbs and City, that in one hour it rose in some places above three yards in height, to the great Damage and hurt of many; and that which is as much strange, as it suddenly came, so it suddenly abated: so as in four hours and a half, it both came and went away. In his 6th year being 1609, a Frost began in *December*, which continued till *April* following, with such violence, that not only the *Thames* was so frozen, that Carts laden were driven over it as on dry land, but many Fowls and Birds perished, as also much herbage in gardens, especially *Artichocks* and *Rosemary* were destroyed. This year also the 11th of *April* a Malt-house in the Town of *St. Edmondsbury*, being by chance set on fire, continued burning till it had consumed 160 houses: but by the Kings bountifulness, (giving 500 loads of Timber) and the City of *London*s relief, the Town was forthwith new builded, in a fairer manner than it was before. In the year 1613, on the seventeenth of *April* in the Parish of *Standish* in *Lancashire*, a Maden-child was born, having four legs, four arms, two bellies joyned to one back: one head with two faces, the one before, the other behind, like the Picture of *Janus*.

This year also the 26th of *June*, in the Parish of *Christs Church* in *Hampshire*, one *John Hitchel*, a Carpenter, lying in bed with his wife and a young Child by them, was himself and the child both burn'd to death with a sudden lightning, no fire appearing outwardly upon him, and yet lay burning for the space of almost three daystill he was quite consumed to ashes. This year also on the seventh of *August*, the Town of *Dorchester* was quite consumed with Fire, begun in the house of a Tallow-Chandler, destroying all the houses, except a few near the Church, and all their wares and goods, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, yet not any man or woman perished. About the same time also the Play-house called the *Globe* upon the Bank-side

near *London*, was quite consumed with fire by discharging a piece of Ordnance, and yet no man hurt: and about four years after, a new built Play-house, near *Golding-lane* called the *Fortune*, was by negligence of a Candle, clean burnt down to the ground. In the year 1614, the Town of *Stratford upon Avon*, was burned. And lest the water should be behind in doing of mischief, so great Inundations were at this time in *Norfolk* and *Lincolnshire*, that the Sea entred twelve miles into the Land. In the year 1612, on the 18 of *November* a blazing Star began to be seen in the South-east about five a clock in the morning, the flame or stream whereof enclined towards the West. This Comet, in the opinion of *Dr. Bembridge*, the great Mathematician of *Oxford*, was as far above the Moon, as the Moon is above the Earth: what it portended is only known to God; but the sequel of it was, that infinite slaughters and devastations followed upon it, both in *Germany* and other Countries. In the year 1623, on Friday the 24 of *October*, a Roman Catholick Priest preached in the afternoon, at *Hunsdon-house* in the *Black friers* in *London*, in an upper chamber, where there were assembled above 300 men and women, when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floor brake, and fell down with such violence, that it brake down the next Floor under it: in the fall whereof were slain the Preacher, and almost 100 of his Auditors, besides as many more hurt. In this Kings time course paper commonly called white brown Paper was first made in *England*, specially in *Surrey*, and about *Windsor*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* the second, King of *Denmark*, whose marriage was there solemnized in the year 1589. By whom he had born in *Scotland*, two Sons, *Henry* who died before him, and *Charles* who succeeded him in the Crown; and one Daughter named *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the fifth of that name, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, by whom she had many children, both Sons and Daughters. King *James* had also by his Wife *Queen Anne* two other Daughters born in *England*, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Sophia*, who both died young, the Lady *Mary* at about three years old, the Lady *Sophia* the next day after she was born; and were both of them buried with great solemnity, in the Chapel-Royal at *Westminster*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Stature somewhat higher than ordinary, of a well compacted body, of an auburn hair, of a full and pleasing visage; in his later days inclining to be fat and burly; of bodily exercises, he took most delight in hunting; which yet (some thought) he used rather as a retiring himself from the importunity of State-affairs, than for any great pleasure he took in it. It is said, that he had such a fashion in riding, that it could not so properly be said he rid, as that his Horse carried him; for he made but little use of his Bridle, and would say, a Horse never stumbled, but when he was reined. He was of an ad-

N n n                      mirable

A Porpus taken, and a Whale seen near London.

A great Inundation in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire.

A Frost that continued from December till April.

A monstrous child born.

A man and his child lying in bed burned to death with Lightning.

1624. Two Play-houses burnt.

A blazing Star seen.

White brown Paper first made in England.



1624.

His prompt-  
ness in ex-  
pressing his  
mind.  
His Learning  
specially in  
Divinity.

mirable pregnancy of wit, and that pregnancy much improved by continual study from his childhood: by which he had gotten such a promptness in expressing his mind, that his extemporal speeches were little inferior to his premeditated writings. Many, no doubt, had read as much, and perhaps more than he, but scarce ever any concocted his reading into Judgment as he did: by which he became so judicious, that though he could not Prophecy, yet he could presage; and his conjectures were little less than Oracles. In all the Liberal Sciences, he was (we may say) a Master of Arts: but in Divinity, a Doctor, as he made it appear in the Conference at Hampton-Court, and is seen still by the learned writings he hath left behind him. And as for that part of the Politicks, which concerns Monarchy, *Regere Imperio populos*, which himself used to call King-craft: In this he excelled. He knew how to take the inclinations of the people at their first bound, and never suffer them to rise higher than he could well reach them: nor to grow stronger, than he could either alter or divert them. He would be sure to keep his Subjects in a temper of contentment; which if he could not do by preventives, he would by lenitives. He was so wise that he could dissemble without seeming a Dissembler: be free in opening his mind, and yet keep Counsel. He was a provident Pilot, that in a calm would provide for a storm: and you should never find him committing the fault of *Non putâram*. He was both *Marti & Mercurio*; but not *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, as being of his temper who said, *Cedant Arma Toga*: and indeed seeing Peace is the end of both, it were not wisdom to seek it by Arms, if it may be had by the Gown, as it is in the Aphorism, *Consilio omina experiri prius, quam Armis sapientem decet*. That which was bounty in him being a King, would have been frugality, if he had been a private person, there being of both one radical reason. Of all the Moral virtues, he was eminent for chastity; in which the Poet seems to include all virtue: where he saith,

His wisdom.

His Chastity.

*Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen.*

By *nulli casto*, meaning no virtuous person; it was a manifest argument of his being an excellent Prince, that coming next to the admirable Queen Elizabeth, which was in a manner to compare them together, yet there appeared no inequality, that it might not untruly be said, King James was but the continuation of Queen Elizabeth, the same virtue, though different sexes: And now to express his Character in a Word, which worthily might be matter for many volumes: He was to his Wife a most loyal Husband, to his children a most loving Father, to his Servants a most bountiful Master, to his Subjects a most just Prince, to all Princes near him a most peaceable neighbour; that more justly it may be said of him, than of whom it was said; *Quæ te tam læta tulerunt sæcula?* a Prince after Plato's own heart, for his Learning, and which is infinitely more worth, after God own heart, for his Religiousness and Piety.

*Of his Death and Burial.*

1625.

OF his death were many scandalous rumours spread; and some were so impudent, as to write that he was poisoned, as the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquess Hamilton had been

before: but King James being dead, and his body opened, there was found no sign at all of poyson, his inward parts being all sound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might be cause enough to cast him into an Ague: the ordinary high way, especially in old bodies, to a natural death: of this Ague after a Months languishing, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be applied, he departed this life at Theobalds, on the 27th of March, in the year 1625, in the 59th of his age, when he had Reigned two and twenty years compleat; His body for the greater State, was conveyed by Torch-light from Theobalds to Denmark house, where having rested from the 23d of April, to the 7th of May, it was carried to Westminster, and there interred in the Chapel Royal, with great solemnity, but with greater lamentation: there being scarce any of the infinite multitude that was present, of whom it might not be said,

1625.

*Multa gemens, largoque humectat flumine vultum*

*Men of Note in his time.*

Military Men of Note, in a time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King James was, we have no reason to expect; yet if we look amongst the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the Low-Countries; we shall find a pair of brothers, that may stand in comparison with the greatest Souldiers in the most Martial times, Sir Francis Vere, who as another Hannibal, with his one eye, could see more in the Martial Discipline, than common men can do with two; and Sir Horatio Vere, who was another Philopœmen, contained in a very little body, a very great both skill and courage. But for men of Note in learning, as being in the time of a most learned Prince, there was never greater store; of whom these for example. In Curiousness of Preaching, there was Doctor Andrews Bishop of Winchester: who hath left to posterity, a Century of such golden Sermons, that shews, he as well deserved the name of Chrysostom, as he that had it. In multiplicity of reading, there was Doctor Reynolds of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford; who seemed, as it were, a Living Library; and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect Index of all the Books had ever been written. In knowledge of Law, there was Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; who hath written such excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he seems as another Bartholus or Baldus amongst us. In elegancy of Writing, there was Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount Albans, who besides his profounder Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in so sweet a style, that like Manna, it pleaseth the taste of all palates. In the skill of Antiquities, there was William Camden, King at Arms; who hath set forth the Description of Britain, and the life of Queen Elizabeth in so lively colours, that he seems to have brought Britain out of darkness into light, and to keep Queen Elizabeth alive after death. And to speak it in a word, the Trojan Horse was not fuller of Heroick Grecians, than King James his Reign was full of men excellent in all kinds of Learning. And here I desire the Readers leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance, the

Two eminent Souldiers, Sir Francis Vere and Sir Horatio Vere.

Two eminent Scholars, Dr. Andrews, and Dr. Reynolds.

Two eminent Lawyers, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Francis Bacon.



Two eminent Wits, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton.

the one was Mr. John Donne, who leaving Oxford, lived at the Innes of Courts, not dissolute, but very neat; a great Visiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great Writer of conceited Verses; until such time as King James taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was a means that he betook him to the study of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of Pauls; and became so rare a Preacher, that he was not only commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was Henry Wotton, (mine old acquaintance also, as having been fellow-Pupils, and Chamber-fellows in Oxford divers years together.) This Gentleman was imployed by King James in Embassy to Venice; and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter man, for matching the Capriciousness of the Italian Wits: a man of so able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himself much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Of the English Plantations in the Indies, that were in King JAMES his Time.

And now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near say as much of King James as was said of Augustus Caesar; *Super & Garamantas & Indos proferre Imperium*. In this better, that where Augustus did it by the violent way of Arms, King James did it by the civil way of Plantations: for in his dayes began the great Plantation of the English in the Indies; and must be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The first Plantation of the English in the Indies, was that which is now called Virginia, in memory of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth: but called before Wingandacoa. It was first discovered by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the year 1584; to whom the first Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was sent thither, till the year 1606. It is a Country in America, between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the North Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the English, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is no Island, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoining to Florida. The first and chief Town made here by the English, is called James Town, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majesty. It is a Countrey abounding with all sorts of Fish and Fowl; so fruitful, that it yields thirty, and sometimes forty Bushels of Corn upon an Acre; and that (which is to us more strange) hath three harvests in a year, the Corn being sowed, ripe and reaped, in little more than two months. Many Plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing: the first to any purpose was in the year 1607, under the Conduct of Captain Gosnoll, John Smith, and Mr. Edward Maria Winkfield, who carried a Colony thither of a hundred persons; but of these, many dying of sickness, or slain by the Savages, a new supply came in the year 1608, of a hundred and twenty persons, under the conduct of Captain Nilson. After which, was sent another supply of threescore and ten persons; and in the year 1609, a third supply came of five

hundred persons, under a Patent granted to Sir Thomas West, Lord de la Ware, but conducted thither by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and others. In the year 1611, was a fourth supply of three hundred men under the conduct of Sir Thomas Gates. In the year 1612, two other supplies were sent of forty men in each, and now was the Lottery, spoken of before granted by the King, for further Supplies of this Plantation. After this Master Samuel Argall being appointed Governour in the year 1618, the Lord de la Ware came thither with a supply of two hundred people; but in his stay there died: After this in the year 1620, were sent thither eleven Ships, with twelve hundred and sixteen persons, and now they founded themselves into Corporations: In the year 1621, Sir Francis Wiat was sent thither Governour, with thirteen hundred men, women, and children, and now they founded Schools, and Courts of Justice; and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty miles up, on the River of both sides. But now when the English were secure and thought of nothing but peace, the Savages came suddenly upon them, and slew of them three hundred and seven and forty men, women, and children. For repairing of which loss, the City of London sent presently over a supply of a hundred men. This massacre happened, by reason they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty several places, which made them now upon consultation, to reduce them all to five or six places, whereby they may better assist each other: since which time they have alwayes lived in good security. And thus much for Virginia.

Upon their security, 200 of them slain by the Savages.

Next was the Plantation of the Island called Bermudas, so called of a Spanish Ship, called Bermudas, which was there cast away, carrying Hogs to the West-Indies, that swam ashore, and there increased. The first English man that entered this Isle, was one Henry May in the year 1591. but in the year 1610, Sir George Somers was sent thither, who dying there, in memory of his name, the Isles have ever since been called Somers Isles. In the year 1612, one Mr. Moor landed there with 60 persons, and then builded the chief Town there called S. Georges, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The same year a supply of 30 more persons was sent thither, and the year after 60 more, under one Mr. Barlet; with a shew to survey the Land; but with a purpose indeed to get from thence a great lump of Ambergris, and no less than 80 pound weight that had been found and taken up in the Island some few years before, and was still retained. A while after this, came a Ship called the Blessing, with 100 passengers; and two days after came the Star, with 180 more; and within 14 dayes after that again came thither the Margaret and two Frigats, with 130 passengers: So as now they began to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares. In the year 1616, Captain Daniel Tuckard was sent from Virginia to be Governour there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they began to build them Houses: and now was sent from thence into England, a Ship freighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 2 s. 6 d. the pound, though sold here oftentimes for Verino's at great rates. In the year 1619, Captain Nathanael

The Plantation of the Bermudas: why called Somers Isles.

Ambergris in great quantity found in the Island.

The first Plantation of Virginia: and what Country it is and abouting with what Commodities.



Butler was sent Governour with new Supplies, in whose time they built them a Church; held Assizes for Criminal causes, twice a year, and began to have Parliaments as in England: and now in the Ship called the *Magazin*, came divers Gentlemen of good fashion, with their Wives and Families: so as now their number was no fewer than fifteen hundred people, dispersed twenty miles in length. In the year 1622, came Governour Mr. *John Bernard*, bringing with him a supply of 140 persons; but he and his wife dying presently upon their coming, Mr. *John Harrison* in the year 1623, was chosen Governour. These Isles of *Bermudas* are in 32 degrees of Northern latitude: so as they are distant from *Virginia* at least 500 Leagues, and from *England* above three thousand three hundred. This Countrey is of a most healthful Air, abounding with all sorts of Fowls, Birds and Fish; and where great pieces of *Amber-griese* are oftentimes found, which is valued there at no less than three pounds an ounce. And thus much concerning the state of *Bermudas*, till the year 1624.

The Plantation of New-England: and the Commodities of the Country.

Next comes the *Plantation of New-England*; concerning which, we must first know, that King *James* in the year 1606, granted two Letters Patents for Plantations in *Virginia*, one to the City of *London*; another to the Cities of *Bristow*, *Excester* and *Plimouth*; with power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least 100 miles distance between the two Colonies. So as the first Colony was from the City of *London*, and is that which is called *Virginia*; The second Colony was from *Bristow* and the other Towns, and is that which is now called *New-England*, and is situate between the degrees of 41 and 45: the very mean betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to speak a little of the Countrey, there are on the Sea Coast, 25 excellent good Harbours, in some whereof there is Anchorage for 500 sail of Ships of any burthen. The Earth is fruitful, and the Air as healthful as any part of the World: abounding with all sorts of Grain, Fowls and Fish: Many of such kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent meat: Many Voyages had been made for the perfect discovery of the Countrey: Many attempts for settling a Plantation there: Many Miscarriages and Disasters in making the attempts: but all at last came to this, that in the year 1624, (which is the limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation settled, though but a small one: but a few years after (by the sending forth of new Supplies) increased to so many thousands, that if God continue to prosper it, as he hath begun, the *New-England* in a few Ages may prove as populous as the *Old*; and the King of *England* likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies*, than he had in his Realms of Great *Britain* and *Ireland*. But seeing of these and all other *English* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many, large discourses are written by divers Authors, it should be more than superfluous to speak more of them in this place: It is sufficient to have shewed that King *James* had the honour to have them settled in his time; and under the influence of his peaceable Government.

Of the Earls and Barons made by King  
JAMES.

IN former Kings Reigns, the making of Earls and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly set down at the several times of their making; but in King *James* his Reign, there were so many made, that it may not be unfit to set them down in a Catalogue together.

In his first year were made four Earls and nine Barons: namely, *Henry Howard* younger Brother of the last Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst*, was made Earl of *Dorset*; and shortly after *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and *Thomas Howard* Baron of *Walden*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey of Groby*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stanford*) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Danby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Danby*) Sir *John Peter* of *Essex*, was made Baron of *Writtle*: Sir *William Russel* was made Baron of *Thornough*: Sir *Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerard Bromley* in *Staffordshire*: Sir *Robert Spencer* was made Baron of *Normelayton* in the County of *Warwick*: Sir *Robert Egerton* was made Baron of *Elsemere*: Sir *Robert Cecil* was created Baron of *Henden* in *Rutlandshire*; and Sir *John Harington* was made Baron of *Exon*.

In his second year on the twentieth of *May* were made four Barons and one Viscount: Sir *Robert Sidney* was made Baron of *Penhurst*: Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Graves*: Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Martley*: and *Mildmay Fane* Lord de *Spencer*: and in *August* the same year, Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Essenden*, was created Viscount *Cranburn*.

In his third year, on the fourth of *May*, were created three Earls, and one Viscount, and four Barons; namely, Sir *Robert Cecil* Viscount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Salisbury*: Sir *Thomas Cecil* his elder Brother Lord *Burghley*, was created Earl of *Excester*: and Sir *Philip Herbert* younger brother to the Earl of *Penbroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*: *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*, was created Viscount of *Lisle*: Sir *John Stanhope* was made Baron of *Harington*; Sir *George Carew* Baron of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonshire*, Baron of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendish* Baron of *Hardwick*.

In his fourth year, on the fourth of *July*, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Estrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title; and on the seventh of *September*, Sir *Jervis Clifton* was likewise called by Writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Layton Bromsenfold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his ninth year, upon *Easter Munday*, Sir *Robert Carre* was created Viscount *Rocheester*; and

In his tenth year, on the fourth of *November*, was created Earl of *Somerset*.

In



In his eleventh year, *Lewis Steward Duke of Lennox* was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *June*, *Sir James Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three years after, was made Viscount *Doncaster*; and *Sir Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyngham*, (afterward by King *Charles* was made Earl of *Carnarvan*.)

In his fourteenth year, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of *July*, *Sir John Hollys*, Kt. was created Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* in the County of *Nottingham*, and *Sir John Roper* of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*: and on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *August*, *Sir George Villiers* was created Baron of *Whaddon*, and Viscount *Villiers*; and on the 7<sup>th</sup> of *November*, *Thomas Egerton Lord Ellesmere* was created Viscount *Brackley*, and he dying soon after, his son *John* was created Earl of *Bridge-water*; *William Lord Knowles* was created Viscount *Wallingford*; and *Sir Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5<sup>th</sup> of *January*, the Viscount *Villiers* was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the third of *March*, *Sir Edward Noel* of *Rutlandshire*, was made Baron of *Ryddington*.

In his fifteenth year, on *New-years day*, *Sir George Villiers* Earl of *Buckingham*, was created Marquess of *Buckingham*; and on the 12<sup>th</sup> of *July*, *Sir Francis Bacon* Lord Chancellor of *England*, was created Baron of *Vermulam*, and not long after Viscount *St. Albans*. Also in the Summer of this year, the King created four Earls and one Countess: namely, the Viscount *Lisle* was made Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Compton* was made Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Rich* was made Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Cavendish* was made Earl of *Devonshire*, and the Lady *Compton*, wife to *Sir Thomas Compton*, and Mother of the Marquess of *Buckingham* was created Countess of *Buckingham*.

In his sixteenth year, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of *November*, *Sir John Digby* Vice-chamberlain to the King, was created Baron of *Sherbourn*, by Patent to him and his heirs Males.

In his seventeenth year, in the month of *June*, *Esme Steward Lord d' Aubigny*, younger Brother to the Duke of *Lennox*, was created Earl of *March*, *James Marquess Hamilton* was created Earl of *Cambridge*, and *Sir John Villiers* Brother to the Marquess of *Buckingham* was created Baron of *Stock* and Viscount *Purbeck*.

In his eighteenth year, *William Cavendish* was created Viscount *Mansfield*; (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Newcastle*) and on Munday the fourth of *December*, *Sir Henry Mountague*, being first made Lord Treasurer, was created Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viscount *Mandevile*, and not long after Earl of *Manchester*, and *Sir John Ramsey* Viscount *Haddington* of *Scotland* was created Earl of *Holderness*; and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newhaven*, and Viscount *Fielding*.

In his nineteenth year, *Henry Cary* was made Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Monmouth*) *Sir Edward Montague*, elder Brother to the Viscount *Mandevile* was made Baron of *Boulton*, the Lord *Darcy* of *Essex*, was created Viscount *Colchester* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Ryvers*) the Lord *Hunsdon* was created Viscount *Rochford*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Dover*) *Sir Lyonel Cranfield*, Master of the Wards, was created Baron *Cranfield* in *Bedfordshire*, and *Sir Tho. Howard* second son to *Thomas Earl of Suffolk*, was created Baron of *Charleton*, and Viscount *Andover*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Barkshire*.)

In his twentieth year, in the month of *September*, the Viscount *Doncaster* was created Earl of *Carlisle*, the Viscount *Fielding* was created Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Digby* was made Earl of *Bristol*, the Lord *Cranfield* was created Earl of *Middlesex*, and *Sir Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kensington*.

In his one and twentieth year, the Marquess of *Buckingham* being then in *Spain* with Prince *Charles*, had his Parent sent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*; *William Grey* was created Baron of *Wark*, *Elizabeth* the widow of *Sir Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was created Viscountess of *Maidstone*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Countess of *Winchelsey*.)

In his two and twentieth year, the Earl of *Clanriccard* of *Ireland*, was created Viscount *Tunbridge* in *Kent* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *St. Albans*) *Sir John Hollys*, Knight, Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* was created Earl of *Clare*, *Sir Henry Rich*, Baron of *Kensington*, was created Earl of *Holland*; the Lord *Fines*, Baron of *Say and Seale*, was made Viscount *Say and Seale*: *Sir Francis Fane* was created Earl of *Westmorland*, *Oliver Lord St. John* of *Bletsho* was made Earl of *Bullingbrook*, *Sir Christopher Villiers*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earl of *Anglesey*, and *Sir James Ley* was made Lord *Ley* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Marlborough*.) Also this year, *Sir Francis Leak* was made Baron of *Deincourt*, and *Sir Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

And this was the number of all the Earls and Barons made by King *James*; but in his time also began another sort of Nobility to be made in *England*, which had none of the privileges of *English* Barons, but had only Title to be called Lords of some place either in *England* or *Ireland*, although they possessed not a foot of Land in either: Of which sort, the number being great; I forbear to rehearse them, lest I should be tedious, or otherwise be thought to encroach too much upon the Heralds Office. It is sufficient to have shewed, that King *James* advanced so many in honour, that in a kind it might be said of him, as was said of *Augustus Caesar*, That he left *Rome* of *Marble*, which he found but of *Brick*.

Majors



*Majors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.*

In his first year,  
*Sir Thomas Bennet* was Major.  
*Sir Will. Rumney, Sir Tho. Middleton*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
*Sir Thomas Low* was Major.  
*Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Roger Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
*Sir Leonard Holyday* was Major.  
*Sir Clement Scudamor, Sir John Folles*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
*Sir John Wats* was Major.  
*William Walthall, John Leman*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
*Sir Henry Row* was Major.  
*Geoffrey Elwes, Nicholas Style*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
*Sir Humphrey Weld* was Major.  
*George Bolles, Richard Farrington*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
*Sir Thomas Cambell* was Major.  
*Sebastian Harvey, William Cockaine*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
*Sir William Craven* was Major.  
*Richard Pyat, Francis Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
*Sir James Pemberton* was Major.  
*Edward Barkham, John Smiths*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
*Sir John Swinnerton* was Major.  
*Edw. Rotheram, Alexander Prescot*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
*Sir Thomas Middleton* was Major.  
*Thomas Bennet, Henry Jaye*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
*Sir Thomas Hayes* was Major.  
*Peter Proby, Martin Lumley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
*Sir John Folles* was Major.  
*William Goare, John Goare*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
*Sir John Leman* was Major.  
*Allen Cotton, Cutbber Hacket*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
*Sir George Bolles* was Major.  
*William Holyday, Robert Johnson*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
*Sir Sebastian Harvey* was Major.  
*Richard Hearne, Hugh Hamersley*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
*Sir William Cockaine* was Major.  
*Richard Deane, James Cambell*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
*Sir Francis Jones* was Major.  
*Edward Allen, Robert Ducie*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
*Sir Edward Barkham* was Major.  
*George Whitmore, Nicholas Rainton*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
*Sir Peter Proby* was Major.  
*John Hodges, Sir Humphrey Hantford*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,  
*Sir Martin Lumley* was Major.  
*Ralph Freeman, Thomas Mounson*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,  
*Sir John Goare* was Major.  
*Rowland Heilin, Robert Parkhurst*, Sheriffs.



# THE REIGN OF King Charles the First.

1625.  
King Charles  
proclaimed.

**K**ing James being deceased on the 27th of March in the forenoon, the same day in the afternoon, Charles Prince of Wales, his only Son, then living, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of people, as being a Prince of admirable endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the age of 25 years, whereof the most part of one he had spent in Spain; where, although he was frustrated of the end for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travel and Experience, more worth, perhaps, than that he went for.

The celebra-  
tion of the  
Funeral of  
King James.

The Funerals of the deceased King were celebrated on the seventh of May, his body being brought from Somerset-House to Westminster, where in St. Peter's Church he was with great magnificence interr'd, the King himself being principal Mourner; which though it was contrary to the custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to express his Piety, in attending the Body of his Father at his Funeral, than to stand upon any old niceties and points of State.

The King  
and Queens  
espousals at  
Paris.

The first thing he did after the celebration of the Funeral, was to hasten the coming over of the Queen, to whom on Sunday the first of May, he was by his Proxie, the Duke of Chevreux, espoused at our Ladies Church in Paris; where the Espousals were performed by the Cardinal of Richlieu.

A while after the Queen began her journey towards England, accompanied to Amiens, with the Queen her Mother, the Duke of Orleans her Brother, and the Duke and Duchesse of Chevreux, with others of the Nobility of France, and she was attended by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Carlisle, Holland, and Montgomery, and many of the English Gentry, who were sent over for that purpose.

The Queen staid for a fortnight at Amiens, and

there she parted with her Mother; from thence she went to Boloigne, where a Fleet of one and twenty of the Kings Ships attended her, with the Countess of Buckingham, and a Noble Train of Ladies.

On Trinity Sunday, late at night, she arrived at Dover, which being signified to the King (then at Canterbury) he went to her early the next morning, and received her with the greatest demonstrations of affection; and the same day they came to Canterbury, where their Nuptials were with all possible magnificence completed, and the Duke of Chevreux surrendered his Royal Charge to the King. On Wednesday the fifteenth of June, they went by Coach to Gravesend, and the next day they came from thence to Somerset-House in their Royal Barges, attended with a very numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, and welcomed as they passed, by the great Ordnance from several Ships in the River, and the Tower of London, and accompanied or met by most of the Barges and Boats which could be found on the River of Thames.

The Queen  
arrives at  
Dover.

The King  
and Queen  
came to  
Somerset-  
House.

The third day after their arrival, their marriage was declared at White-hall, with great acclamations of joy, the King and Queen presenting themselves in that Ceremony, on Royal Thrones before the Nobility: but the Pestilence began to rage in London at this time, which abated much of the Pomp of the Solemnity; though neither that, nor any thing else did divert the King from the Consideration of the other concerns of the Kingdom; for, having summoned a Parliament to meet on the eighteenth of June; at the first assembling thereof he spake to them in these words:

The King's  
marriage  
declared.

My Lords and Gentlemen:

**Y**ou are not ignorant, that at your earnest intreaty, March 24. 1623. my Father (of happy memory) first took up Arms for the recovery of the Palatinate; for which purpose, by



1625. by your assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado and Navie-Royal. But Death intervening between him and the Achievement, the War with the Crown is devolved upon me; to the prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature and Honour, so I question not, but the same necessity continuing, you will cherish the Action with the like affection, and further it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furnished My Father with affectionate Supplies, but they held no Symmetry or Proportion with the Charge of so great an Enterprize. For those your Donatives are all disbursed to a peny; and I am enforced to summon you hither, to tell you, That neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth, without further aid. Consider, I pray you, that the eyes of all Europe are fixt upon me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo Muster and Ostentation, if you now desert me. Consider it is my first attempt, wherein if I sustain a foil, it will blemish all my future Honour. If Mine cannot, let your reputation move you, deliver and expedite me fairly out of this War, where-with you have encumbered Me. (Let it never be said whereinto you have betrayed Me.) I desire therefore your speedy supply. The Sun, you know, is entring into his declining point, so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the Mortality regnant in this City, which should it, (as so it may, and no breach of Priviledge neither) Arrest any one Member of either House, it would soon put a period, both to the Consultation and Session, so that your own Periclitation necessitates an early resolution. In summe, Three of the best Rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity, and Safety, are all of a Plot, and plead, you see, for Expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of My Religion, as also of the temper and tenour of my future Government. But as I hope, I have not been guilty of anything which may justly start the least question in either, so I desire you would repose in this assurance, that I will in neither vary from those Principles, wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel My late Father.

This Speech was very well receiv'd, and though it did not produce so great a Supply, as the exigence of affairs required, yet the Commons gave two Subsidies without any Condition, and the Clergy three; and in the Grant of the Laity the Papists were to pay double.

The King very graciously accepted the gift, as an earnest of the good affections of his people, in reference to greater sums which he expected to follow: but the Plague encreasing in London, the Parliament, on the eleventy of July, was adjourned to Oxford, to be held there on the first of August. The Commons had sent up a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage to the Lords before the Adjournment; but because it was limited to a year, they thought it unfit to pass: for that most of the former Grants to the Kings Predecessors

were for term of life. The cause of this restraint was, because the Customs had been raised by King James, by advice of his Council, in the eighteenth year of his Reign, and the Commons had a purpose to reduce them to the rate settled in Queen Maries time.

August the first, the Parliament assembled at Oxford, and in the fourth of the same Month, both Houses, by the King appointment, attended him in Christ-Church-hall, where he briefly acquainted them with his wants for setting out the Fleet; adding, that the eyes of the Confederates were fixt upon it.

The Commons upon their return from the King to their House, had several long Debates upon the substance of his Speech, and the present Condition of the Kingdom, all tending to an Arraignment of the Government. Some urged that our Necessities arose by providence; That the Kings designs were guided by evil Counsels, and, that though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War; yet if things were managed by contrary designs, and the Treasure misemployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in designs not guided by sound Counsel; and that it was unusual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies, before Grievances were redress'd, and before they would agree to any answer to what the King proposed (upon some jealousies that the Popish Religion was too much countenanced) they framed a Petition against Popish Recusants, which was presented to him by their Speaker, attended by all the House of Commons. The King seemed not displeased at this delay, and the Parliament received from him a very gracious and satisfactory answer to their Petition; nevertheless this kindness did not produce answerable effects: For, when the matters of supply came to be again debated by the Commons, great division arose, some would give, and others would not, and the majority were prevailed on by many passionate instances of mis-government, to insist on redress of Grievances before Supply, and to have a Remonstrance thereof drawn up, and presented to the King, inveighing in their Speeches against the Duke of Buckingham, as the chief occasion of all miscarriages in Government. Nothing more than this could shew the mutability of humane Affairs, and how little dependance is to be laid on the affections of the people; for in the last Parliament of King James, this Duke of Buckingham, against whom they now exclaimed, was extolled for the great Ornament and Honour of the English Nation, and the chief preserver of the Kingdom from the Spanish practices; nay, no Honour was thought large enough to requite his Merits. The King, from those of his Council in the House of Commons, had advice from time to time of the matter of this Remonstrance, in the debates of it, which tended chiefly to discredit the Duke, and remove him from his Counsels and Affection; but the expressions were so sharp, and the style so unusual from Subjects to their Prince, that the King determined rather to dissolve the Parliament, than admit of it; and thereupon he came to the Lords House, to put an end to it. The House of Commons were Resolved into a Grand Committee, when the Usher of the Black Rod came to

1625.

The Kings Speech to the Parliament.

The Commons debate a Remonstrance of Grievances.



1625. to call them up to the Lords House, in order to a Dissolution, but before they would admit the Speaker to resume the Chair, to sit as a House, one *Glanvill* stood up and declared the sence of the House in these words :

First, to give his Majestie thanks for His Gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

*Glanvil* declares in the Name of the House of Commons.

Next, for his care of our Health, in giving us leave to depart this dangerous time.

Lastly, a dutiful declaration of our Affection and Loyalty, and purpose to supply His Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time.

This being done the Usher was called in, and declared his Message, and the dissolution of the Parliament immediately ensued.

Soon after this, a Proclamation was set out, to put the Laws in execution against Popish Recusants, commanding the return, by a prefixed time, of children of Noblemen and others, sent to be educated in Popish Schools, or Seminaries abroad; and all the Kings Subjects under the pay of the Emperour, the King of Spain, and the Arch-Duchies who then governed the Spanish Netherlands, were speedily enjoined to return to their Native Countries, to be employed in the Kings Service.

Term kept at Reading

The Term, because of the Plague in London, was kept at Reading, and special Instructions were given to the Judges, to put the Laws in execution against Recusants.

And now the War with Spain, for the recovery of the Palatinate, which was resolved on in the last year of his Fathers Reign, was vigorously prosecuted; and the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland were sent Embassadors to the United Provinces, where they met at the Hague the Embassadors of France and Denmark, and concluded a League with them and the States, for restoring the Liberties of Germany. The King of Denmark, in conformity with the League, took up Arms, but was unfortunate therein, which he imputed to the Kings not performance of what was promised on his part, and that was occasioned by the Parliaments failure of supplies of money. And for the same reason the Fleet, which should have been set out in the beginning of Summer, to attempt something on the coast of Spain, were not out till October following. In which expedition the Viscount *Wimbleton* was General of the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral of the Navie.

The Fleet, with the addition of some Dutch Vessels, consisted of Eighty good Ships; at their first setting forth, they were encountred with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of them were dispersed and scattered for seven days together, and a gallant Ship, called the *Long Robert* of Ipswich, with an hundred and seventy persons in it, were lost. After this Tempest, the Fleet met at the Southern Cape, where they entered into Consultation what they should attempt; the Earl of *Essex*, out of a great desire to equal the glory of his Father gotten at Cadiz, proposed the assailing of the Spanish Fleet, which then lay in that Harbour, but there were so many difficulties in the Enterprize, and so long time spent in the debate of it, that the whole Coast

of Spain was thereby alarm'd, and the Spaniards had opportunity to prepare for their defence: so that when it was concluded, that they should sail to Cadiz, they landed their men there with great danger and opposition. The first place they attempted was *Puntol* Castle, under the shelter whereof the Spanish Ships rode; for the taking of which, twenty English and five Dutch Ships were ordered; but they, after the spending of two thousand great Shot against it to little purpose, came off again. This not succeeding, *Wimbleton* sent Sir *John Borroughs*, with a select Regiment of Foot, to attack the Fort on the land side, but these, at their first appearance, were encountered by some Spanish Forces, which were drawn together for the defence of the Country, and after a sharp Engagement, they worsted the Spaniards in sight of the Castle; whereupon the Commander within it, hung out a white Flag; and after a short Parley, surrendered the place, with fifteen Barrels of Powder, and eight pieces of Ordnance; whilst this was doing, the Spaniard haled most of their best Ships, under the Port-Royal, so that Sir *Samuel Argale*, who was set to fire the Ships was disappointed of his purpose. But that which might have been very fatal herein, was the misgovernment of the Souldiers, who by the avarice, or negligence of their Commanders, were permitted to fill themselves so much with the Wine they found in the Cellars, and other places where they plundered, that they were more like to beasts than men, and if the Spaniards had had good intelligence, they might have been all cut off; for by this means they were so ungovernable, that the General fearing the consequence thereof, speedily caused them to be imbarqued and left behind him the hopes only of Renown and Victory. From thence they sailed to the Southern Cape, where they staid twenty days, in expectation of the Plate Fleet, but by the inclemency of the Air, and the intemperance of the Souldiers and Mariners, so great a Contagion happened in the Fleet, that they wanted men to manage the Sails; and where some Ships had a greater number of infected persons than others, to remedy this, a most pernicious course was taken; for every Ship was ordered by lot, to take in two sick in exchange for so many sound men, which propagated the Pestilence, and forced the General to an untimely return, four days before the Plate Fleet came.

The unprosperous success of this Fleet displeased the King very much, and *Wimbleton* was some time prohibited his presence, but he excused himself, laying a great part of the miscarriage on the stubbornness of the Earl of *Essex*. Yet, though all where blamed, none were punished for the ill managery and conduct of the Expedition.

The War became now very chargeable, and since the King could not be supplied in a Parliamentary way, he was advised by his Council, to use other means, and it was resolved to borrow what money could be got by Letters of Privie Seals, sent to several of the ablest persons in all parts of the Kingdom; in each of which Letters, the King promised in the name of himself, and his Successors, to repay the money in eighteen moneths after the payment thereof to

Money borrowed by Letters of privy Seal.

To be repaid in 18 Months.



1625. the Collector, and the Collectors of this Loan were ordered to pay the sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the names of such as went about to delay, or excuse the payment of the money required of them.

This manner of proceeding was thought very improper, unless it had been resolved not to call a Parliament so soon after; for if the King in that conjuncture had clapt up a peace with Spain, (which the Spaniard had as much reason to accept, as he to offer) he might have freed himself from the necessity of calling Parliaments, (till by the goodness of his Government he had no necessity for a Parliament to work upon) and likewise prevented a following unluckly rupture betwixt him and France. The King, however, was resolved to try his fortune in another Parliament, which was summoned to meet at Westminster on the sixth of February; but first the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed, which was celebrated on the second of February (commonly called Candlemas day.) In the external pomp whereof the King omitted his triumphant riding through the City, from the Tower to White-hall, partly to save the Charges thereof, and partly to prevent the danger of popular concourse; for the Plague was not quite decreased, but some dregs remained of it. In the Sacred part there was a clause added, which had been pretermitted in the time of King Henry the Sixth, which is this that followeth, viz. "Let him obtain favour of the people, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the Waters, Zacharias in the Temple; Give him Peters Key of Discipline, and Pauls Doctrine. Which clause had been omitted in time of Popery, as intimating more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings than the Popes allowed of.

A Parliament summoned to meet Feb. 6.

The Kings Coronation

The Coronation Oath, though the contrary was suggested, was the same which had been taken by his Predecessors, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer.

The solemnity being over, he began his second Parliament on the sixth of February, in which he had no better success than in his first. Sir Heneage Finch was chosen Speaker by the Commons, and approved by the King, a Person of great prudence and moderation. The House of Commons began where they left at Oxford, with matters of Religion and publick grievances; they made strict enquiry into what abuses had been of the Kings grace since that time, and who were the Authors and Abettors thereof, for they had been informed of many Pardons and Reprieves to Jesuits and Priests, and their grievances were stated under four Heads.

Grievances stated.

1. The state of the King in the constant Revenue of the Crown.
2. The condition of the Subject in his Freedom.
3. The cause of the Nations good success in former times.
4. The present condition of the Kingdom.

Under the first head was considered the great dispositions of Lands and Pensions *mero motu* and other exorbitant expences: In the second the bringing in of new Impositions, the multiplying of Monopolies, and the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without an Act of Parlia-

ment. Under the third, they ascribed the great renown and reputation of our Nation in former times, to the wisdom and gravity of the Counsellors, when nothing was ordered but by publick debate; and whence arose a readiness in the Subject to assist their Sovereign in purse and person. In the fourth was represented the loss of the Nations wonted Reputation in the Expedition of Cadiz, and others; which was imputed to the want of such Counsels as were heretofore used; For as much as men through difference in success were backward to adventure either their persons or their purses.

Whilest these debates were agitated by the Commons, the Earl of Arundel was by the King committed to the Tower, because of a Marriage consummate betwixt the Lord Maltravers his Eldest Son, and the Eldest Sister of the Duke of Lenox, one near allyed in blood to the King; for the King had designed to marry her to the Lord of Lorne, eldest Son to the Earl of Argyle, a man of great power in Scotland, meditating thereby to reconcile those two Families, who had been antiently in feuds.

The Earl of Arundel committed by the King.

The Earl besought the Kings pardon, and protested his innocency, as no way privie to the business, being contrived by the Dukes Dowager, and his Countess, without his knowledge; but the King would not hear him.

This commitment of the Earl was resented by the House of Peers, who petitioned the King, That it is their undoubted Right, that no Peer sitting in Parliament is to be imprisoned, without Order from the House of Peers, unless it be for Treason, Felony, or refusing to give security for the Peace. And they insisted the more on this Priviledge at this time, because the Earl had six Proxies deputed to him, which would be of no validity during his restraint.

Upon this Petition many debates passed in the House of Lords upon several Messages of the King about this Priviledge, which lasted from the fourteenth of March, to the eighth of June, ere he was satisfied with Reasons of the Peers; and then the Earl was released from his imprisonment.

Whilest these matters were agitated at home, to make the difference greater between the Dutch and the Spaniard, and for further promoting that War, the King of France did conclude a Little Treaty in the Hague, by the Baron of Coupet, concerning the equipping of a Fleet of twenty Ships under the Admiral Hautain, upon a design to straiten Genna by Water, whilest the Constable des Deguiers should be able to do the same by Land; and the English Ambassador then Resident at London, had obtained of the King the Vanguard, one of the Navie-Ships, and six Merchant-Ships to be employed in the same Expedition; but shortly after these English Ships were received into the pay of France. Monsieur de Soubize, taking advantage of the French Armies advance towards Italy, incited those of Rochel to stir against the King, and he with some Ships he had got together, seized on the Isle of Rhee, and some of the King of France his Ships in the Harbour. At this the King was so incensed, that he turn'd his design for Italy upon Rochel; and that occasioned another Treaty at the Hague, with the Hollanders,



1025. *landers betwixt d'Espeffes the French Embassador and them; which was concluded the Twelfth of April, New Style; whereby the Twenty Ships under Hautain, were agreed to be employed against Soubise, and against Rochel. In the mean time many of the French Protestants took great offence at his assistance from Holland against Rochel; but their Alliance with France, and interest of State prevailed above all other considerations. Montmorancy the French Admiral being thus strengthened with the Dutch Fleet, and the seven English Ships, quickly chased Soubise into the Isle of Oleron, and reprinted most of the Ships he had taken; and strengthened Rochel by Sea, whilst the French Army was marching to block it up by Land. The King was much offended, that the English Ships were employed in this Action, having not consented they should be used in any other Expedition, than against Genua; and thereupon he sent an expostulatory Message to the King of France, to have a reason thereof, and to demand restitution of the Ships; and when satisfaction was not given herein, the King caused a rich French Ship of New Haven to be seized on. This occasioned great clamour in France, and the French by way of Retaliation arrested the English Merchants Ships and Goods in their Harbours; but after a while a reconciliation was made, The King had his Ships again, and their Ship restored, and the English Ships and Goods were delivered back: and thus all was calm for the present, but it continued not long so, as shall be shewn hereafter.*

The Traverses in the House of Peers about the Earl of Arundel, rather heightened, than allayed, their intention towards the Duke of Buckingham, and encouragement is given to all that would to inform against him. One Doctor Turner a Physician proposed Six *Queries* in the House of Commons, touching his ill Conduct in affairs, which reflected much upon the Kings Government, and was so resented by him.

Dr. Turner's  
Queries.

1. Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas, since the Duke became Admiral?
2. Whether his not going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success?
3. Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense Liberality?
4. Whether he hath not engrossed all Offices, and preferred his Kindred to unfit places?
5. Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature?
6. Whether Recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?

Sir Richard  
Weston's Mes-  
sage for Mo-  
ney.

Neither was this the only thing which displeased the King, at this Time in the proceedings of the Commons. They had sent Committees to the Signet-Office, to search for Originals of his Letters for relieving some Priests condemned at York; and when Sir Richard Weston Chancellour of the Exchequer, brought a Message to them from him for supply, acquainting them, that the Fleet was returned, Victuals spent, and the men in great necessity, and ready to mutiny for want of pay, and that a Fleet of 40 Ships which were ready to go out, could not move without money, and that the Army on the

Sea Coasts, was in want both of Victuals and Cloaths; They were not prevailed on, but one Mr. Clement Cook amongst other Invectives, said, *It was better to dye by a foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home.*

This high temper of the Commons House was a Subject of much discourse at this time; it was said, The Parliament is a very excellent constitution, but is not without its inconveniences, as all others are; and amongst these, the great licence of Speech in the House of Commons is not the least; for though it be even necessary, that they should not be debarred of Liberty, yet that in the intention seems not to be boundless; for at all times the Zeal for Reformation of abuses in that House, being very great, those amongst them that have a facility of Eloquent Speaking, may do great hurt, if they be not well inclin'd to the Government. But, those that thought the Court, by long plenty and ease, somewhat too exorbitant, believ'd this freedom of Speech very necessary.

And at this time whether it were out of a general Envy against the Duke, because of his sudden exaltation to Greatness, or a particular disgust of some that thought they merited (as well as he) a greater share than they had in the Kings favour; the Tide against him in both the Houses (but especially in the House of Commons) ran so high, that nothing would be granted to the King at a lower rate than his ruine. In the mean time the King manifested a great displeasure at those proceedings, and sent Sir Richard Weston to demand satisfaction; in which they not answering his expectation by so sudden an inquisition as he required, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper Coventry (who lately had the Seal given to him, upon the disgrace of Williams Bishop of Lincoln who was displaced) he acquainted them with his mind.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses of the House of Commons, His Majesties Command hath summoned you hither, and the same Command hath put me upon the service of signifying his Will to you. His Will was, That both Houses should be called together; You, my Lords, as Witnesses of the Justice of his resolutions, and of his Addresses to the House of Commons. His Majesty would have you know, there never was King, who better loved his People, or was more sincerely affected towards the right use of Parliaments, or more ready to redress what shall be represented to him, in the quality of Grievances (provided it be in a regular and decent way,) than Himself: but he would also have you know, That, as He loves His People, so he regards his Honour; and if he be sensible of his Subjects Grievances, of his own he is much more, especially when they flow from offences of such a nature, as not only blast his Reputation, but impede the progress of his Weighty Affairs.

Lord Keep-  
ers Speech.

To come to Particulars, His Majesty saith, That whereas Doctor Turner, and Mr. Cook spake very SEDITIOUS WORDS in your House, they were so far from being



1625. questioned or censur'd for them by you, that others were animated to the like rudeness by their impunit. And though Dr. Turners Articles were pretended against the Duke, it was in truth a libelling his Majesties Government. And when his Majesty did not only by Sir Richard Weston, but in his own person declare his just displeasure, and demanded Justice against those Exorbitants, yet have you not only halled in your obedience to him, but have followed the very steps of this Doctor, and upon false-bottom'd suggestions endeavoured to stain his own and his Fathers honour.

He also complaineth, that you have taken upon you to search his Signet Office, and to examine the Letters of his Secretary of State, leaving him nothing free from their Discovery: a thing not formerly practised.

As concerning the Duke, whom you seem to persecute with such asperity of disgust, I am also commanded to tell you, That his Majesty knows (none better) he acted nothing of publick Employment, without his special Warrant, that he hath discharged his Trust with abundance of both Care and Fidelity; That he merited that Trust, both from his now Majesty and his late Father, by his personal hazard both at home and abroad, and that since his return from Spain, he hath been sedulous in promoting the Service and Contentment of your House. It is therefore his express Command, that you absolutely desist from such un-Parliamentary disquisitions, and resign the Reformation of what is amiss to his Majesties Care, Wisdom, and Justice.

I am also to speak about the business of supply, you have been made acquainted with the posture of his Majesties Affairs, both forrain and domestique, and with his necessitous condition; the charge of all Martial preparations both by Sea and Land, hath been calculated to you, and you promised a supply both speedy and suitable to his occasions, but his Majesty complaineth, that as yet you have not performed either, failing both in the measure, and in the manner. In the measure, by granting only Three Subsidies, and three fifteens, a proportion vastly short of what is requisite. In the manner, being both dilatory, and dishonourable to the King, as arguing a distrust of him; for you have order'd a Bill not to be brought into the House, until your grievances be both heard and answered: which is such a tacite condition, as his Majesty will not admit of.

Therefore his Majesty commands you, to take it into your speedy consideration, and to return your final answer by Saturday next, what further addition you will make; and if your Supplies commensurate and equal the demands of the cause, he promiseth to continue this Sessions to your just content; else he must, and will entertain thoughts of your dismissal.

Lastly, I am commanded to tell you, That his Majesty doth not charge the distempers upon the whole Body, and Assembly of the House; but as he is confident, the greater Number are Persons of a quiet dispose, so he hopeth their influence, and this his Majesties Admonition, will prevent the like for the time to come.

This Speech caused great emotion in the House of Commons, and produced a Remonstrance, to this effect; (viz.)

1625.

That with extreme joy and comfort they acknowledge the Favour of his Majesties most gracious expression of Affection to his People, and this present Parliament. That concerning Mr. Cook, true it is, he let fall some few words, that might admit an ill construction, and that the House was displeased therewith, as they declared by a general Check at the very time he spoke them; and though Mr. Cooks explanation of his mind more clearly, did somewhat abate the offence of the House, yet were they resolved to take it into further consideration, and so have done, the effect whereof had appear'd ere this, had they not been interrupted by this his Majesties Message; and the like interruption befel them also in the business of Doctor Turner.

A Remonstrance.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State, as also of his Majesties own, and searching the Signet Office, and other Records; they had done nothing therein, nor warranted by the precedents of former Parliaments upon the like occasions.

That concerning the Duke, they did humbly beseech his Majesty to be informed, That it hath been the constant and undoubted usage of Parliaments, to question, and complain of any person of what degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the Honour of the Crown, and safety of the Kingdom.

Lastly, as to the matter of Supply: That if addition may be made of other things, importing his Service then in consultation amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, and make him safe at home, and formidable abroad.

To this the King answered briefly, That he would have them in the first place consult about matters of the greatest importance, and that they should have time enough for other matters afterward. But this staid not their progress against the Duke, to which the Earl of Bristol also contributed in the Lords House.

The Kings Answer.

This Earl had been secluded from the presence of both King James, and King Charles, ever since his return from his Embassy in Spain; and taking advantage of the time, he petitioned the Peers; That whereas being a Peer of the Realm, he had not received a Writ of Summons to the Parliament, he prayed he might enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the Benefit of Peerage, after two years restraint, without being brought to Tryal; and if any charge were brought in against him, he might be tryed in Parliament. Upon the reading this Petition, the Lords referred it to their Committees of Privilege; from whence, after due considerations thereof, a Report was made to the House by the Earl of Hertford.

That it was the Opinion of the Committees, That his Majesty should be moved to grant a Writ of Summons to the Earl, which was agreed to by the House. And upon Request made to the King, a Writ was issued accordingly, but accompanied with a Letter from the Lord Keeper

The Earl of Hertford report to the Peers from the Committee of Privileges, concerning the Earl of Bristols Petition.

to



1626.

to him, That though his Majesty had given way to the awarding of the Writ, yet notwithstanding his pleasure was, that his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint, as he did before, and that his personal attendance was to be forborn.

The Earl sends this Letter to the House of Lords, and a Second Petition with it, offering to them, how much this might trench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, to be in this sort discharged by a Letter missive of any Subject, without the Kings hand, beseeching them he might be heard, both as to his wrongful Restraint, and what he hath to say against the Duke.

Earl of Bristol summoned to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent.

This alarm'd the Duke to begin first with him, and by his perswasion the King commands the Attorney General to summon the Earl to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent.

Bristol appearing May the first, the Attorney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuse him of high Treason, and exhibited Eleven Articles against him. But before they were read, the Earl said, *My Lords, I am a Free-man, and a Peer of the Realm unattainted, I have somewhat to say of high Consequence to his Majesties Service, and I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak.*

Earl of Bristol accuses the Duke of Buckingham of high Treason.

The Lords upon this, bid him go on. Then said he, I accuse that man the Duke of Buckingham of high Treason; And immediately he presented 12 Articles against him.

The House after having read these Articles, committed the Earl of Bristol to the Custody of the Usher of the Black-Rod, and order'd that the Kings Charge against the Earl should be first proceeded on, before that of the Earl against the Duke; which the King took very well.

The Articles on both sides concurred in one design, which was to render each other suspected in matters of Loyalty and Religion; though by so doing they made good sport to their enemies, and the World besides, but in neither of them was any fact that amounted to Treason; and because no proceeding was made on them, it is not very requisite to describe them at large. But there being an endeavour to take the Earls cause out of the House of Lords, and to proceed by way of Indictment thereon in the Kings Bench, the Lords resented this, and gave five Reasons why they could not give way to that manner of proceedings; which were these following, (*viz.*)

The Lords Reasons why the Earl of Bristols cause should not be taken out of their House.

1. *He could have no Counsel.*
2. *He could use no Witness against the King.*
3. *He could not know what the evidence against him would be in a convenient time, to prepare for his defence.*
4. *The liberties of the House would thereby be infringed.*
5. *This Earl being indicted, it would not be in their Power to keep him from arraignment, and so he might be disabled to make good his Charge against the Duke; and therefore it was judg'd the most proper, and most legal way of proceeding; First to have the Charge delivered into the House of Peers in writing, and the Earl to set down his answer to it in Writing, and that the Witnesses*

*might be examined, and Evidences on both sides heard; and if upon full hearing, the House should find it to be Treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment; if doubtful in point of Law, to have the Opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtful in matter of fact, then to refer it to Regall fait.*

1626.

The Commons to load heavier upon the Duke, did also, about this time, send up some of their Members, (*viz.*) Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Elyot, Mr. Selden, Mr. Glanvil, Mr. Pym, Mr. Wansfort, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Sherland, with thirteen Articles of high Offences and Misdemeanors against him, containing several Encroachments on the Royal Favour, and some miscarriages, which at another time, and in another man might have been connived at. Nevertheless he put in his answer to them, which was inlayed with so much modesty and humility, that many who expected a more disdainful defence, were converted to a good opinion of him, and in regard there was nothing considerable in them, but what was acted and happened in the time of King James, and not legally cognoscible at this time, he claimed the benefit of Pardon in the 21 of King James, and the present Kings Coronation Pardon. But this being contrary to the expectation of the Commons, upon the 14 of June they had drawn up a Declaration of the same mould of their Impeachment, which was not without difficulty preferred before a Bill of Subsidy, then ready to be read; At which the King was so dissatisfied, that the next day, by a Commission under the great Seal, directed to certain Lords, He dissolved the Parliament. No sooner was he freed from this, but the necessity of his Affairs involved him in another Imbroyment. The French Priests and Domesticks of that Nation, which came into England with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and put so many affronts upon the King, that he was forced to send them home; in which he did no more than what the French King had done before him, in sending back all the Spanish Courtiers, which his Queen brought with her. But that King not looking on his own Example, and knowing on what ill terms the King stood, both at home and abroad, first seized on all the Merchants Ships, which lay on the River of Burdeaux, and then the Peace lately patcht up, was turned into an open War, so that the King was fain to make use of those Forces against the French, which were designed to have been used against the Spaniard, and comply with the desires of the Rochellers, who humbly sued to him at this time for his protection and defence. But the Fleet, which he designed for their assistance, not going out till after Michaelmas, found greater opposition at the Sea, than they feared from the Land, being encountered with strong Tempests, and thereby necessitated to return, without doing any thing, but only shewing the Kings good will, and readiness to help them.

The Commons prepare a Declaration of the matter of their impeachment against the Duke.

The Fleet designed to relieve Rochel, is distressed by Tempest.

Whilest this dispute betwixt the two Kings continued, very sad News came hither from Germany, That the King of Denmark, who had armed (as was before mentioned) on behalf of the Elector Palatine, and the Protestant Princes of Germany,



1626. Germany, notwithstanding the late Aid sent from England, of Six thousand men, under the Conduct of Sir Charles Morgan, had on the seventeenth of August received a total overthrow by Tilly, and was reduced to such distress, that if present Succour came not, he was ruined for ever; That the Sound was like to be lost, the English Garrison at Stoad, straitly besieged, and our East-Land Trade and Staple at Hambrough almost given up for gone.

The King was much perplexed at this, and the more because of his inability in the condition he was to send further Succours to him.

That which chiefly was wanting, was Treasure, and the present use of it could not admit of so much delay, as to call a Parliament, which is the ordinary means of supply. The King was therefore in this strait advised by his Council, That forasmuch as the Commons in Parliament, at their late sitting, had passed a Bill of Subsidies, and that the Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into an Act, he might require these Subsidies of the Subject, which the House of Commons, in their names, had assented to, and yet not by the name of Subsidies, but in the way of Loan, till the next Parliament should enable him to make payment of it, or to confirm the levying thereof, by a subsequent Act. In pursuance of this advice, Commissions were issued out under the Great Seal to divers Commissioners in all parts, for the levying these moneys, who had the Instructions following, to direct them in the execution thereof.

A Commission is passed for a Loan.

Instructions to the Commissioners.

1. That for a good example to others, they should themselves lend His Majesty the several Sums required.

2. To go according to the Rates at which people were assessed in the Book of the last Subsidy.

3. To stir up every man to a cheerful lending, by declaring the unavoidable necessity of taking this course, and using other the most prevalent Arguments they could devise; as the honour of the Nation, the defence of true Religion, the Safety of Prince and People.

4. That they appoint the dayes of Payment to be within fourteen dayes.

5. That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.

6. That they begin with such as are like to shew best examples.

7. That they endeavour to discover, whether any by under-hand persuasions, or otherwise, go about to hinder the good intentions of others, and if any such be found, to certify their names, qualities, and habitations to the Council.

8. That they signify His Majesties pleasure to remit, upon the lending of these Sums, whatsoever hath been desired upon the late Benevolence, or Privy Seals.

9. That they admit of no suit to be made, or reasons to be given, for the abating of any sum.

10. That upon their Faith, and Allegiance to his Majesty they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and not discover them to any others.

And besides these private Instructions, they were to represent to the people the deplorable estate of Rochel, then closely besieged by the Duke of Guise; which, if not speedily relieved, would fall into the hands of the Enemies of the

Protestant Religion. But though these Commissioners brought in good sums of money, yet many, and some of good quality refused, and were therefore committed to several prisons.

This Year died two of the most eminent Men for Learning, that ever the Nation had, Doctor Andrews Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans.

1627. It was now the Third year of His Majesties Reign, when Rhee Action was agreed on: and though money came not so plentiful as was hoped, yet the Duke of Buckingham High Admiral of England, desirous to wipe away the imputation of Negligence, in relation to his Admirallship, had, with much ado, compleated his Naval Forces, consisting of Six thousand Horse and Foot in Ten Ships-Royal, and Ninety Merchant-men; with which he sets Sail from Portsmouth the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, and published his Manifesto the Twenty first of July following, declaring at large the Kings Affection to the Reformed Churches in France, and his displeasure at the last misemploying of his Ships against the Rochellers. The first design of this Fleet was intended against Fort Lewis, wherein being prevented by the Duke of Angoulesme, they resolved upon the Isle of Rhee; Twelve Ships therefore were sent to guard the entry of Port Breton, the rest sailed on to a Fort of the Isle of Rhee, called De la Price, making their approaches with their Canon so near, that Monsieur Toiras, Governour of the Citadel of St. Martin, perceiving their intention, sent out his Forces, to the number of one thousand, in seven partitions, Horse and Foot, to impede their coming on shore: These were encountered by Twelve hundred English, whom Sir John Burrough, Sir Alexander Brett, Sir Edward Conway, and Sir Charles Rich, had landed by the advantage of their great Ordnance. The fight was sharp and quick, wherein many brave Gentlemen lost their lives on both sides; of the French, Monsieur Restringler, Brother to Toiras, Chascalois, Canfes, Naval, Tatlian, Mountain, Heasteby, Boisoncer, and Candamine. Of the English, Sir Thomas York, Sir William Hegden, Sir Thomas Thornay, Sir George Blundel, Courtney, Glin, Whaley, Powel, Woodhouse, Goring, &c. and a Kinsman of Sir George Blundels, with Monsieur de Blancart, Agent for the Duke of Roan, and the Protestants. And of the wounded were, Rich, Conway, Hawle, Greenville, Abraham Rainford, Wellome, Thorp, Maryles, and Bennet: The Victory uncertain. The English General removed his Camp, and intrenching, dispatched Soubize, and Sir William Beecher to Rochel, who returned with five hundred Foot, and found the Duke before Saint Martins Castle (the chief strength of the Island) notwithstanding the dissuasion of his Council, who advised him first to attempt the other Castle, called the Mede, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have proved an handsome, and safe place of retreat in their future necessity. Buckingham falls to Circumvallation, ordering the Ships to encompass the Island without, to hinder all provision and supply from Toiras; by which means the besieged were for the space of two months greatly distressed, in which time there hapned a hot conflict between both Parties, and that with equal success; and by a Letter of Toiras to Monsieur Bellamount, their

1626. The Duke of Buckingham's Expedition to the Isle of Rhee.



1625.

their extremity appeared to be such, that (as he there said) the Mills could not long stand, all their Corn was spent, which enforced their Souldiers to feed on their Store of Bisket, not lasting above ten days: hereupon the Duke of Buckingham summons *Toiras*, who refusing to falsifie his Trust, the English now strengthened with fresh Auxiliaries from *England* and *Ireland*, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Bingham*, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, set themselves to invent new sorts of Engines to batter the Citadel; all which were rendred fruitless by Wind and Waves. And one Abbot *Marscilane* procured *Monsieur Valin* to undertake the conveying of twelve Pinaces laden with provision, to the relief of *Toiras* and his Souldiers, which he prosperously achieved, and at his return carried back with him their sick and wounded.

In the mean time scarcity afflicts the English Camp, and Sir *John Burroughs* viewing the Works, was shot through, whereof he shortly died. The French King came from Court to the Camp, and thrice in ten days attempted to send over some Aids to the Castle, but the English Ships repelled them, and three days after another Brother of *Toiras* was slain, and his Squadron put to flight. And now the Souldiers of the Castle were reduced to greater hardship than before, not being furnished with Bread for above four days; whereupon having no other way left, *Toiras* resolved to win time by treating with the Duke of *Buckingham* about surrender, hoping in the interim to have some better news from his Associates, which accordingly fell out; for *Monsieur Manpaile*, who with other Pilots, heretofore had sounded the Shelves, and designed the Station for some Ships, for the relief of the Island, contrived a way to bring them, in despite of the English: It was now the Winter, and the nights long & dark, by which advantage he had opportunity to pass by them with a Fleet of 35 Sail, 150 Mariners, 300 Souldiers, 160 of the Chief Nobility, and many Noble Commanders, with great store of all sorts of Provision, having before sent some dissembling Renegado's, to tell the English that he passed a contrary way: so that when the Duke of *Buckingham* expected a surrender, they boldly shewed him their Rundlets of Wine, and Turkies and Capons upon the points of their Pikes and Spears.

The Duke hereat dismayed, spends the night in Council, and determines with all speed to raise the siege, and be gone; but the *Rochellers* intreaties, and *Dolbiers* arrival from *England*, with assurance of Auxiliaries, unhappily prevailed with him for a longer stay, during which, the fame of fresh Supplies to the besiegers published over all *France*, to be coming, under the Command of the Earl of *Holland*, hastned the French to send forth another Fleet, consisting of fifteen good Ships, and other smaller Boats, part to *St. Martins*, and the rest to the *Meadow Castle*, besides seven others which got to the *Meadow Fort* under *Bellamouns* command. And now the French King resolved to dislodge the English, and dispatched over for the Service, an Army of four thousand Foot; and two hundred Horse, besides Volunteers, under the Command of the Marshal of *Schomberg*, with *Marylane* his Lieu-

1626.

tenant General, to whom came all the besieged, and greatest part of the Islanders, being in all above eleven thousand men; after which another party under the Command of *Bassompierre* and *Halliere*, consisting of eight hundred of their Kings Life-guard, an hundred and fifty of the Country thereabout, 30 of the Kings Horse, and 3 great Brass Pieces, landed at the *Meadow Castle*. Against these last, the Duke of *Buckingham* marched with 500 Foot, and 40 Horse, and forced them to retreat to the Castle, but returning to his Camp, he finds the Trenches possessed by another party of the French Army; *Stanley* is ordered to beat them out again, which he doth by main force, though not without loss; and the Lord *Montjoy* seized a small Troop of French: him they endavoured to surprize with six Horse in shew; whom he chased so far, that he had almost come in danger of their Ambuscade. One dark night a party of the English fell upon a party of the French, and not well discovering one another, so mingled, that by mistake, the English falling into the French Camp, became a prey to them.

Nor did War only afflict the English, but also Sickness and Want, whereby their Souldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his final resolution of taking his farewell of the Island, with one more Assault to *Saint Martins Castle*. *Toiras* had intelligence of it, & therefore he managed his business accordingly, and gave them so hot a welcome, as, being oppressed and fell'd to the ground with shot, they dropt in heaps: so that after a great loss received, the Duke commanded a retreat to be sounded, and soon after demolished his Works, filled his Ditches, and levelled his Trenches, in order to his departure. *Schomberg* and *Marylane* pursued, hollowing to them in a Bravado, and brandishing their Swords. The English thinking the Enemy would then have charged them, drew up in Battalia; but they knowing what advantage the way would shortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke marched on in Military Order, until he came to the Village *Curda*, where they made another stand, and by an Ambuscade of Musqueteers placed behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French to retreat; but the whole Army coming up, followed them slowly for 3 miles, till they came to *Anserine* Causeway, which was so narrow, that they could only march six abreast, with Ditches on either side, mostly ending in Saltpits: and now *Schomberg* espying his expected opportunity, poured forth a great volley of shot against them, and then the English began to march as fast as possibly; but the Lord *Montjoy's* Troops unable to endure the charge of the French Horse, turned tail, and riding in amongst the other Ranks, put them into such a disorder, as inabled the French easily to break in upon them and rout them, with no small slaughter, overthrowing some into the Ditches and Saltpits, and piercing others as they lay in the dirt. Nor was flight any whit more auspicious to them, for those who confusedly ran away, and casting away their Arms, leaped into the Water, were also cut off. *Cunninghams* Horse fought it out nobly unto the last man. The Lord *Montjoy* was taken Prisoner, and civilly used. Some

Re.)



1627. Reformadoes, by uneven, and turning paths, made their way to the further bridge, with much danger, there joyning with *Conway, Crosby, Fryar, and Hackvil*, and their forces, they made good that Pass by the repulse of the enemy, and leaving a guard of Musqueteers there all day, set the Bridge on fire, and lodged that night stragglingly up and down. The next day the Duke demanded and obtained the dead bodys, and went on board. Great was this days loss, viz. about fifty officers, among whom were Sir *William Cunningham*, Sir *Charles Rich*, and Sr. *Alexander Brett*, and near two thousand common Souldiers were slain, thirty prisoners of note, and forty four Colours were taken: of the French not above three hundred were lost. The Duke hoised Sail, and met the Earl of *Holland*, with his unseasonable Recruits, near the Western Coast of *England*; and at his return finding a favourable reception at the Kings hands he laid the loss of the design upon the Earls not timely seconding the Expedition. But at Sea things went somewhat better, where Captain *Treitor*, in his return from *Hambrough*, seized by command a great French ship at the *Texel* in *Holland*, named the *Saint Esprit*, with twenty brass Culverines, two brass Semi-culverins, two other brass Guns, sixteen large Iron Guns & two lesser, & in the hold for ballast twelve great Guns, and Arms for eleven hundred Souldiers, and eighteen Barrels of Powder. And Sir *John Pennington*, Vice-Admirall, took thirty four of their rich merchant men, homewards bound, all which were safely brought into *England*, to sweeten though not countervail the loss received at *Rochell*. The ill Success of this Enterprize did much incense the People against the Duke of *Buckingham*, but the King did not discover any discontent towards him; only he told him, that Sr. *Sackville Crow* had written to him of a far greater loss, than he acknowledged. During this expedition, *Abbot*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by letters Patents of the 9th of *October* was suspended from all his *Metropolitan* Jurisdiction, and confined to his House at *Ford* in *Kent*, and the exercise thereof was committed to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and *Bath and Wells*, or to any four, three, or two, of them. The occasion of this Commission was not discover'd otherwise than by what was express'd in the Commission it self, (viz.) That the said Arch-bishop could not at that present, in his own person attend those Services, which were otherwise proper for his cognisance and Jurisdiction, and which as Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, he might and ought in his own person have performed, and executed. But the true reason was, for that the King was perswaded, the Non-conformists to the Discipline of the Church, too much increased by the remissness of his Government.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* is suspended and confined to his house.

This *Michaelmas* Terme there was a grand debate in the Kings-Bench, concerning some of those imprison'd, for refusing the Loan, who moved for an *Habeas Corpus*, and had it. The Attorney Generall, Sir *Robert Heath*, upon their appearance alledged, they were not baileable, and their Counsell the contrary, and the Court agreed with the Attorney, so that

they were continued in Prison, till an order pass'd in Council, for a general release, which was shortly after.

The French King, encouraged by the Success he had against our forces, resolv'd upon a more formidable siege against *Rochell*, and having made a Line about it on the Lands-side, with three forts, by the advice of Cardinal *Richieu*, and the loan of many Merchants ships, belonging to the Subjects of the *United Netherlands*, he attempted a Baracade, fourteen hundred yards in length, cross the Channel, to hinder all relief by Sea; whereby the *Rochellers* expected nothing but ruine, unless they could prevent it, so that they with great haste sent Monsieur *Soubize* and their Deputies to *England*, to sollicite the King for Supplys, before the work should be compleated; who was so affected with their miseries, that he promised them all the assistance he could; and to enable him thereunto he borrowed an hundred and twenty thousand Pound of the City of *London*, for which and other Debts, they had lands, to the value of one and twenty thousand Pounds a year assured to them. He also borrowed of the *East-India Company* thirty thousand pounds, and what money else he could get by privy Seals. Moreover it was resolved to levy money by Excise, and a Commission, under the great Seal, was pass'd on the third of *February* to authorize it, but the execution thereof was suspended by the King, who never was guilty of any irregular action, by the impulse of his own nature, nor perswaded by others but by extreame necessity, & at this time, in compliance with his own good inclinations, he chose rather to call a Parliament, which was summon'd to meet on the 17th of *March*, than proceed in extraordinary ways, for he was much troubled at the general discontent of the People; and he hoped by their counsels to beget a good understanding betwixt himself and them.

A Barracade to be made cross the Channel leading to *Rochel*.

Monsieur *Soubize* and others come from *Rochel* to *England* for Relief.

On the 17th of *March*, the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and the King having sent for the Commons to the Lords-house expressed himself in these words to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
These times are for action, for action, I say, not for words; therefore I shall use but a few; and (as Kings are said to be exemplary to their Subjects, so) I wish you would imitate me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedy consultation. No man is, I conceive, such a stranger to the common necessity, as to expostulate the cause of this meeting, and not to think supply to be the end of it; and as this necessity is the product and consequent of your advice, so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of your Friends and Allies, being so considerably concern'd, will be, I hope, arguments enough to perswade Supply; for if it be (as most true it is) both my duty, and yours, to preserve this Church and Commonwealth, this exigent of time certainly requires it.

The Kings speech to both Houses of Parliament.

In this time of common danger, I have taken the most ancient, speedy, and best way, for supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) you do not your duty, in contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions, it shall suffice, I have done mine; In the Conscience where,



1627. whereof I shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath empowred me, to save that, which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose.

Take not this as a menace (for I scorn to threaten my inferiours) but as an admonition from him who is tyed, both by nature and duty, to provide for your preservations; and I hope, though I thus speak, your demeanors will be such, as shall oblige me in thankfulness to meet you oftner, than which nothing shall be more pleasing to me. Remembering the distractions of our last meeting, you may suppose I have no confidence of good success at this time; but be assured I shall freely forget and forgive what is past, hoping you will follow that sacred advice, lately inculcated, To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

The Parliament seemed very much affected with what the King said, and the Commons freely voted, to grant him five Subsidies, whereof when Secretary Cook informed the King, he asked him, by how many voices it was carried, who replied by one, at which perceiving the Kings countenance to change; Sir, said he, your Majesty hath the greater cause to rejoyce, for the House was so unanimous therein, as they made but one voice. At which the King was exceedingly pleased, and bid the Secretary tell them he would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his predecessors had granted. But whilest a Bill was in preparation for these Subsidies, they considered of the publick grievances of the Kingdom.

1628. The Kings extraordinary wants put him, as you have heard, upon some unusual courses for levying of Money, not very warrantable by our ancient Laws, and some that were unwilling to countenance such courses, or otherwise disaffected to the Government, upon refusal were imprisoned; and because no legal cause could be assigned for such restraint, the Warrants, whereby they were imprisoned, had no cause specified in them, which was exclaimed against, as not legal, and a great Grievance. There is scarce any thing short of death, more grievous than imprisonment, and though by our Laws no man can be imprisoned without a legal cause expressed; yet those that are in the exercise of power, in tumultuous times, upon extraordinary emergencies, are constrained to pass over those bounds; for no such provision hath yet, or can be made, to exclude all manner of arbitrary exercise of Government; but whoever they be, that exceed in this tender point, it will become their prudence to do it with extraordinary caution.

Upon the return of the Fleet after the late actions at Sea, the Souldiers, for want of pay, were billeted in private houses, which was alledged to be against the Law; and to aggravate this, the rudeness of their persons, and their Countrey (being Scotch and Irish) did much contribute. Nevertheless though their Actions were bad, and their persons worse, the Commons liked not that they should be punished by Law Martiall. For there being a Commission issued to try offences of the Souldiers by Martial Law, they exclaimed at it, and it was urged as a

Martial law complained of by the Commons.

grievance; yet till that time the Kings Prerogative, in making and establishing Martial Laws, was never questioned, though since the Petition of Right, there is doubt of it. *Magna Charta* and six other Statutes explanatory of it, were express against illegal levies of Money, and imprisonments; and though those Statutes were in force, whether the Parliament thought them antiquated, and therefore less regarded, or for what other reason it is not said, to provide against the Grievances complained, &c. they drew up that memorable Law, called, *The Petition of Right*, and presented it to the King, to which he gave the Royal Assent in full Parliament, to the very great liking of the people. And it was now thought there was so sweet an Harmony betwixt the King and the Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation of as much happiness, as it could be capable of; but this concession inflamed the zeal of many of the House of Commons, to press a little further, and they immediately framed a Remonstrance of several late miscarriages in Government, in the conclusion whereof, they said, *The excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the abuse of that power is the principal cause of all the evils and dangers, therein mentioned; and therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesties Wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or for his Kingdom, that so great power, both by Sea and Land as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.*

1628. Conclusion of the Remonstrance against the Duke of Buckingham.

On the 17 of June, this Remonstrance was presented to the King, with the Bill of Subsidies, in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, who when he had heard it read, told them he little expected such a Remonstrance, after he had so graciously passed the Petition of Right; and for the Grievances, specified therein, he would consider of them, as they should deserve.

The King had levied the duties of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, ever since the first of his Reign, which the House of Commons alledged he ought not to have done, or at least that they could not now be taken, since the passing of the late Petition of Right; and they prepared a Remonstrance against it; but the King unwilling to hear of any more Remonstrances of such a strain, resolved to frustrate it, by proroguing the Parliament, from the 26 of June, to the 20 of October, and calling both Houses together to that end, he delivered his mind as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
It may seem strange, that I come so suddenly to end this Session, therefore before I give my assent to the Bills, I will tell you the cause; (though I must avow, I owe an account of my actions to none, but God alone.) It is known to every one, that a while ago, the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance, how acceptable, every man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call that in question, for I am sure, no wise man can justify it. Now since I am certainly informed, that a second Remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away my profit of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* (one of the chief maintenances of the Crown) by alledging, that I have given

The Kings Speech.

PPP



1628. given away my Right thereof, by my answer to your Petition.

This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this Session, some few hours before I meant it; being willing not to receive any more Remonstrances, to which I must give an harsh answer.

And since I see, that even the House of Commons begins already to make false Constructions of what I granted in your Petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the Country, I now make a declaration, concerning the true intent thereof.

The profession of both Houses, in the time of hammering this Petition, was no wayes to trench upon my Prerogative, saying, they had neither intention, nor Power to hurt it.

Therefore it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient Liberties of my Subjects. Yet to shew the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing, that I have promised you, I do here declare, that those things, which have been done, whereby men had cause to suspect the Liberty of the Subject to be trenched upon (which indeed was the true and first ground of the Petition) shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; And in time to come (on the word of a King) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

But as for Tonnage and Poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have spoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition; but especially you, My Lords the Judges, for to you only under me belongs the interpretation of the Laws, for none of the Houses of Parliament, joynt or separate, (what new doctrine soever may be raised) have any power either to make or declare a Law, without my consent.

The D. of Buckingham slain at Portsmouth.

During this Sessions, the Duke was not discouraged by the former Remonstrance, as to hinder his activity, in preparing a new, for the relief of Rochel, both by Sea and Land; but being ready to set sail, he was suddenly cut off, being slain at Portsmouth, in the 36 year of his age, by the hand of one John Felton, a discontented Officer of the last years Army.

The first News of this fact came to the King (then about four miles distant) at his publick devotion, whose intentions were so steady upon that sacred duty, that he received it without the least emotion of Spirit, or discomposure of Countenance. He sent Dr. Hutchinson (one of his Chaplains in ordinary, and then in the course of his attendance) to try, if he could learn out of him, by what inducement he committed that horrible murder; who told him, his only motive was, That the Duke had been declared an enemy to the Commonwealth in the late Remonstrance, tendred to the King by the Parliament, and afterwards said the same again, and again, both at the time of his examination before the Lords of the Council, and at his execution. Ne-

vertheless, when he was made sensible of the foulness of the Act, he manifested great sorrow and contrition for it. But that, which excited this miserable man to so great a mischief, had likewise influenced the people in general, who rejoiced at his death, as one of the greatest enemies of their Countrey.

But those that knew him, and observed his actions, deliver him to posterity as one of the most generous and accomplished persons of that time. His outward form was a great masterpiece of Nature, exact in every part, nor was his mind without his ornaments, being of a very affable and courteous disposition, and though advanced to as great dignity as a subject could be capable of, he did not leave those qualities. He was said to be addicted more than was fit, to the love of women, but it is not said, that his passion that way, reached to the ruine, or publick defamation of any particular person, or family. He had less studied books than men, and if he had lived a few more years, to have seen through the temptations of greatness, he might have proved as a great Pillar of this State, as any that went before him. He was very bountiful to his kindred and servants, most of which he advanced to honour and wealth; and to all to whom he professed friendship. He was constant in it, in so much, that there rarely passed a day in Court whilst he was there, wherein he did not some good Office to one or other; and as I have heard from one near him, every morning, before he went to the King, he collected in paper, what publick matters he had to acquaint him with, and the suits he had to make in behalf of those that solicited him. But as he was kind to his friends and dependants, so he was formidable to his enemies, especially to such as deceived him under a guise of friendship. His courage was very great, and did too much transport him; for if he had a little yielded to the times, and withdrawn from those storms, he could neither prevent nor allay, he might perhaps have found a milder fate.

His Character.

His bowels were interr'd in Portsmouth, and his body was brought to York-house, from whence after some time it was entomb'd at Westminster in St. Edwards Chapel, and a stately Monument was erected over it by his Executors. And Felton being arraigned, and found guilty at the Kings bench-bar at Westminster, was hanged at Tyburn, and afterwards his body was sent to Portsmouth, where without the Town it was hanged in chains, till it was consumed.

The Dukes body entomb'd at Westminster at St. Edwards Chapel.

The sad accident of the Dukes death made little or no stop in the proceedings of the Fleet, which at the last set forward under the Earl of Lyndsey; but before he could get to Rochel, the Haven was so barr'd, that it was impossible for his ships to force their way (though it was gallantly often attempted) so that the Rochellers seeing this hope to fail, sent out some of the principal of the Town, to make their submission to the King, and set open the gates, to receive him.

The time now drawing near for the meeting of the Parliament, the King for many weighty reasons, put off their Assembling to the twentieth of January, and in the meantime Archbishop

Abbot



1628. *Abbot* was admitted to kiss his hands, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Council Table : which was done at this conjuncture, to moderate the heats of certain Ecclesiasticks ; who made great disturbance in the Church, by some Scholastical controversies, in the points of Predestination, grace and perseverance. Both parties were abetted by several Bishops, and each of them would pretend the opinions they held, to be the Doctrine of the Church, when in truth they were but the opinions of private men ( for nothing can be called the Doctrine of the Church, that is not so declar'd by the whole Clergy, lawfully assembled in Convocation ) These were distinguished by the names of *Calvinists* and *Arminians*. The first countenanced by the Commons in Parliament, and some few of the Bishops ; the latter justified by most of the Bishops, and not discountenanced by the King. The first of these were likewise somewhat remiss in exacting a rigid conformity to the Ceremonies ; the latter perhaps more earnest than was needful therein at this time, but withal they were great Assertors of the Prerogative Royal. The King was very intent for the Peace of the whole, and caused the Nine and thirty Articles of the Church to be published, with a Declaration to restrain all disputes, in the points controverted ; and now also a book, writ by one *Montague* ( in King James his time ) of these Controversies, called *Appello Cæsarem*, was called in, and Dr. *Potter* a *Calvinist*, is made Bishop of *Carlisle* ; but these Acts did not mollifie the minds of those, for whom they were intended, for a while after (*viz*) the 20<sup>th</sup> of *January* the Parliament Assembled, and the Grand Committees, which are usually the first things settled at the opening of that Assembly, were very busie and Active. That of Religion made great complaints of the invasions upon Religion, which they pretended was much endangered, by the increase of *Poperie* and *Arminianisme*, and many instances were made to heighten the apprehensions of the people therein, whilst the House was not less active in their inquisitions into the miscarriages in civil affairs, concerning which diverse Petitions were presented, importing that many Merchants had their goods seized, and informations preferr'd against them in the *Star-Chamber*, for refusing to pay the custom of Tonnage and Poundage against the tenour of the Petition of Right ; and one of these Merchants, named *Rolls*, being a Member of the House of Commons, what was done towards him, was judged a breach of Privilege, for which the Customers were summoned to the House, to answer their misdemeanour therein : The King interposed in this matter, and informed the House, that what they did, was done, as by men addicted to his command, adding, he did not commissionate them, to take it as of Right belonging to him, but out of a firm presumption, that the House of Commons, suitable to their large professions, would grant it him by Bill, which he desired they would dispatch to put an end to the dispute. This gave no satisfaction, but debates in the House ran very high, and they resolved to proceed to a Remonstrance against the levying the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Act of Parliament.

Arch-bishop  
Abbot re-  
stored to  
favour.

The Parlia-  
ment is As-  
sembled.

Grand Com-  
mittees set-  
tled and very  
active.

In which point they were so earnest on the second of *March*, that fearing they should be dissolved, before they had vented their passion in it, they locked the doors of the House, and gave the Key to Sir *Miles Hobbard*, one of their Members, to keep ; and refused to admit the Usher of the Black-rod, whom the King had sent with a Message to them ; whereat he was so offended, that he sent for the Captain of the Pensioners, and the Guards, to force an entrance, and in the mean time the heads of a Remonstrance were offered to Sir *John Fynch* the Speaker, to be put to the question ; which he refusing, because the King had given order to adjourn to the tenth of *March*, and to put no question, nor admit of any debate, Mr. *Denzill Hollis*, and Sir *Peter Heyman* held him in the Chair, till by one of them the Protestation was read, and then they rose before the Pensioners and Guards came, and the House was adjourned to the tenth of *March*.

1628.

The Com-  
mons lock  
the doors of  
their House,  
and refuse  
to admit the  
Usher of the  
Black Rod.

#### The Protestation of the Commons:

1. Whosoever shall bring in an Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce Popery, or Arminianisme, or other opinions, disagreeing from the true and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capital enemy to the Kingdom and Commonwealth.
2. Whosoever shall counsel, or advise the taking or levying of the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capital enemy to this Commonwealth.
3. If any man shall voluntarily yield or pay the said Subsidies of Tonnage or Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to this Commonwealth.

Two daies after a Proclamation was issued to declare the Parliament dissolved, though the dissolution was not formally executed, till the tenth of *March*, at which time the King came to the Lords-House, and being set on his Throne, with his Crown on his Head, and in his Robes, and the Lords in their Robes also, he bespoke them thus :

My Lords,

I Never came here upon so unpleasant an occasion, it being the dissolution of a Parliament : therefore men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to do this by Commission, it being a general Maxim of Kings, to leave harsh Commands to their Ministers, themselves only executing pleasing Commands ; yet considering that Justice as well consists in the reward and praise of vertue, as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here to day, to declare to you, and all the world, that it was meerly the undutiful, and seditious Carriage of the Lower-House, that hath made the dissolution of the Parliament. And you My Lords are so far from being causes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutiful demeanours, as I am justly distasted with their proceed-



1628. *dings. Yet to avoid mistakings let me tell you, that it is so far from me, to adjudge all that house guilty, that I know there are as dutiful Subjects, as any in the World; it being but some few Vipers amongst them, that did cast this mist of undutifulness before their eyes; yet to say truth, there was a good number there, that would not be infected by this Contagion, insomuch that some did express their duties in speaking, which was the general fault of the House the last day. To conclude, as these Vipers must look for their reward of Punishment, so you, My Lords, must justly expect from me that favour and protection, that a good King oweth to his loving and dutiful Nobility.*

The King was highly provoked, as is evident by this Speech, at the disorder and tumultuous carriage of many of the Members of the Commons-House of Parliament, who strain'd all things beyond their natural length; a little moderation and obsequiousness might have obtain'd of him, whatsoever was desired; and if he had not had better intentions towards his Subjects, than some of those discontented Spirits would have made the world believe he had, the dissolution of this might have been the end of all Parliaments, and we might have been deprived of that Spring, from whence the blessings of Peace, and happiness have formerly been derived on this Church and State. And this there wanted not some, to infuse into him, by the example of the King of France then Reigning. For whereas in an Assembly of the three Estates (which is in the nature of our Parliament) some years before this time, the Commons (being their third Estate) entrenched too busily upon the Liberties of the Clergy, and some Priviledges, which the Nobility enjoyed, by the favour of the former Kings; it gave the King so great offence, that he dissolved them, and their constitution together, and ordained another kind of Assembly in place thereof, which he called *L'Assemblee des Notables*, That is to say, The Assembly of principal Persons, which are composed of select persons out of all orders of Estates of the Kings nomination, to which is added a Counsellor out of every Court of Parliament in France, and the Acts of this Assembly are no less obliging to the People, than the others were. The King would receive no impressions of this nature, but yet he was very earnest to vindicate his Authority, and Commandment, which in his proclamation, before mentioned, He alledged to have been so contemned, as his Kingly Office could not bear, nor any former age parallel. He had on the fourth of March, six daies before his coming to the Lords (by the advice of the Privy Council, and by their warrant) sent for several Members of the Commons-House to appear the next day at the Council-Table, (*viz.*) *Denzill Hollis*, Esquire; *Sir John Elliot*, *Sir Peter Hayman*, *Sir Miles Hubbart*; *John Selden*, *Will. Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *William Stroud*, and *Walter Long*, Esquires, who were the principal authors of the late Disorders, at which time *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine* appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament, what was said and done in Parliament, they were committed to the Tower; The rest not then appear-

Several  
Members of  
the House  
of Commons  
imprisoned.

ring, were afterward apprehended, and committed to several other Prisons.

But lest those distempered Spirits, that had by imprudence caused so much disquiet at Westminster, should to excuse themselves, disperse abroad in their Countries, some of their malignities, to asperse the Government, and alienate the hearts of the good Subjects from the King, he published a Declaration, setting forth his Reasons and Motives for dissolving the Parliament, with brevities of all transactions, in this and the former Session, the heads whereof we think it not improper to insert in this place;

He professed therein, To maintain the true Religion and Doctrine, established in the Church of England, without admitting or conniving at any Back-sliding, either to Popery or Schism, having been ever desirous, to be found worthy of that Title, which he accounted the most glorious in his Crown, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH; nor would he ever give way to the authorising of any thing, whereby any Innovation might creep into the Church, but to preserve that unity of Doctrine and Discipline, established in the time of Queen Elizabeth, wherein the Church had stood, and flourished ever since. He shewed also how careful he had been to command the execution of the Laws against Popish Priests, and Popish Recusants, and if his commands were not duly executed, the fault ought to be laid on the remissness of the Officers and Ministers, to whom it belong'd; for it was his part to direct and order well, but the part of others to perform the ministerial Offices.

The Substance of the King's declaration.

Next to Religion, his care of settling the Right and Liberties of the People, was manifested in his answer to the Petition of Right, which since that time had not been infringed.

Nor was he less careful in the provident ordering of the Supplies, given to him the last Session, wherein no part had been put to any other use than to what it was granted.

But he could not but take notice of some glances in the House, and rumours abroad, as if his answer to the Petition of Right, had not only given away his imposition upon goods exported and imported, but the Tonnage and Poundage also, whereas in the debate thereof there was no mention in either House, concerning those Duties, but concerning Taxes, and other charges within the Land; for though in the matter of Tonnage and Poundage, his necessities pleaded strongly for him, he was resolved to guide himself by the practice of his Noblest Predecessours, and therefore he caused Records to be searched, where it was found, that the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not granted to King Edward the fourth, till the third year of his Reign, yet he received it the first day of his accession to the Crown, until it was granted by Parliament; and in the succeeding times of Richard the third, King Henry the seventh, King Henry the eighth, King Edward the sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not only enjoyed by every one of those Kings and Queens, from the death of each of them deceasing, until it was granted by



1628. by Parliament unto the Successour; but in all those times, the Parliament did most readily and chearfully, in the beginning of every of those Reigns grant the same, as a thing most necessary for the guarding of the Seas, safety and Defence of the Realm, and supportation of the Royal dignity. And in the time of his Royal Father, of Blessed Memory, he enjoyed the same a full year, wanting very few daies, before his Parliament began; and above a year, before the Act of Parliament, for the grant of it was passed; and yet when the Parliament was Assembled, it was granted without difficulty. And in his own time he quietly received the same three years, and more, expecting with patience in several Parliaments, the grant thereof, as had been made to many of his Predecessours, the House of Commons still professing that multitude of other Businesses, and not want of Willingness on their part had caused the settling thereof to be so long deferred.

And when the grant of an Act came to be treated of, all expressed a great Willingness to grant it, but a new strain was found out to puzzle the business, that it could not be done without peril to the Right of the Subject, unless he would disclaim his Right therein, and put himself out of the possession thereof; whereas it was evident, all the Kings before named did receive that duty, and were in actual possession of it before, and at the very time, when it was granted to them by Parliament. Nevertheless he did declare, That it was his meaning by the gift of the people to enjoy it, and that he did not challenge it of Right, but took it De bene esse, wherein he said he descended, for their satisfaction, far beneath himself, being confident never any of his Predecessours did the like, nor was the like required of them, but yet for all this the Bill was laid aside. Whilst the Duke of Buckingham lived, he was intitled to all the ill events of Parliament, but now he is dead, no alteration was found amongst those envenomed Spirits, which troubled the Harmony betwixt him, and his Subjects, and continue still to trouble it; So that the Duke was not the Mark they shot at; but as a meer Minister of his, taken up in their passage to more secret designs, to cast his affairs into a desperate condition, to abate the Power of the Crown, and to bring the Government into obloquy, that in the end all things might be overwhelmed with Anarchy and confusion. And then concludes, That all wise, and discreet men, might judge of the Rumours and fears maliciously bruited abroad, and discern by examination of their own hearts, whether in respect of the free passage of the Gospel, indifferent and equal Ministration of Justice; Freedom from oppression, and the great peace and quietness which every man enjoyeth under his own Vine, the happiness of this Nation can be parallel'd by any of our Neighbours Countries; and if it cannot be, acknowledge their own Blessedness, and for the same be thankful to God, the Author of all Goodness.

On the seventh of May, the Attorney General preferred an Information in the Star-Chamber, against Sir John Elliot, and the rest of the imprisoned Members, and they issued a Process against them; to answer his allegations in that Court; To which they demurr'd; and the King had several Communications with the Judges about it, but they moved for Writs of Habeas Corpus, and had them granted, but had no returns to them as was desired, till the King had received the Resolution of the Judges in the Matter, which he did the 30th of September, at Hampton-Court; where the King calling them aside (after he had proposed several matters to them, by way of advice, and had heard the answer, which was, That their offences were not capital, and that by the Law they ought to be bailed, giving security for their good behaviour;) he told them, he purposed, to proceed against them, by the Common-Law in the King's Bench, and to decline his proceeding in the Star-Chamber, and was contented they should be bailed, notwithstanding their obstinacy, that they had not given him a Petition to express their sorrow for offending him; adding, that he was pleased with them for dealing plainly with him; or words to that effect.

In pursuance of this advice, as soon as Michaelmas Term began, the Court of Kings-Bench was moved to bail the prisoners; To which the Judges with one voice said, they were content, they should be bailed, but that they ought to find Sureties for their good Behaviour; To which Selden answered (and all the rest agreed to it) that they had Sureties ready for the Bail, but not for the good Behaviour, for that was a point of discretion meerly, and they could not assent to it, without great offence to the Parliament, where the matters surmised were acted. To this the Judges replied to this effect, That the return did not mention anything done in Parliament, and the surety of good Behaviour is a prevention of Damages to the Common-wealth, and an Act of Government and Jurisdiction, and not of Law, and would be no inconvenience to the prisoners for the same Bail should suffice, and all should be written in one piece of Parchment. But they refused, and were remanded, and the same Term an Information was exhibited by the Attorney General in the Kings-Bench, against Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, for words spoken by them in the fore-going Parliament, said to be false, malicious, & seditious, as well versus Regem, Magnates, Prelatos, Proceres & Justitios suos, quam Magnates, Proceres & Justitios, & reliquos Regis Subditos, & totaliter deprivare & avertere Regimen, & Gubernationem Regni Angliae, tam in Domino Rege, quam in Consiliariis, & Ministris suis, cujuscunque generis, & inducere tumultum & confusionem, in all Estates and partes, & ad intentionem, that all the King's subjects should withdraw their affections from the King.

Then the words were expressed at large, and at the end of the information it was urged, that Sir John Finch the Speaker endeavouring to go out of the Chair according to the King's Command,

1628.  
Information  
in the Star-  
Chamber  
against  
Sir John El-  
liot, and the  
imprison'd  
Members.  
1629.

A motion in  
the King's-  
Bench to  
Bail the  
Prisoners.

Information  
in the  
Kings-Bench  
against them



1629. mand, to adjourn the House, they assaulted and evil intreated him *violenter, manu forti, & illicita*, and being out of the Chair they assaulted him in the House, & *violenter, manu forti, & illicita*, drew him to the Chair, and thrust him into it, &c.

The Defendants demur to the jurisdiction of the Court. The demur is over-ruled, and a day assigned.

Information in the Star-Chamber against Mr. Long.

Sentence in the Star-Chamber against Mr. Long.

To this Information, the Gentlemen put in a Plea; Forasmuch as these Offences are supposed to have been done in Parliament, they ought not to be Punished in this Court or any other, unless in Parliament. Upon this the Court gave day to adjoin in demurrer that Term, and on the first day of the next Term the Record to be read, and within a day after argued at the Bar.

Against Mr. Long particularly, an Information was preferred in the Star-Chamber, which was agreed the first day of Hilary Term; It was not for any thing said in Parliament, but to this effect following, (*viz.*) For that he being high Sheriff of the County of Wilts, had the charge and Custody thereof committed to him, and had taken his Oath according to the Law to abide within his Bailiwick all that time of his Sheriffrick, and his trust and employment requiring his personal attendance therein, did contrary thereunto suffer himself to be chosen a Citizen for the City of Bath, to serve in the last Parliament, and did attend at Westminster in Parliament without his Majesties Licence, He being Sheriff at the time, which was done in contempt of his Majesties pleasure signified to him under his great Seal, when he granted him the Office of Sheriffrick: And after hearing his Counsel upon his demurrer, and plea, and other Arguments and reasons used in that behalf by his Counsel, the whole Court agreed in a sentence against him in these or the like words: For the fore-mentioned offences in breach of his Oath, neglect of his trust, and contempt of his Majesty, it is decreed and adjudged, that he shall be committed to the Tower during his Majesties pleasure, and pay a Fine of two thousand Marks to his Majesty, and make a submission and acknowledgement of his offence in the Court of Star-Chamber, and to his Majesty before his enlargement.

The same Term, the Counsel of Sir John Elliot, and the other Gentlemen (inform'd against in the Kings-Bench) argued also against the information, and the jurisdiction of the Court; but the Judges hearing both parties for and against it, unanimously agreed, That the Court as the Case is, shall have jurisdiction, although these offences were committed in Parliament, and that the imprisoned members ought to answer, and that they were by the Court ruled to plead further; but they not putting in any Plea, the last day of the Term judgement was granted against them upon a *Nihil dicit*, and they were sentenced by the Court,

The opinion of the Court of King's-Bench.

1. To be imprisoned during the Kings pleasure.
2. None of them to be delivered out of prison until security given in Court for the good behaviour, and submission, and acknowledgement made of the Offence.
3. Sir John Elliot fin'd to pay to the King, two thousand pounds, being the greatest offender;

Mr. Hollis a thousand Marks, and Mr. Valentine five hundred pounds, and in like manner the rest were proceeded against, and several Fines were accordingly imposed upon them, most of which were paid, and the Gentlemen afterwards released from their imprisonments. If any of them did refuse to pay such fines, as were set upon them, they were men either of decayed or of small estates, and so not able to make payment of the fines imposed.

Heylin's observations in his History of the Reign of K. Charles.

Many weighty and learned arguments were made in the Case of these Gentlemen, before the judgement given, both by the Kings learned Counsel and their Counsel also, who objected all that could be thought of in the matter, some of which we shall mention for the better understanding of the matter in Question.

That this was a privilege of Parliament, whereof the Court were not competent Judges. *Obj. 1.*

To which was answered, in 8 Eliz. it was the opinion of Dyer, Carlin, Welsh, Brown and Southcot, Justices, that Offences committed in Parliament are punishable out of Parliament; and Plowden, in the time of Queen Mary, was fined for words spoken in Parliament against the dignity of the Queen; and in 6 H. 6. a judgement given in a Writ of Annuity in Ireland, the said judgement was reversed in Parliament there. Upon which Writ of Error was brought in this Court, and the judgement reversed. *Ans.*

This is an inferiour Court to Parliament, and cannot meddle with matter done in it. *Obj. 2.*

To which was answered, the Court Questions not the judgement of Parliaments, for what is done in Parliament by consent of all the House shall not be questioned elsewhere, but the particular offences criminally committed there, are punishable here; for if particular members of a superiour Court offend, they are punishable in an inferiour. As if a Judge shall commit a Capital offence in this Court, he may be arraigned thereof at Newgate. *Ans.*

The Parliament Law differs from the Law by which this Court judgeth in sundry Cases, as for instance, by the Statute none ought to be chosen Burgeses for a Town in which he doth not inhabit, but in that the usage of Parliament is contrary. *Obj. 3.*

The reply to this was, That they are the judges of Acts of Parliament, and if Information be brought upon the said Statute against such a Burgesse, the Statute is a good Warrant for the Court to give judgement against him. *Ans.*

In the Spring of this year the Queen being affrighted, aborted of a Son, which added something to the King's troubles at home; though abroad matters succeeded well, for the King of France being in a Transalpine expedition at Suza, for the relief of Casall, was so intent on that War, that he was very inclinable to peace with us, and by the intervention of the States of Venice, a Peace was concluded upon the ensuing Articles.

The Queen miscarried of a Son.

The King of France desirous of Peace. The State of Venice mediate the Peace with France.

1. That the two Kings shall accord to renew the former Alliance between the two Crowns, and to preserve it inviolable with free Commerce, and in reference to the said Commerce, liberty is given, that such things be proposed as either part shall judge convenient either to add or diminish.

2 That



1629.

Articles of  
the peace  
with France.

2. That considering it is very difficult to make restitution of what hath been taken as Prize, as well on one side, as the other, during the late Wars: It is agreed between the two Crowns, that for what is passed no satisfaction shall be demanded on either side.

3. As to the Articles and contract of marriage of the Queen of Great Britain, they shall be confirmed, and for what concerneth her domesticks, it shall be lawful to propose what shall be thought expedient to be either added or diminished.

4. All former Alliances shall stand good between the two Crowns, saving wherein they shall be changed by this present Treaty.

5. The two Kings being by this present Treaty remitted to the affection they formerly had, shall respectively employ this correspondence toward the assistance of their Allies (so far as the restitution of Affairs, and the general good will permit) for the procuring repose of the troubles of Christendom.

6. The premises being established on both sides, persons of Eminency shall be reciprocally dispatched as Ambassadors on either part for ratification of the accord, and for nomination of Agents ordinarily resident at either Court, for the better preserving this Union.

7. And because many Ships are now at Sea, with letters of Marque, who cannot suddenly take cognisance of this peace; it is agreed, that what shall occur in the name of Hostility for the space of two moneths on either side, shall not prejudice or derogate from this agreement. Provided notwithstanding that what shall be made prize of within the space of two moneths, after signature shall be resolved on either side.

8. Lastly, The two Kings shall respectively sign the present Articles the 14. of this present moneth of April, and at the same time they shall be consigned into the hands of the Lords Ambassadors of Venice, to deliver reciprocally to the two Kings at a day prefixt. And from the day of signing, all Acts of Hostility shall cease, to which end proclamation shall be issued out in both Kingdoms the twentieth day of May.

And for a confirmation of this League, in September following the Marquess of Chateau Neuf, was sent in Embassy from France, and Sir Thomas Edmonds was sent thither from hence.

About the month of July, there hapned a great Fray in Fleet-street, upon the rescue of one Captain Bellingham (an officer in the late expedition to the Isle of Rhee) which was attempted by some students in the Temple, wherein some were hurt and carried to prison. But this drew together many of the Gentlemen to rescue the prisoner who made a Barracade against St. Dunstons Church, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers, and released their friends; of which the Lord Mayor being inform'd, he and the Sheriffs with a band of trained Souldiers came down to keep the Peace, and disperse them; who were now encreased to the number of five hundred, and armed with swords and pistols: The Lord Mayor made Proclamation, That on pain of rebellion they should dissolve themselves, but prevail'd not, he then tryed other means, and the souldiers fired their Muskets on them charg'd with powder only; but

the gentlemen provok'd at this, shot bullets, and very fiercely attack'd the Train-bands, kill'd five outright, and wounded near a hundred; yet the City souldiers were so reinforced, that in the end the gentlemen, were subdued, and one Ashurst and Stamford two Captains, with some others were taken and committed. The King was much offended at the uproar, and immediately sent for the Lord Chief Justice, by whose advice a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued out, and about a fortnight after the malefactors were arraigned in the Guild-Hall of London, and Ashurst and Stamford being found guilty of murder, were condemned and executed at Tyburn. Stamford was a relation and servant to the last Duke of Buckingham, and much intercession was made for him: but the King would not pardon him, but said he had murdered a watch-man before, and was pardon'd, and hath now kill'd another, and he would take order he should not kill a third.

In the month of January, Don Carlos de Colomas, sent Ambassador from Spain arrived at London, and had audience six dayes after; his business was to treat of a Peace, betwixt the two Crowns, which was a while after concluded, all things being left on both sides in the same condition in which they were before the War, and the Spaniard did engage that he would make use of all his interest with the Emperour for restoring the Prince Elector Palatine to his lost estate.

This Peace, and that with France brought a great encrease of Trade to us, the Spaniards sent hither yearly in English Bottoms, no less than 600000 Crowns in Bullion, for the use of the Army in the Netherlands, redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the Coinage, and no less to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the money being return'd into Flanders in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and other the Commodities of this Kingdom. The Dutch, and Easterlings being great Traders, lookt upon London as the safest bank not only to lodge, but increase their treasure; so that in a short time, the greatest part of the Trade of Christendom was driven upon the Thames.

On the tenth of April, this Year William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of the Kings Household died suddenly of an Apoplexy, he was the Son of Henry Earl of Pembroke, Son of William Herbert created Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Herbert of Cardiffe in the fifth year of King Edward the sixth, whose great Grandfather was William Earl of Pembroke taken prisoner in the Battle of Banbury in the year 1467. in the quarrel of the House of Lancaster, and beheaded in the ninth year of King Edward the fourth.

He was a comely Person, of a very generous mind, and one that in all his actions, appeared to be of the true ancient stock of English Nobility; He was competently learned, and a great lover of his Prince and Country without flattery or faction, which made him be ever esteemed by the first, and loved and respected by the later: He married Mary, the eldest Daughter, and Co-heir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had not issue. The King was somewhat touched at the death of so good a Counsellor. But to qualifie that loss, God blest him with

1629.

1630.

A great Fray  
in Fleetstreet.



1630. with a Son, the Heir of his Dominions, on the twenty ninth of May, who on the twenty seventh of June following was with great solemnity baptized, and named CHARLES, the Godfathers were the King of France, and the Prince Elector, represented by the Duke of Lenox, and the Marquess of Hamilton; the Godmother was the Queen of France, whose Substitute was the Duchess of Richmond. After this joyful Ceremony was performed, the King was intent on the Business of the Prince Elector, and having intelligence of a Dyet to be kept this Summer at Ratisbone, he sent Sir Robert Anstruther, his Ambassadour to the Emperour, taking that opportunity, when the Estates of the Empire were assembled, to treat of his brothers restitution to the Palatinate. Sir Robert went in very noble Equipage, and was very well received, when he came thither, and at his first audience he delivered his Message to this effect.

The birth  
of Prince  
Charles.

Sr. Rob. An-  
struther sent  
Ambassadour  
to the Empe-  
rour.

His Speech  
to the Empe-  
rour.

That nothing did affect his Master, the King of Great Britain, more, than the daily Calamities, undergone by his Brother the Prince Elector, his Wife and Children: that he deem'd no place more convenient, where to treat of their Reconciliation, and re-establishment, than in this Dyet; therefore he made it his most ardent Request to his most Imperial Majesty, that having regard to the many Intercessions of his late Father, and other Kings and Princes, he would remit the displeasure conceived against his Brother, and recall the proscription issued out against him. True it is, his Brother had offended, and was inexcusably guilty (unless the Rashness and precipitation of youth may somewhat plead for him) But others had been as culpable as he, whom yet his Imperial Majesty received into Grace and favour; and would he be pleased to extend to him the same clemency, it would oblige his Master to demonstrations of greatest gratitude, and raise a glorious imitation in others to imitate so Majestick a Pattern. That the Palgrave would entertain this favour with an heart so firmly devoted to his service, as all the intention of his Spirit should be disposed to compensation and reparation of his by-past miscarriages. That his Master held nothing so dear, as the affection of his Imperial Majesty, and establishment of a durable peace between them; and as upon all occasions he hath been forward to represent himself solicitous of it, so at this time he is ready to give more ample testimony, if his Imperial Majesty be pleased to incline to a treaty.

The Empe-  
rours An-  
swer.

The Emperour and Estates did not answer the Kings expectation, for besides the Complements which the Ambassadour receiv'd, all the answer to this Business was, That the present affairs of Germany, which call'd them thither, were of that important concernment, as would not admit of any forain debate. But when leisure served, his Master should have such satisfaction, as they hoped would give content. The Emperour was the colder in this matter, because he had some intimation of the Kings Correspondence with the King of Sweden, who was at this time ready to enter into Germany with an Army. And he was not much deceiv'd in his intelligence, for

ever since the King of Denmark was by Count Tilly driven out of Germany, The eyes of all this part of the World were upon Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden; as the fittest person, to check the greatness of the House of Austria. Him therefore, two years ago, the King elected into the Noble Order of the Garter, wherewith he was solemnly invested in the midst of his Army, at the Siege of Darsaw, a Town of Pomerella, belonging to the Crown of Poland, and then the grounds were laid, which (being seconded by the French, the States of the United Provinces, and the distressed Princes of the Empire) brought that King into Germany. For which Expedition on the thirteenth of June, he imbarqued himself, and all his Army, in Seventy men of War, and two hundred lesser Barques. He had made great preparations the year before for this design, and had entertain'd many Scottish and English Commanders and Souldiers, lately in the Service of the King of Denmark, (after the Peace at Angle in Holstein, made the year before with that Crown) and had dispatch'd some of them to raise Recruits, to compleat their Regiments in Scotland and England, and likewise he entertained Germans, who had return'd from the Cesarean Army, and from that Army that was sent to assist the King of Poland, under the conduct of Harven, and from those who had been disobliged by Wallestein, the Emperours General; he receiv'd good intelligence of the State of the Empire, and gave them Commissions to raise forces with all speed: So that with some of these and the remainder of the Army, which was brought from the wars of Livonia, he had got together above Twelve thousand horse and foot of old Souldiers; But time was very favourable to the Enterprize, for the Princes of Germany had been much oppress'd by the late Military Government, which Wallesteyne had introduced amongst them. Who had under his command a hundred thousand foot, and 30000 horse of divers Nations, dispersed over all Germany, whereby the Princes of Germany were not treated as free Princes, but Subjects. Whereupon for that the excessive Authority of private men, and over-greatness of Neighbouring Potentates is never lik'd by great ones, The Electors, which pretend to keep the Imperial condition within its limits, could not suffer either the burthen they lay under upon this former occasion, nor that so many Souldiers should be maintain'd in Germany, in the time of Peace, to the peoples so great Grievances, nor that the Throne of Caesar should be raised so high: They therefore privately sought out all opportune means, how they might disarm him, and take from the Empire such a support; To which the Spanish Ministers at Vienna willingly concurr'd, to moderate the greatness of Wallesteyne, and prevailed with the Emperour to the disbanding of the supernumerary Forces, to please the Electors, and to oblige them thereby, to adhere to favour the King of Hungary, at Election of the King of the Romans. Wallestein was hereupon immediately laid aside, which made him exclaim that the Emperour was betray'd; and certainly there was some grounds for it. But if he had been more complacent

1630.

The King of  
Swedens Ex-  
pedition in-  
to Germany.



1636. complacent in his behaviour, his authority had not been so easily taken away, nor so many of the forces disbanded, which whilst they were kept together made the Emperour so powerful, that the King of Sweden could never have made that impression he did into his Dominions. *Wal- lestein* thus removed retired into *Bohemia*, and lived there till he was call'd again to employment.

Thus *Germany* became weakened, being not only divided by the dissonancy of Religion, but exasperated by the late pressures upon them, whereby the King of Sweden had a very easie entrance into *Pomerania*, for in a very little time he had taken the Islands of *Rugen*, and *Usedom*, and all the forts therein, and *Wolgast* and the strong Town of *Stetin* in *Pomerania*, and restored *Bogislaus* Duke of *Pomerania* to his authority.

The news of the Success of the King of Sweden, made our King very willing to send aids to him, and the Marquess of *Hamilton* had Commissions to levy six thousand men, for the service against the next spring, which were most of them to be of the Scottish Nation: For the encouragement of the Marquess in this expedition, the King gave him the impost of wines in *Scotland*, which amounted to twenty thousand pounds Sterling a year: but for the raising of those men, and an intended supply of moneys to the King of Sweden greater sums were required. And therefore the King by the advice of his Attorney General and other his Counsel, learned in the Law, was forced to use all ways by the Law allowable to furnish himself.

By the Common Law every man of full age that could dispend a Knights fee, was compellable by the Kings writ to take the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine for the discharge or respite of the same: but because of the uncertainty of the quantity of lands that made a Knights fee, *K. Edw.* the second in the first year of his Reign granted a writ in the time of Parliament, and caused it to be there entered of record, (which is therefore stiled by some a statute) wherein no man was thereafter to be distrained for Knighthood, that had not twenty pounds a year in Fee Simple or Fee tail, or for term of life, which *Sir Edward Coke* explains to be tenant by courtesie; and almost in every Kings Reign till the time of *Edward* the 4th. men were summon'd by proclamation to take the order of Knighthood, but the value of land was seldom limited so low as twenty pounds a year, for in the 18th. of King *Henry* the 6th. which perhaps is the last time before this wherein proclamations of this kind were issued, the same was express'd to be 40. *l.* a year. The King having this warrantable way to supply his necessities, did cause several writs to be issued out of the Chancery for Proclamations to be made in every County, to summon all persons of full age, and not Knights, being seized of lands or rents of the yearly value of 40. *l.* or more, to appear in the Kings presence at a certain day therein limited, to take upon them the Order of Knighthood, upon return of which writs and transmitting the same with their returns into the Exchequer, and upon other writs for enquiring of the names of such as did not appear, process by *Distingas* was made against

them, and they were fined for the same, which brought a hundred thousand pounds or more into the Exchequer.

But this money would not answer the Kings occasions, wherefore Mr. *Walter Montague* was sent over to Negotiate the payment of the moiety of the Queens portion (being four hundred Thousand Crowns) behind, and to require satisfaction for such rich Ships, taken from us by the French, since the last peace concluded; and with him *Philip Burlamach* a Merchant, was sent to receive the money, and make it over by Exchange or otherwise. The French King received the message with kindness enough, but complain'd that one Captain *Kirk* had two years before, taken the fort of *Kelech* in *Canada*, which was in possession of the French, and put an English garrison into it; this after a little consideration was found so equitable, that the King gave order to have the Fort deliver'd, and thereupon his full and just demands were satisfied.

During the sitting of the last Parliament, one *Leighton* a Scotchman, writ a Book called *Zions Plea*, which he presented to them; it was of a very fiery nature, exciting the Parliament and people to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth Rib, bitterly inveighing against the Queen, calling her a Daughter of *Heck*, a Canaanite, an Idolatress, for which he was this year sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber, to be whipt and stigmatiz'd, to have his ears cropt, and nose slit, but betwixt the pronouncing and inflicting of this censure, he made his escape into *Bedfordshire*, but by the diligence of the Warden of the Fleet, he was quickly recover'd, and the punishment to which he was sentenc'd inflicted upon him. The Romish recusants were about this time very active in *England*, and their Religion begun to encrease by the industry of their Priests, who needed not now to fetch their Ordination from abroad, by reason that the Pope had sent his Doctor *Smith*, the Titular Bishop of *Calcedon* to ordain Priests, who took also upon him to approve of such regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors, which the General of the Jesuites thought an usurpation upon his Jurisdiction, and that Order by their insinuation being more powerful in *England*, prevail'd with many of the most eminent of their Religion, to remonstrate against his authority, asserting all sufficient power in the Regulars to whatever was pretended by the Bishop, and the necessity of having a Bishop in *England*; The Spanish Ambassador favoured the Jesuites in this contest, to which the Kings Proclamation for the Bishops banishment concurring, he was frighted into *France*. Nor were this sort of men insolent in *England* only, but in *Ireland* also, for at *Dublin* whilst the Lords Justices were hearing divine service in *Christs Church*, they had as publick resort to Mass as is sometimes in *London*, to the houses of Ambassadors of that Religion; which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they sent the Archbishop, the Mayor, Sheriff, and Recorder of the City to apprehend them, which they did, taking away their Crucifixes, Chalices, and Copes, and delivering the Fryers and Priests into the hands of the Pursivants, whom the people threw stones at, and had rescued them, but that a Guard was sent to defend them: nevertheless the Justices

His success.

Marquess of Hamilton his commission to raise 6000 men to assist the King of Sweden.

All persons seized of 40. *l.* or more per annum summon'd to take the order of Knighthood.

1646.

*Leighton* a Scotchman punished for writing a seditious book called *Zions plea*.

Contests in *England* between the Jesuites and Secular Priests.

Tumults in *Dublin* about restraining the liberty of the Catholics.



were so careful to prevent the like disorders, that most of their houses of Religion were immediately seized into the Kings hands, and such Inquisition after the rest, that two Priests hang'd themselves at the apprehension of this (as they then call'd it) persecution.

The Mar-  
quis of  
Hamilton  
suspected of  
a design to  
convert his  
forces raised  
for foreign  
service  
against  
England.

The Marquess of *Hamilton* was at this time under some umbrage at Court, though his power with the King quickly broke through it. The occasion thereof was this; He had sent a creature of his own *David Ramsay* into *Germany*, on pretence to notify his coming thither to the King of *Sweden*, and to inform himself of the condition of the *Scots* then in that Service, but by what appear'd after, it was suspected he had another intention than the King of *Sweden's* assistance. There were at this time eight and twenty Colonels of the *Scotch* nation in the *Swedish* Service, amongst which, there were four of the name of *Hamilton*, with whom *Ramsay* had made a near acquaintance, for he lived at a great expence; he had also endeav'd himself to Colonel *Alexander Ramsay* Governour of *Creutzenach*, a person of good esteem and interest both with the *Swedes* and those of his own nation; Amongst these Officers, there was the Lord of *Rhees Mackay*, who commanded a Brigade of *Scots*, a person of great honour and reputation, who having discovered by some expression of *Ramsay*, that the Marquess had a deeper design than the present expedition to *Germany*, he insinuated into him to find out the bottom of it, and was told by him in much secrecy, that the Marquess would convert these Forces which he was by the Kings authority to raise in *Scotland* for foreign Service against *England*, That their Friends had provided arms and ammunition, and more were expected from *Sweden* and other parts, and he and Colonel *Alexander Hamilton* solicited him to be of their party; to this the Lord of *Rhees* made a cold answer, but thought himself bound in duty to come into *England* and make it known to the King, which he did the rather because *Ramsay* was then return'd also; but he upon this accusation denied the whole matter, and the Lord having no proof thereof (as in such secret practices it could hardly be) more than a confident aspersion and the engagement of his honour, the King thought good to refer the controversy to the tryal of the Constable and Marshal with the assistance of other Lords in Commission with them according to the ancient law of the Land; The Earl of *Lindsey* being made Constable to that end and purpose, many days were spent accordingly in pursuance of it. But when most men expected that the matter would be tryed by Combat, as had been accustomed in such cases, the business was hush'd up at Court, the Lord *Rhees* dismiss'd to his employment in the war, and the Marquess did not only continue in the Kings great favour, but *Ramsay* was permitted to hold the place of a Gentleman of the privy chamber which had formerly been procured for him.

The tryal of  
the Lord  
Audley.

On the 25 of *April* this year, *Mervin Touchet Lord Audley* was indicted and arraigned of Rape and Sodomy before his Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, *Tho. Lord Coventry* Lord-keeper of the great Seal, was for that day constituted Lord High Steward of *England*, and the Peers joyned

with him were; The Earl of *Portland* Lord Treasurer, The Earl of *Manchester* Lord Privy Seal, The Earl of *Arundel* Lord Marshal, and the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Kent*, *Worcester*, *Bedford*, *Essex*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury*, *Leicester*, *Warwick*, *Carlisle*, *Holland*, *Bark-shire*, and *Denbigh*, The Viscounts *Wimbleton*, *Conway*, *Dorchester*, *Wentworth*, The Barons *Percy*, *Strange*, *Clifford*, *Peters*, *North*, *Goring*, where divers unnatural and bestial actions being prov'd against him, he had sentence to be hang'd; but by the clemency of the King to him that sentence was chang'd to a beheading, which was executed on him at *Tower-Hill* on the 14 of *May*; and in the same Month of *May*, Sir *Giles Allington* of *Cambridgeshire*, married his own Niece the Daughter of one Mr. *Dalton*, for which he was questioned in the high Commission Court, but he declined the Jurisdiction, and moved the Court of Common Pleas therein, from whence he obtain'd two rules; one requiring the Commissioners to shew cause why a prohibition should not be granted; The other, That if they proceeded further before cause shewn, a prohibition should be awarded; This gave great offence to the Bishop of *London*, who complain'd to the King thereof, and he by the Lord Keeper signified his displeasure to the Judges for their proceeding herein, whereat they desisted, and the Court consisting of eight Bishops, and four other Commissioners gave the sentence following against him, to be Fined to the King twelve thousand pound; to stand obliged in the penalty of twenty thousand pound, never to cohabit or come near his Niece any more: and to be committed to Prison, or put in sufficient bayl, till both he and his Niece shall have done penance at *Pauls-Cross* and at great St. *Maries* at *Cambridge* at a day appointed by the Court. Never was delinquent censured there, by a more solemn and venerable Consistory: many spake excellent well, but Sir *Henry Martyn*, whose custom it was before to out-go others, did then surpass himself.

And of Sir  
Giles  
Allington.

About the midst of *July* the Marquess of *Hamilton* arrived in the *Oder* with six thousand foot, well arraigned and furnished of Artillery for the Service of the King of *Sweden*, and with three hundred thousand Dollars in money, he himself came to the King at his Leaguer at *Werben* on the *Elbe*; The King received him very respectfully, and shewed him all the fortifications, and the preparations he had made against the Count de *Tilly*, who was marched as far as *Wolmestadt* towards him; so that he had no leisure to entertain him as he would, but after he had form'd his instructions he was dismiss'd, and his forces were appointed to joyn with General *Baviera*, he told him he was very sorry his Army arrived in such parts of the Country that were ruined, in that both the Armies had lain there above a year before, but within a while, he said, they shou'd have better quarters, but the men were almost all lost whilst they were there, finding not only famine to consume them, but the Plague also, which did so rage that two hundred a week of them dyed, and they were much weakned, but those that survived did good service, and their coming at this time was great furtherance of the King of *Sweden's* cause, for thereby a good part of the Enemies forces were for fear of them diverted

The Mar-  
quess of  
Hamilton  
arrived with  
his forces in  
the *Oder*.



1631. diverted towards *Silesia*, and this diversion aided much to the Conjunction of the Kings Army with that of the Duke of *Saxony*, and consequently of his further advance into *Germany*, and his victory obtained at *Leipsigh* on the seventeenth of *September* following, likewise the reputation of this supply, and the King of *Englands* friendship and concordance brought in the Landgrave of *Hessen* and Duke *Bernard Weymer* to offer their service to the King, and most part of the Towns of the upper Circle of the Empire were desirous to joyn in Confederacy with him.

Sr. Henry Vane sent Ambassador to the King of Sweden.

Our King immediately after the dispatching the Marquess *Hamilton*, sent Sir *Henry Vane* his Ambassador to the King of *Sweden*, who arrived at *Wertzburg* on the *Main*, a fortnight after the Battel of *Leipsigh*, about which time *Magdeburgh* was block'd up by the Forces under the Command of Marquess *Hamilton* and General *Bannier*, who had a little before took in the Town of *Vausleber* in *Pomerania*. The Embassadour after some refreshment, went to the King of *Sweden* at *Frankford* on the *Main* which had open'd his Gates to him; on the 17 of *November*, hither also came the Marquess of *Hamilton* with a very Magnificent Train, and the French Embassador, and a little before them the Palsgrave arrived, and the Queen of *Sweden* also came thither attended by the *Rix Chancellor Oxenstern*, and Sir *Patrick Ruthen* the eldest Colonel of the *Scotish Nation*: here the King gave audience to our Ambassadour, and many Treaties were in agitation both for the prosecution of the War the next year, and the restitution of the Palatinate, but the shortness of the Kings Stay hindred the bringing of any Counsels to Maturity, for he was not here a week when upon advice that divers troops of Spaniards and Flemings raised in *Luxemburg* were marching towards the Palatinate to recruit the Garrisons of *Mentz*, *Wormes*, *Frankendal*, *Heidleberg* and other Towns in those parts, he broke off the negotiations for that time, and hasten'd to his Army, with a purpose to pass over the *Rhine*, in order whereunto he first lay down before a Sconce lying on the *Rhine* over against *Oppenheim*: it was a place very well fortified with deep and broad Fosses full of water, with a draw-bridge over, and well provided of Victuals and Ammunition, and it was so situated that the men had free passage to the Town and back again without any danger; after the Batteries were made, the King left the old *Scotish* Brigade Commanded by Colonel *Hepburne*, and the blew Regiment Commanded by Colonel *Winckles* before it, and he gave order to have some Boats that the Spaniard had sunk, taken up and emptied of water, by which means he passed over two thousand Scots of the Lord *Rhees* Regiment, Sir *James Ramsays* Regiment, and old *Spense* his Regiment, and with these he secured the landing place, till he passed over a good part of his Army, and unexpectedly came before *Oppenbrine*; and the next day these in the Sconce (hearing the King had pass'd the *Rhine*,) capitulated and surrendered the place to Colonel *Hepbeim*: *Oppenheim* was also after a while surrendered to the King of *Sweden*, and from thence he made a farther impression on the Palatinate with so great success, that he quickly took

1631. in all the Cities and Towns thereof, except *Heidleberg* and *Frankendal*, where we shall leave him victorious, and return to *Domestick* affairs.

About five years since certain Feoffees were intrusted to purchase in Impropriations with their own and the money of other well disposed persons, and with the profit thereof to set up and maintain preaching Ministers in places of greatest need, where preaching was much wanting, whereupon in a short while many great sums were advanced. There are in *England* Nine thousand two hundred and eighty four Parish-Churches endowed with Glebe and Tyth, but of these when these Trustees entred on their work, three thousand eight hundred forty and five, were either appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals, and Colledges, or impropriated as lay-fees to private persons, as formerly belonging to Abbies; to purchase which last sort, they had made such progress, that it was believed in fifty years rather purchases than money would have been wanting to them. The King was perswaded that this project would prove dangerous to the Church, and *Noy* the Attorney General at the later end of the year exhibited a Bill in the Exchequer Chamber against the Feoffees.

It was charged against them, that they diverted the charity wherewith they were intrusted; for being by their Feoffment directed to settle preaching Ministers in distant obscure places where preaching was most wanting, they first settled a morning Lecture at *St. Antholines* in *London*: To this they answer'd, That *London* being the chiefest place from whence their charity derived, it was fit they should have some benefit of their own bounty, and that they were not so confined to the uses in their Feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the eminency as necessity of the place; That they expended much of their own as well as other mens charity, and hoped they might do with their own as they pleased: It was urged against them, that they generally prefer'd Non-Conformists to the Lectures of their erection: To which they said, none were placed therein, but such whose sufficiency and conformity was approved by the Ordinary; and moreover, that one of the Feoffees acquainted the Bishop of *London* at his house at *Fulham*, that if he either disliked the persons who managed, or the order they took in the work, he would submit the alteration to his discretion. In conclusion, the Court condemned their proceedings as dangerous to the Church and State, pronouncing the Gifts and Feoffments to be illegal; and so dissolved the same, confiscating the money to the Kings use; their criminal part was referr'd to the Star-Chamber, but never prosecuted, because many discreet and devout men were rather desirous of the regulation, than ruine of so pious a design.

Duke *Hamilton* in *September* this year came from *Germany*, his men being by Famine, Plague and the accidents of War drawn to so small a number, that they were not fit for his care. The King of *Sweden* had many communications with the Palsgrave and our Ambassador about the affairs of the Palatinate, in which the French Ambassadour, and *de Pauch* the Ambassadour of the *United Provinces*, did mediate so as matters

1632. The proceedings of the Feoffees for impropriations, condemned as dangerous to the Church and State.

Duke *Hamilton* returns inglorious from *Germany*.



1632.  
The King of  
Sweden's  
death.

The Earl of  
Leicester  
sent Amba-  
ssador to  
the King of  
Denmark.

Viscount  
Wentworth  
made Lord  
Deputy of  
Ireland.

The first oc-  
casion of the  
discontents  
in Scotland.

were near drawn to a good Conclusion, when all was again made desperate by the death of the K. of Sweden, which hapned at that memorable battel of *Lutzen* on the sixth of *Novemb. old Stile*: the *Pallgrave* was in hopes of recovery, when news came to him of the death of the King of Sweden, which resented him with so intense a passion that he dyed on the 29 of the same Month, nor could the rendition of *Frankendal* then ready to be surrendered to the English Officers then before it any whit moderate his grief; the Earl of *Leicester* was now sent Ambassador to the K. of *Denmark* to condole the death of our Kings Grand-Mother *Sophia* Queen Dowager of *Denmark*, and to demand the dividend of a sixth part of what she left as due to him and the Q. of *Bohemia* in the right of Queen *Anne* their Mother, which sixth part amounted to 15000 l. Sterling; The K. of *Denmark* told the Ambassador when the accompt was stated of what was due to him in arrear of thirty thousand pound a moneth from the Crown of *England* upon the contract made in the year 1625. towards the support of his Army, he would make up the rest, so that the Earl was fain to return *re infecta*. The King having had great experience of the ability and faithfulness of the Lord Viscount *Wentworth* (whom he had lately raised to that honour and made him Lord President of the North) made him Deputy and chief Governour of the Realm of *Ireland*, where affairs were in much disorder by the insolence of the Romish Catholicks, who did not use moderately the Kings clemency to them in relaxation of the Rigour of some penal Statutes; they are indeed a people that cannot bear any indulgence towards them with temperance, but are too apt to be alienated in the apprehension of favour to their own detriment and the scandal of the Kings Protestant Subjects. On the second of *December* this year the King fell sick of the small Pox, but there was so little malignity in the distemper that he soon recovered; The same moneth the Earl of *Arundel* was sent to the Hague in *Holland* to the Queen of *Bohemia*, to condole the death of her husband and sollicite her and her Childrens Journey into *England*, which at this time she refused because of the grief she lay under, and an indisposition of health that made her unfit in the Winter season to take such a Journey.

The King had this year a great check to the prosperity of his Government, which first appeared in *Scotland*, where some factious and seditious male-contents began to sow some seeds of discontent, which afterwards encreased to that degree, as well near destroyed the prosperity and happiness of three flourishing Kingdoms, on this occasion.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of Cathedral Churches, and religious Houses, which had been settled on the Crown, by Act of Parliament, were shared among the Lords and great men of that Kingdom (by the Connivence of the Earl of *Murray*, and some other of the Regents) in the minority of King *James*, to make them sure unto their side. And they being thus possesse of the said Lands, with the regalities and tythes belonging to these Ecclesiastical Corporations, lorded it with pride and insolence enough in their several territories, holding the Clergy to

small stipends, and the poor peasant under a miserable Vassalage and subjection to them.

King *CHARLES*, engaged in War at his first coming to the Crown, and having little aid from thence for the maintenance of it, by the advice of his Council of that Kingdom, was put upon a course of resuming those Lands, Tythes, and Regalities into his own hands, to which the present possessors could pretend no other Title, than the unjust usurpation of their Ancestors. This he endeavoured first by an Act of Renovation, but that course not being like to speed, he followed in the way of a legal process, which drew on a Commission for surrendring of Superiorities and Tythes, to be retaken from the King on such conditions, as might bring some profit to the Crown, some augmentation to the Clergy, and far more ease and benefit to the Common people. But these occupants chose rather to expose their Countrey to the danger of a publick ruine, than to part with any of that power, which they had exercised on their vassals (as they commonly called their tenants;) and thereupon conspired together, to oppose the King in any thing, that should be offered in the following Parliament, which had Relation to the Church or to Church-affairs.

But because Religion and the care thereof is commonly the best bait to catch the vulgar, they must find out some other means, to divert the King from the prosecuting of that Commission, than the consideration of their own personal and private Interest, and they found means to do it on another occasion, which was briefly this.

King *JAMES*, from his first coming to the Crown, had a design, to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an Uniformity with the Church of *England*, both in Government and form of worship. And he proceeded so far as to settle Episcopacy amongst them, naming thirteen new Bishops for so many Episcopal Sees, as had been anciently in that Church; three of which received consecration from the Bishops of *England*, and conferred it on the rest of their Brethren at their coming home: which Bishops he armed also with a power of high Commission, the better to keep down the insolent and domineering Spirit of the Presbyterians. In order to the other he procured an Act, to be passed in the Assembly at *Aberdene*, Anno 1616. for composing a Liturgy and extracting a new Book of Canons out of the scattered Acts of their old Assemblies, and at an Assembly, held at *Perth*, Anno 1618. he obtained an order for receiving the Communion kneeling, for administering Baptism, and the Lords Supper in private houses in cases of extreme necessity, for Episcopal confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniversary of our Saviours Birth, his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost. All which he got to be confirm'd in Parliament.

So far that wise King had advanced the work of Uniformity before his engaging in the cause of the *Palatinate*; his breach with *Spain*, and the War, which did issue upon it, had took off his thoughts from prosecuting that design, which his Son being more intangled in wars abroad, and distempers at home, had no time to finish till he had



1632. had settled his affairs, and attain'd to some measure both of power and glory : but being it was a business, which was to be acted leisurely, and by degrees, he deferred the execution of his purpose, till he came into *Scotland*, towards which he went this year about the middle of *May*, and arrived at *Edenburgh* the tenth of *June*, and on the eighteenth following, his Coronation was celebrated with great solemnity ; he had before summoned a Parliament, to meet at *Edenburgh*, which assembled a while after the Coronation, and he caused an Act of Ratification of all that had been done by his Father, to be proposed to them, determining, as soon as that was passed, to go in hand with introducing a publick Liturgie, in the effecting whereof he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament, than he had reason to expect, but carried it at last by a far major part of that assembly.

The King takes a Journey into *Scotland* to be crowned there.

The King commands that the English Liturgie, with its usual Ceremonies, should be used in his Royal Chapel at *Edenburgh*.

The Presbyterians beget a dislike of it in the minds of the Vulgar.

Which is further promoted by the insinuations of the Lords and Gentry.

This gave him the first taste of their disaffection to his person and Government, but he went forward notwithstanding, in pursuit of those purposes, which he brought thither with him, for not long after his return into *England*, he gave order to the *Dean* of his Chapel Royal in *Edenburgh*, for Prayers to be read therein, according to the English Liturgie, a Communion to be had every Month, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees ; that he who officiated it, if he were a Bishop, should perform it in his Rochett, and other Episcopal Robes, and in his Surplice if a common Presbyter : And that not only the Lords of his Council, but the Lords of the Session, and as many of the principal Magistrates of that City as could conveniently, should not fail of their attending the divine Service there, on Sundays and Holy-dayes, for by this means he gave himself no improbable hopes, that the English Liturgie passing a probationership in the Chapel Royal, might find a plausible entertainment in the Churches of *Edenburgh*, and be retained by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdom.

But the Presbyterian Scots, not ignorant of the Kings intentions, insinuated into the minds of the common people, that this was a design only to subject that Kirk to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which they said was superstitious, and therefore that it did behove them to stand together, as one man, to oppose their entrance.

The Lords and Gentry of that Realm, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of Surrenders, before mentioned, laid hold of this occasion also, and they being seconded by male-contented Spirits, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his favour to them, as his Father had been before, endeavoured to possess them with fear and Jealousies, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was : the like was done also by some Lords of Secret Council, who before had governed, as they listed, and thought their power now diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in chief.

So that the People generally being fool'd into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civil Liberties were in no small danger, became ca-

pable of any impression, which the Presbyterian faction could imprint upon them, which visibly appeared by a virulent and seditious Libel, published in the year 1634. wherein the King not only was charged with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, the chief abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*, for which he was legally committed and condemned of Treason, but pardoned by the Kings great Goodness, though by his following actions he deserved not that favour. The Fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no Marvel, if it laid hold on *England* also, the discontented of both Nations working themselves about this time into a body, and from henceforth communicating their counsels and designs unto one another. As will hereafter appear.

1632.

And occasions the like stirs in *England*.

This year ended with some stirs in *Somersetshire*, where some of the Justices were much offended, at the keeping of Wakes, Church-ales, and Bride-ales on the Lords day, which occasioned many disorders and misdemeanors to be committed : and therefore they moved the L. Chief Justice *Richardson*, and Baron *Denham*, then in their Circuit in the Lent Vacation to make some Order therein ; these in compliance with their desire, make an order on the 19 of *May*, (founded on former presidents signed by the Chief Justice *Popham*, in the later end of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign) therein suppressing such Revels, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences, daily arising by means thereof ; injoyning the Constables to deliver a Copy thereof to the Minister of every Parish, who on the first Sunday in *February*, and likewise the two first Sundays before *Easter*, was to publish the same every year. This was look'd on by the Bishops, as an usurpation of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and they therefore procured a Commission, directed to the Bishop of *Bath*, and other Divines to enquire into the manner of publishing this order, and the carriage of the Judges in the Business ; Notwithstanding which the Chief Justice, at the next Assizes, gave strict charge against these Revels, and required an account of the publication and execution of the former order, punishing some persons for the breach thereof ; after whose return the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* sent for him, and told him it was the Kings pleasure, he should revoke his order, as he would answer it at his peril ; which he did at the next Assizes, (but with this Limitation, as much as in him lay.) But this ended not here, for the Justices of that County hearing of this dealing with the Chief Justice, made an humble Supplication to the King, for suppressing the aforesaid Assemblies, which induced the King to renew his Fathers Declaration, about lawful sports, on the Lords day published in the sixteenth year of his Reign ; hoping thereby, by the restriction therein directed, to hinder the abuse of those Recreations, and to free the Consciences of his Subjects from those servile yokes, which some Divines about that time endeavoured to introduce, maintaining the indispenfible morality of the fourth Commandment, and consequently the necessary observation of the Jewish Sabbath, for it was in the declaration prescribed,

The King published a declaration for lawful sports on the Lords day.

1. That



1632. 1. That these pastimes should be no impediment, or lett to the Publick duty of the day.

2. That no Recusants should be capable of the benefit of them.

3. That none should use them, that were not diligently present at all divine Offices, which the day required. And

4. That the Benefit should redound to none, but such as keep themselves in their own Parishes.

The Publication of this, however piously intended, gave great offence; and the rather, because, though there was nothing express in the declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be pressed to the publishing, yet some Ministers, for refusing the reading thereof, were some suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, some deprived, and more molested in the High-commission; the truth is, the ill reception it had among the people, in the former Publication of it, in the time of the Kings Father, might have deterred the like at this time, for that the strict observation of the Lords day was much increased since that time, though it was not known in *England*, till the year 1595. when Dr. Bond first published it in his Book of *Sabbath Doctrines*; nor in *Ireland*, till just twenty years after, when it was inserted in the Articles of Religion, there established; nor in *Scotland*, till above twenty years after that: and at this day in *Geneva*, shooting in long bows, tennis, bowling, and other sports of that kind are used, and the like in all foreign places, where the Protestant Religion is professed; but it was generally disliked here, many complaining that mans badness took occasion to be worse, under the protection of those sports permitted to them: for though liberty on the Lords-day may be so limited in the Notions of learned men, as to make it lawful, it is very difficult so to confine it to the actions of the people, but that they will degenerate into licentiousness, so that the declaration after a while dyed of it self, and it was wished by many prudent men of that time, it had never lived.

The King makes preparation to maintain his right of Sovereignty of the Seas.

The Merchants of *London*, and other parts made great complaints at the end of the last year, of the obstructions of Trade, for want of good Convoyes, to secure them against the Turks and other Pirates, that infested our Coast, which made the King very earnest in making preparations to make himself strong at Sea, to which he was the more inclined for the vindication of his Just Authority of the Sovereignty of the British Seas; which was not only actually usurped by the *Hollanders*, but the right it self disputed by a Tract, written by *Hugo Grotius*, a learned man of that time, called *Mare Liberum*, but whilst the King by his power omitted not to maintain his right, our learned *Selden*, by his pen encountered *Grotius*, in a learned book called *Mare Clausum*, wherein he did not only assert the Sovereignty, or the Dominion of the British Seas to the Crown of *England*, but clearly proved by constant and continual practice, that the Kings of *England* used to levy money from the Subjects, for the providing of Ships and other necessities, to maintain that Sovereignty which did of right belong unto them; but before the writing of this Tract, the King had well advised how to enable himself with Treasure, to support his authority, and defend the Kingdoms by the Industry of Noy, his At-

turney-General, a most indefatigable Inquisitor into our antient records, who had found many precedents for levying a Naval aid upon the Subjects by the sole Authority of the King, whensoever the safety and preservation of the Kingdom did require it of him, and that such aid had been heretofore levied in the same year, in which the Kings that took it, had received subsidies in the way of Parliament; for which he gave this reason, When a King of *England* wants money to support his own expences, or for the enlarging his Dominions in foreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the world, he ought to be beholding to his Subjects for it by aid in Parliament; but when the Kingdom is in danger, and the safety of the Subject concern'd therein, he may by our lands raise such sums of money as he thinks expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publick safety of himself and his. And thereupon by this advice, writs were issued and directed to all the Port Towns and Maritime Counties of the Kingdom, to set out a certain number of Ships furnished with Mariners, Ammunition, Victuals and all other necessities for defence of the Realm, whereby the King quickly had Equipped a very good Fleet, though not great enough for the end intended; which occasioned the like Writs to be issued out to all the Counties in the Kingdom, in the year 1636. of which more hereafter.

This year was unfortunate to the *Swedes* in *Germany*, where General *Arnheim* was constrained to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*: The City of *Ratisbone*, was regained by the Imperialists, General *Allaringer* slain near *Lanshut*, and the whole Army totally routed by the King of *Hungary*, and the Cardinal *Infante* at the battail of *Norlinger*, after which ensued the surrender of that Town, and the Conquest of the Dukedom of *Wittemburg*, whose Duke fled to *Strasburgh*; but though this gave a great stop to the *Swedish* greatness, yet it brought a little repose to *Germany*, for shortly after this success, a peace was concluded, though it lasted not long.

In *Ireland* the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, was very busie in settling the quiet of that Nation, and because Popery was chiefly increased for want of able Ministers, and that occasion'd by the poor maintenance they had in most places, he procured of the King by the mediation of Archbishop *Land*, that all the impropriations then in the Crown should be restored to the Church, to a great diminution of the Royal Revenue, though the King was never sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gain might redound to God in his Ministers.

On *Candlemas* night, the Gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, presented a Masque to the King and Queen at *Whitehall*, riding in Stately Chariots from the Temple thither, it was indeed a Pompous and Magnificent shew, but made more glorious, by a long train of *Christian* Captives, who having been many years enslaved in the chains of bondage, were sent for a present to the King, by the Heriffe or Emperour of *Morocco*, in testimony of the assistance received from our King, whose Fleet assisted in the taking of *Saltee* then in Rebellion against him, and in enmity to all the world, it being a nest of Pirates, by whose destruction

1632. Ship m. n. y. designed by Noy the Kings Attorney General.

The Swedish success declining in Germany.

A Peace concluded between the Swedes and the Emperor.

The Lord Deputy Wentworth's care for suppressing Popery, and settling an able Ministry in Ireland.

A mask presented to the King and Queen, by the Inns of Court.



destruction commerce was very free in those parts.

The death of the Earl of Portland Lord high Treasurer of England.

His place given to Commissioners.

1635.

A fleet set out under the Earl of Lindsey to scour the Seas.

This year dyed Sir Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, Lord high Treasurer of England, a great Statesman, but suspected to be too much a favourer of the Religion of Rome, in which he was reputed to have dyed, and some of his Children were educated therein, his place for the present was intrusted to Commissioners, till a fit person could be found on whom to bestow it.

It was now the year 1635. when a gallant fleet was set out by the aid of the Ship money, under the Earl of Lindsey Admiral, and the Earl of Essex Vice Admiral; whereby our trade was not only made secure by scouring the Seas of pirates, but the King became very formidable to all his Neighbours, and by his interposition this summer Flanders was preserved, which had else probably been swallowed up by the French and Hollanders, for the King of Spain could not bring 8000 men into the field and leave his Garrisons provided, and the French King and they were in confederacy for that purpose, by which it was agreed that he should invest Dunkirk with an Army, whilst the Hollanders did block it up with their Navy, that so all passages into the Country being secured, they might the more easily subdue the inward parts; which design had taken effect, if the English Fleet had not dislodged the Hollanders from before the Town and relieved it, and the French by their insolencies at Diest and Tellemont inflamed and encouraged the peoples heats against them, for before they had been so practised on by the Holland faction that few or none would arm to repulse their enemies.

Thomas Parr brought up to the Court by the Earl of Arundel.

September the 29th. the Earl of Arundel brought up to London out of Shropshire, one Thomas Parr, as the wonder of the time for the proxeivity of his age, he had almost reach'd to the hundred and sixtieth year, and in all likelihood had outlived that time some years, had not so tedious a Journey, and the over violent agitation of his body, together with the change of his wonted course of dyet, accelerated his end.

Charles Prince Elector with his Brother Prince Rupert come into England.

Charles Prince Elector Palatine came into England at this time to visit his Uncle; and to consult with him for his restitution to the Palatinate, and a while after his arrival, his brother Prince Rupert came also.

The princess Elizabeth born.

The Kings reputation was very high, and the Hollanders a wise and industrious people took all occasions to endear themselves to him: at this time they sent an Ambassador over to congratulate with the King and Queen, for the birth of their second Daughter the Princess Elizabeth, and to ingratiate themselves the more, they sent by him a very rich present, a massie piece of Amber-griese, two huge basons of China, a noble Clock, the workmanship of Rodolphus the Emperour, and some exquisite pieces of painting of Titian and Tintaret, which were well accepted.

The Bishop of London made Lord high Treasurer.

The King finding some inconvenience in the managing of his Treasure by Commissioners gave the Office to the Bishop of London, which was a very good choice, for whereas most of the Treasurers of these latter times, had rather served themselves in that Office than the King, raising themselves to great Estates and dignities thereby, he thought fit to choose this Church-man,

who having no Family to raise, nor Wife and Children to provide for; might better manage the incomes of the Treasury to his advantage, than they had been formerly; and so it proved; for by his care of the revenue, the King began to be rich, and he was of so well temper'd a disposition, that he gave exceeding great content to all the people.

The Kings Naval preparations were very great this year; The Fleet consisting of sixty good Ships, under the Command of the Earl of Northumberland now made Lord high Admiral of England, who sailing Northward, and finding a great number of Dutch Busses fishing on our coast, he seized on many of them and dispersed the rest. This made a great consternation amongst the people of the United Provinces, many of whose subsistence depended on this fishing, wherefore upon a supplication from the States to the King they had permission granted by him, for he was more displeased at their presumption in doing it as in their own right and in contempt of his authority in the Dominion of these Seas, than at the thing done. As the Navy was greater this year than before; so the charge of it was much augmented, wherefore, whereas the last year the Ship writs had been sent only to the maritime Counties, they were now issued to all the Counties in England, and the people generally paid what rates and assessments were set upon them in pursuance thereof, but some few refused, and many of the Clergy complain'd that they were unreasonably rated by their neighbours some of them at a sixth, and others at a fourth part of the tax of the parish; for satisfaction of the refusers, The King writ to the Judges for their opinion, who are by their oaths his proper Counsellors in all difficulties concerning the law; and to ease the Clergy, he writ to all the Sheriffs of England, requiring that the Clergy possessed of Parsonages, should not be assessed above a tenth part of the land rate of their several parishes, and that consideration should be had for Vicars accordingly.

1635.

Another fleet set out under the command of the Earl of Northumberland.

The King refers the case of Ship money to the Judges.

The Letter to the Judges was

His letter to them requiring their opinions.

To our trusty and well beloved, Sr. John Bramston Knight, chief Justice of our Bench; Sir John Finch Knight, Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; Sir Humphrey Davenport Knight, Chief Baron of our Court of Exchequer; And to the rest of the Judges of our Court of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of our Court of Exchequer.

CHARLES REX.

**T**Rusty and well beloved we greet you well; Taking into our Princely consideration that the honour and safety of this our Realm of England, the preservation whereof is only entrusted to our care, was and is more dearly concerned than in late or former times; as well by divers Counsels and attempts to take from us the Dominion of the seas, of which we are sole Lord, and right owner, and Proprietor, and the Loss whereof would be of greatest danger and peril to this Kingdom, and other our Dominions; and many other wayes;

We



1636. We for the avoiding of these and the like dangers, well weighing with our Self, that where the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, there the charge and defence ought to be born by all the Realm in general; did for the preventing so publick a mischief, resolve with our self to have a Royal Navy prepared, that might be of force and power (with Almighty Gods blessing and assistance) to protect and defend this our Realm, and our Subjects therein, from all such perils and dangers, and for that purpose we issued forth writs under our great Seal of England, directed to all our Sheriffs of our several Counties of England and Wales, Commanding thereby all our said Subjects, in every City, Town, and Village, to provide such a number of Ships, well furnished, as might serve for this Royal purpose, and which might be done with the greatest equality that could be. In performance whereof, though generally throughout all the Counties of this our Realm, we have found in our Subjects great cheerfulness and alacrity, which we graciously interpret as a testimony, as well of their dutiful affection to us, and our service, as of the respect they have to the Publick, which well becometh every good Subject; Nevertheless finding that some few, happily out of ignorance what the Laws and customs of this Realm are, or out of a desire to be eased in their particulars, how general soever their charge be, or ought to be, have not yet paid and contributed to their several rates and assessments that were set upon them. And foreseeing in our Princely wisdom, divers suits and Actions, are not unlike to be commenced, and prosecuted in our several Courts at Westminster; We desirous to avoid such inconveniences, and out of our Princely love and affection to all our people, being willing to prevent such errors as any of our loving Subjects may happen to run into, have thought fit in a case of this nature to advise with you Our Judges, who we doubt not are well studied and informed in the Rights of our Sovereignty, and because the Tryals in our several Courts, by the formalities in pleading, will require a long protraction, We have thought fit by this letter directed to you all, to require your Judgements in the Case, as it is set down in the inclosed paper, which will not only gain time, but also be of more authority to over-rule any prejudicate opinions of others in the point. Given under our signet, at our Court of White-hall, the 2d. of February, in the 12th. year of our Reign. 1636.

CHARLES REX.

The State of  
the case  
proposed.

When the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concern'd, and the whole Kingdom in danger; whether may not the King by Writ under the great Seal of England, command all the Subjects in his Kingdom at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as he shall think fit for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdom, from such danger and peril? and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness? and whether in such case is not the King the sole Judge, both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?

To which, the Judges delivered their opinions as followeth.

1636. May it please your most excellent Majesty, We have according to your Majesties command severally and every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration, the case and questions signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your letter. And we are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, your Majesty may by writ, under your great Seal of England, command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victual, munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdom from such peril and danger. And that by Law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness. And we are also of opinion that in such case your Majesty is the sole Judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

|                     |                 |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| John Bramston.      | George Crook.   |
| John Finch.         | Thomas Trevor.  |
| Humphrey Davenport. | George Vernon.  |
| John Denham         | Robert Barkley. |
| Richard Hutton.     | Francis Crawly. |
| William Jones.      | Richard Weston. |

These opinions being subscribed by all the Judges, were enrolled in all the Courts of Westminster-Hall, and the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against the defaulters, the chiefest whereof, was one Mr. Hambden a Gentleman of Buckinghamshire, who being summon'd by process, appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-writs, which being read, he demur'd in law thereunto, and demanded the opinion of all the Judges upon the Legal sufficiency thereof. This great case came to be argued in the Exchequer chamber, and the major part of the Judges delivered their opinions in favour of the writs, and accordingly the Barons gave Judgement against Mr. Hambden; yet did not the question altogether so repose, but Master Hambden observing that two of the Judges, viz. Crooke and Hutton, were of a contrary sense, held up the contest still though all in vain, all his inquietude not gaining him the least acquittal, until an higher power interposed.

There was an Imperial Dyet held this year, for the electing of a King of the Romans, and the King sent thither the Earl of Arundel his Ambassador to treat with the Emperour and the Princes for the restitution of the Palatine to the Palsgrave. But that Embassy could effect nothing, for the Duke of Bavaria, who had in his possession the upper Palatinate, and the electoral dignity, would by no means hear of any Propositions to part with either. But the lower Palatinate he might have had upon some terms which the Emperour proposed: but our Ambassador was not instructed to accept of any thing in diminution

The Earl of  
Arundel  
sent Amba-  
sador to  
Fermand  
the third  
about the  
restitution  
of the Prince  
Palatine.



1637.

diminution of the Electors Right: so that the Palsgrave had no fruit of this Embassy, yet were his hopes a little rais'd by an overture of marriage made at this time betwixt the King of Poland, and one of his Sisters, which was almost effected by the legation of Prince Radzovil here in England. But the Emperour privately obstructed it, and by the insinuation of the Jesuites, so instigated the Clergy of Poland against it, because of her Religion, that the Treaty was broken off, and the King afterwards married the Lady Cecilia, second Sister to the Emperour.

Dr. Bastwick  
Mr. Pryn and  
Mr. Burton  
censured.

On the 14 of January Mr. William Pryn an Uter barrister of *Lincolnes Inne*, Doctor John Bastwick, Dr. of Physick, and Henry Burton a Minister, were censured in the *Starr-Chamber*: The offence of Pryn was for writing and dispersing Libels against the established Discipline of the Church of England: That of Bastwick for inveighing against the proceeding of the High Commission against him, before which he had been accused for writing a Book, called *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*, and committed to the *Gatchouse*, in which time besides his arraigning the high Commission Court, he published a *Latine Apology* (called by the Court a Libel) *ad Praesules Anglicanos*, and a *Letany* very virulent against them. That of Mr. Burton was, for publishing a Sermon, which he preached on the fifth of November before, wherein the Prelates were charged for introducing several innovations into Divine worship, which was deemed a Libel: For these offences, the judgement of the Court was, *That they should lose their Ears in the Palace-Yard at Westminster; be each of them fined five thousand pounds to the King, and imprisoned during life in three remote places.* Finch the chief Justice, moved the Court, that it might be added to Mr. Pryns censure, to be branded in each cheek with S. L. for a slanderous Libeller, which was consented to, for they were the more severe against him, because he had been an Offendor before in the like kind, having been three years before censured to lose his Ears on the Pillory, for writing a Book, called *Histrion-Mastix*, or the *Whip of Stage-players*, wherein some indecent reflections were taken to be on the Queen her self, as too much delighted in *Masques*.

The Prince Elector, and his Brother Prince Rupert went to *Holland* about this time in order to a design, which was put in practice the next year, to attempt something with an Army in the *Palatinate*; The Assistance and credit of the Kings Purse, did so prevail under hand with the Prince of Orange and the States of the United Provinces, that a small beginning of an Army was raised, with which they advanced into *Westphalia*, and besieged *Lemmingen*: But *Hatsfield* one of the Emperours Generals came so soon upon them, that they effected nothing, but were forced to fight to great disadvantage, having had 2000 men slain, and most of the rest dispersed, and many Prisoners taken, amongst which were Prince Rupert and the Lord Craven, the Prince Elector himself escaped by flight, and retired to the *Hague*.

The Bishop  
of Lincoln  
fined and  
imprisoned  
for certain  
Misdemeanors.

Williams, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was on the 11 of July censured in the *Star-chamber*, for tampering to suborn witnesses, to be fined 10000 l.

to the King, and imprisoned during the Kings pleasure, being referred to the high Commission for a further censure: The occasion whereof we shall briefly relate.

This Bishop, after the great Seal some ten years since had been taken from him, retired to *Bugden* in *Huntington-shire*, wherein he lived very hospitably, and had great concourse; Amongst others Sr. John Lamb, Doctor Sibthorp, with Allen and Burden, two Proctors, came to visit him, and being at Dinner with him, there was much discourse about *Non-Conformists*, and the Bishop knowing these to be busie men in the prosecution of such, advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them, that the King intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable party, having great influence on the Parliament, without whose concurrence he could not supply his necessities; adding, that he had communicated this unto him by his own mouth.

A few years after, Lamb, upon some difference with the Bishop, informed against him for revealing the Kings Secrets, whereupon an Information was put in against him in the *Star-Chamber*: To which he put in an especial answer, declaring how all was contrived by a conspiracy and combination of Lamb, Sybthorpe, Allen and Burden, out of an intent to advance themselves and hatred to him, for not permitting them to Poll and Pill the Kings Subjects in *Leicester-shire* in their Ecclesiastical Courts, by halting them into their Nets, *Ex officio mero*, without any previous Complaint; under an imaginary colour of Puritanism. To this answer the Kings Attorney rejoined in Issue, admitting the Bishop to prove his special matters who proceeded to the examination of his witnesses therein: but after a while the Attorney being somewhat remiss in the prosecution, one Richard Kilvert was entertained to be the Bishops Protector, who had found out, that one John Prigion a Register of *Lincoln* and *Leicester*, was a most material witness in the Bishops defence: And the credit of this Testimony he designed to invalidate, by charging him with getting a Bastard, on one Eliz. Hodson: The Bishop thought it behoved him to support the Reputation of Prigion, and engaged himself more zealously therein, than was conceived consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate, to such who knew not that he and one Doctor Morrison were the only persons of note present at his Table, where the discourse above mentioned passed between him and Sir John Lamb. This Bastard was by the Sessions at *Lincoln* ordered to be kept by Prigion, as the reputed father thereof, but at a Sessions following, that order was reversed, and the Child fathered upon one Borne, and Prigion acquitted; in the doing whereof, it is said Powel and Owen, two Agents of the Bishop, did menace and tamper with the witnesses: But at a third Session, Prigion was again charged and Borne freed: yet this last order, being upon a *Certiorari* brought to the Kings-Bench, was there quashed as insufficient, and Prigion was after cleared from the Child: Kilvert nevertheless in the traverse of this affair, let fall the first information in the *Star-chamber*, and proceeded upon that, whereon the Sentence before named was grounded, viz.

R r r

for



1637. for Subornation, and therein he succeeded: This dealing with the Bishop was very rigorous, and the rigour of it imputed to *Land*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who thought him one that too much opposed his intentions, in reducing the Clergy to an exact and strict conformity to the orders of the Church, in point of Ceremony, and therefore unfit to have any Government in it, for after that part of his sentence came to be executed, which was referred to the High Commission, he was by that suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and all his preferments in the Church sequestred to the use of the King: And the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as Arch-bishop of the Province, exercised all kind of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction throughout the Diocess of *Lincoln*, not only as Ordinary of that Diocess, but as Visitor of all those Colledges, which had any dependances on that See.

On the 23 day of *July*, being the day before this last part of the sentence against the Bishop of *Lincoln* was executed, there was a very great commotion in *Edenburgh*, about reading a Book of Common-prayer, some time before sent thither, and because it was an action that drew after it great misery and confusion to the King, and all his Kingdom, we shall be a little more particular in the Narration of it, and the consequences thereof, than is suitable to the brevity herein used in other transactions of lesser moment.

New broiles  
and commo-  
tions in  
*Scotland*  
about read-  
ing the  
Common  
Prayer.

In the year 1616. as has been related, King *James* obtained an Act of the general Assembly at *Aberdeen*, for the compiling a Liturgy or Common-prayer, which was to be first presented to the King, and after his approbation, universally received throughout the Kingdom: this book in pursuance thereof was framed, and sent up to the King, who himself perused, and considerably revised it, and referred it also to the consideration of others, in whom he reposed much trust, and after all his own and their observations, additions, expunctions, mutations and accommodations, he returned it to *Scotland*, to be commended to that Church, but before a period and consummation was put to that Business, the King dyed. This pious intention of King *James*, for an Unity and Uniformity in the publick Prayer, Liturgie, and Service of the Church of *Scotland*, was so far intended by the King, that shortly after his return from that Kingdom, he did not only enjoin a stricter celebration of the *English* Liturgy in his own Chapel at *Edenburgh*, than had been formerly but frequently consulted how to have it universally used through the whole Kingdom; but the Scots-Bishops, being jealous that this might be an argument of their dependance on the Church of *England*, rather desired that the Liturgy framed in *Scotland*, in King *James* his time might be received, wherein the new Translation authorized by that King in the *Psalms*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Hymns*, and *Sentences*, instead of the old translation was received; and (except on *All Saints* day, when *Wisdom* the third, and *Ecclesiasticus* the fourteenth are appointed to be read, for morning and evening prayer) no *Apocrypha* Chapters were directed to be read therein: though above 60 Chapters are read in the *English* Liturgy, for the first Lessons from the 28 of *Septemb.* to the 24 of *Nov.*

To this proposition the King agreed, and the book sent by K. *James* formerly into *Scotland*, was remitted to *England*, and after many serious consultations and some alterations, made by advice of divers of the Bishops, and Clergy of *Scotland*, then here it was perfected, Printed and Published and sent into *Scotland*: The Bishops and Noblemen of the Kings Council, then present at *Edenburgh*, resolved, That the book should be first read in the great Church, on the before-mentioned 23 of *July*, and on the Sunday before notice thereof was publickly given in the Church: There were present both the Arch-bishops, many of the Privy Council, and others of the best Quality in *Edenburgh*, besides a great concourse of ordinary people: Amongst this multitude, there appeared no sign of trouble, but no sooner was the book opened by the *Dean* of *Edenburgh*, but a Number of the meaner sort with clapping their hands, and outcries, made a great uproar, and one of them, called *Jane* or *Janot Gaddis*, (yet living at the writing of this relation) flung a little folding-stool, whereon she sat, at the *Deans* head, saying, *Out thou false Thief, dost thou say the Mass at my Lug?* which was followed with so great noise and confusion, that not any one could either hear or be heard; whereupon the Bishop of *Edenburgh* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by putting them in mind, that the place, in which they were, was holy ground, and by intreating them to desist from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgels, stools, and what else was in the way, even to the endangering of his life: Upon this the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* Lord Chancellor, called down the Provost and Bayliffs of the City from their Seats to their assistance, who (not without some difficulty) put the unruly people out of the Church, and made fast the doors: This done, the *Dean* proceeded in reading the book, the multitude in the mean while rapping and pelting the windows with stones, to disturb the exercise, but notwithstanding all their clamour, the Service was ended, but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishop's retiring to his Lodging, so assaulted him, as (had he not been rescued by a strong hand) he had probably perished by their violence.

The same morning the Service Book was read in the next Church to *St. Gyles*, though not without noise and tumult, yet not so great as in the other: In the *Gray-Fryers* Church M. *Ramsay* refused to read it, and was afterwards suspended for the same, but the Elect Bishop of *Argyle*, his Colleague began to read it, but was so menaced, cursed and exclaimed against, that he was forced to give over; In the *Colledge* Church *Rollock* one of the Preachers, who the Sunday before at the intimation of the reading had much commended the Book, and undertaken this day to read it, upon notice, how it was received in the Church of *St. Gyles*, broke the promise he made to read it, thinking it the safer course, to leave himself to the Censure of all men for his levity, than offend the multitude, whose favour he sought, but he was suspended also.

The morning thus past, the Council assembled at the Lord Chancellors Lodging, and sent for



1637. for the Provost and Bayliffs, to advise with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon, which they promised to endeavour, and it was so effected, that the Book was read in the Church of S. Giles, and some other Churches that afternoon, without any such disturbance as it had in the morning: only the Bishop of *Edinburgh* in his return to his lodging was rudely treated by the people, both by execrations and other waies.

All this time the Magistrates and Council of the City seemed so to dislike those tumultuous proceedings, that when their Ministers craved a dispensation from reading the Book, until security were given for the safeguard of their persons, they drew up an Obligatory Act, both for indemnity of their persons, and also for their settled maintenance; and whilst this was doing, to express their zeal herein, they sent two particular Letters to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, into *England*, in which they desired him, To recommend to the King their fidelity to his service, and to undertake for them, their zeal and forwardness for settling the peaceable practice of the Service-Book; this undertaking of the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, made the King remit much of his intended rigour against the offenders in the first uproar, hoping by that his clemency to oblige them the more in their duty towards him: and now the Council were in consultation for appointing a new day, for renewing the exercise of the Service-Book, to which the Bishops, Ministers, and Magistrates agreed; But before the time came, The Magistrates and people were so practised on by the suspended Ministers *Rollock* and *Ramsay*, and one *Henderson* a silenced Reader, that they began to relent of their former promises, and presented to the Council a Petition, requesting that the Service-book might not be imposed upon them, until the King's Pleasure should be further known; which Petition they alledged, they were necessitated to present by the Example and encouragement of all ranks from all parts of the Kingdom; And the Ministers also petitioned, that the orders, whereby they were enjoined to receive the Book might be suspended. There was nothing else of publick note done from *Lammas* (which is the day on which the Long Vacation there begins,) till the first of *October*, for the time of Harvest drew all sorts of people (save the Citizens) into the Country. But so soon as Harvest was done, the Designers of the following disorders had so corresponded, That the conflux of Nobility, Gentry, Ministers and Burgeses, from all parts, came to be very numerous at *Edinburgh*, in expectation of some great matters of Religion to be treated on in Council, at their first appointed day of sitting, and they were so tumultuous in their behaviour, that a present insurrection was feared, which forced the Council on the 27<sup>th</sup> of *October*, the first appointed day of assembling, to make three Proclamations: The first intimating, That nothing should be treated, concerning Church Business, till the times and meetings of the people should be more quiet and peaceable, and therefore all that come thither about any such matters, were required to repair home in twenty four hours, under the pain of Rebellion.

Three Proclamations for appeasing the Tumults in *Edinburgh*.

The second for removing the Session (which is with us called the Term) from *Edinburgh* to *Lithgow*; and the third for calling in, and burning a seditious Book, entituled, A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland.

These Proclamations rather fomented than extinguished the flame then begun, for the next day the Bishop of *Galloway* being to sit with the Chief Justice upon some special Business in the Council House, he was pursued with vehement railings all along the street to the Council-door, where he was no sooner got, but they surrounded the House, and demanded the delivery of him to them; The Lord Treasurer advertised of the Bishops danger, came to his relief, but being got in, he was in no better plight than the Bishop; for the fury of the people still increased, hereupon the Provost and Council of the City were called to suppress the Tumult, but their condition was the same as the others, for they were incompassed by the people, and threatened with fear of their lives to sign a paper. First, That they should adhere to them in opposition of the Service-book; Secondly, Restore to their places *Rollock*, *Ramsay* and *Henderson*. Upon notice of this, the Treasurer and the Earl of *Wigston* went in person to the Town Council house, where they find the heat some-what abated, because the Magistrates had signed the Paper, and they were going back in hopes, that the disorders would be so far quieted upon this Condescension, that they might set the Bishop free: but no sooner had they appeared in the street, but they were assaulted, and the Treasurer had his white staff, hat and cloak taken from him, and hardly got into the Council-house: In this great hazard; the Lords sent to some of the Popular Noblemen, and Gentry in the Town, disaffected to the Service-Book, to come to their aid, who readily came, as was desired, and they peaceably guarded the Lords to *Hally-rood-house*, and the Bishop to his Lodgings.

Outrages committed by the rabble upon the Bishop of *Galloway* and the Lord Treasurer with others.

The Lords of the Council, after the Tumults were dissolved, that very afternoon commanded Proclamation to be made at the Cross at *Edinburgh*, for the repressing such disorders for the time to come; but to this little obedience was yielded, for whereas the first Tumult had been acted by the scum and basest of the people, and was decried by all the better sort: This second was the fact of the most substantial Citizens (except the Magistrates) who were now grown so insolent, that they sent Commissioners to the Council-Table, to require, that their silenced Ministers and Reader might be restored, and have assurance for the performance of what was promised to them by the Magistrates at the last insurrection; and a while after, there were presented to the Lord Chancellour and Council two Petitions; The first in the name of the Men, Women, Children and Servants of *Edinburgh*, against the Service-book; but the Second in the Name of divers Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers and Burgeses, against the Service-book, and Book of Canons, as imposed contrary to Law (because not allowed by a General Assembly) by the procurement of the Prelates, and therefore they decline their authority, and crave they may not any of them sit in Council, being parties,

Another Proclamation for repressing disorders in *Edinburgh*.

Two Petitions presented to the Lord Chancellour and Council in *Edinburgh* against the Service-book.



1638. till their complaints be tried; This last Petition was by the Council sent to the King, who was so much displeased therewith, that he delayed to give any answer to it, but gave order to the Council, to signifie to all his good Subjects his averfeness from Popery, and detestation of Superstition, the contrary whereof the heads of the commotions had abused them with. The Council also finding *Edenburgh* at this time a Seat of Sedition, and disobedience to the Kings Authority, caused the Session to be adjourned from *Lithgoe* (which was somewhat too near) to *Sterling*, which was 24 miles distant, that so the disorderly multitude, there met together, might be dispersed by the necessary attendance of such as had any Law business, where by the King's Command, the Lords of the Council published a Proclamation, for dispersing the great and dangerous multitude, yet together, and assuring the people of the King's sincerity towards the Religion established in that Kingdom; upon the publication whereof, both at *Sterling*, *Lithgoe* and *Edenburgh*, it was received, whilst it was reading, with jeering, and after it was ended with a Protestation against it by many Earls, Lords, Ministers, and Burgesses, and a conflux of all other sorts of people; And in pursuance of this Violation of the King's Authority, they began to invest themselves with the Marks and Majesty of Sovereignty, erecting in *Edenburgh* four principal Tables or Councils, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burgesses, and a fourth of the Ministry, out of which there was a general Table of several Commissioners, chosen from the other four, who consulted of what was proposed to them by the other Tables, and what they did, was put in practice with strict obedience over all the Kingdom.

Many of the Nobility, Ministers and Burgesses protest against it.

Four Tables or Councils erected in *Edenburgh*.

The Negative Confession renewed without the Authority of the King.

The first Act of this General Table, was the Renewing of a Confession of Faith subscribed by King *James* and his household, in the year 1580, taken after by all persons 1581. by Ordinance of the Lords of the Privy Council and Act of the General Assembly, and subscribed again 1590 by a new ordinance of Council at the desire of the general Assembly, with a general Band for maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings Person; This Confession was called the negative Confession, wherein the Authority of the Pope, *Transubstantiation*, *Images*, *Reliques*, *Opus operatum*, *Merits*, *Auricular Confession*, *Prayer for the dead*, and all the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, as well in Doctrine, as outward Rites are enumerated at large, and particularly abjured, and a clause is inserted by which the Subscribers did call God to witness, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the said Confession, and did not feign and dissemble in any sort.

The occasion of the first taking thereof, we shall make a little digression to relate, for the better understanding these proceedings.

The Earl of *Lenox* being near of blood to King *James*, alwaies bred in *France*, in the year 1580. came from thence to visit him, and by his courteous and modest behaviour grew so much into his favour, that he would not let him return thither, but gave him many preferments in *Scotland*. This gave a great distaste to some about

the Court, and because he was of the *Roman* confession, the Ministers exclaimed much against him as sent from *France* to pervert the King in his Religion: The King to stay their declaimings, called the Ministers to *Edenburgh* together, and acquainted them that he had taken great pains to Convert his Cousin, and had obtained his consent to take a Minister into his house, which would serve to debar Jesuites and *Romish* Priests from him, and win him by conference to a great liking of the Truth; Mr. *David Lindsey* a Minister of *Leith*, was held the fittest for this service, as well for his skill in the *French* Tongue, as for his moderation otherwise; by whose labours, the Earl was quickly brought to join himself to the Church, and openly at *St. Gyles* to renounce the errors wherein he had been educated. Yet did not this remove the jealousies of the people, which were incensed by the intercepting of certain Dispensations sent from *Rome*, whereby the *Roman* Catholicks were permitted to promise, swear, subscribe, and do what else should be required of them, so as in mind they continued firm, and did use their diligence to advance the *Roman* faith.

These Dispensations being communicated to the King he caused his Chaplain, Mr. *John Craig*, to form the Confession of faith aforementioned, which he himself for example to others, did publickly swear to and subscribe, and the like was done by the Earl and the whole Council and Court at that time, and it was afterward renewed at the times before expressed.

This Confession was not the National Confession of the Church of *Scotland*, for that was penned twenty years before, and containing the positive grounds of Divinity was ratified by Act of Parliament, in the year 1567. and registred in the body thereof, and confirmed by a number of succeeding Parliaments: but this Negative confession, hath little more than the mandate of King *James* in his Minority (being but fifteen years of age) on the occasion before recited, to which he himself afterwards manifested his dislike at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, saying, Mr. *Craig* the compiler thereof, with his, *I Renounce*, and *I Detest*, did multiply so many particulars, that simple people were not able to conceive them, and so being amazed did either fall back to Popery, or remain still in their ignorance. If I (said he) should hold myself to that form, the confession of my Faith must be in my Table-book, and not in my head. But that which was an aggravation in the renewing of this Confession, by these Confederates, was not only the doing it without the authority of the King or his Council, but adding a Band or Covenant to it far differrent from the Band in the year 1590. wherein they make an interpretation of the Confession, contrary to the sense and true meaning of it, for the better carrying on of their intended reformation. The first Band was for maintenance of the King's person and Authority with their lives and fortunes in defence of the Gospel of Christ, and liberties of the Kingdom; but in this Covenant they swear to the mutual defence and assistance one of another, with their best counsel, bodies, means, and whole power, against all persons whatsoever, wherein the King was not excepted.

This



1638.

Violence  
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Professours  
of Colledges  
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same ac-  
count.

This Confession and Covenant was first taken by the Tables, and afterwards imposed on all sorts of people, wherein great violence and menaces were used in many places, with bearing, tearing of cloaths, drawing blood, and exposing to thousands of injuries and reproaches, at *Edenburgh, S. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Lanerick*, and many places more; all those Professours in Colledges, and Ministers, who out of Conscience towards God, and loyalty to the King, did either dissuade others, or could not by their entreaties or threatnings be perswaded to it themselves. The Laws were positive against this manner of Leaguings, it being expressly declared in two Acts of Parliament, 10 *Jac. 6. Act. 12.* and *Parliament. nono Reg. Maria, Act. 75.* That all Leagues of subjects amongst themselves without the privity and approbation of the King to be Sedition, and the Authors and abettors of them to be punished as movers of Sedition: but so great was the transportation of Zeal in the people, inflamed by the insinuations of the chiefs of the confederates, that the Law could take no place. All Professours in Colledges, and Ministers that refused to subscribe their Covenant were removed, for many good men that disliked the tumultuary way of offering it, were also scandalized at the interpretation by the Tables put upon it, for they declared, That this Confession was to be interpreted and ought to be understood of all the pretended Novations, no lesser than if every one of them had been expressed in the said Confession: by which, the five Articles of *Perth* before spoken of, passed in the year 1618. concerning kneeling at the Sacrament, private Communion to the sick, private Baptism, Confirmation of Children, and Observation of Festivals, as also the Service-Book, the Book of Canons, the High-Commission, things which Mr. *Craig* never heard of (nor perhaps imagined) are sworn against, so that they made the living swear what was the mind of the dead, for in that Confession, those Romish corruptions were only abjured which in that time had infected the Church: these Zealots nevertheless when some eminent Ministers (who at their admission had sworn obedience to and practice of these points) when they disputed this interpretation, and offered some qualification to it, they assured them they might swear, with a reservation of not abjuring Episcopacie, the Articles of *Perth*, or any thing by Parliament or General Assembly established; urging, that it would breed great division, if any alteration of the words wherein the Covenant was conceived, should be admitted.

The Mar-  
quess comes  
into Scot-  
land to com-  
pose the dif-  
ferences

The King being much displeased with these indignities upon his Royal Authority, and their refusal of that satisfaction which he offered to redress their complaints, intended to do that by power, which perswasion could not effect; but the Marquess of *Hamilton* then very prevalent with him, diverted that course, offering his service to compose the differences: The King being in his nature alwaies prone to lenity, was quickly induced to condescend to this motion, and sent him down in the quality of High Commissioner, authorizing him with large power to settle the peace of that Kingdom. The Marquess at his first arrival finding the City of *Edenburgh* filled with extraordinary numbers of persons from several

parts of the Kingdom, because of the sitting of the Tables, went to a place called *Dalkeyh*, about four miles from thence, where he assembled the Council to consider of the best waies and means of serving the King in the prosecution of the trust committed to him; but whilst he was in these consultations, the Magistrates of *Edenburgh* presented an humble supplication to him, to repair to the King's Palace at *Edenburgh*, where (as they pretended) they might more conveniently give demonstration of their affection to the King's service. The Marquess considering what great influence the City had over all the rest of the Cities and Burghs of *Scotland*, was willing to gratifie them in their request, and told them, That if they would undertake that their Citizens should behave themselves as dutiful Subjects, and take order that the multitudes now present there (who call themselves Covenanters) and the Guards which the Tables had lately set about the Castle of *Edenburgh* should be dismissed, he would repair to the City, otherwise not: The Magistrates undertook to perform all that the Marquess proposed, adding, that they feared some aspersions might be laid upon them of disloyalty to the King, from which they doubted not to clear themselves, when he should please to hear and examine their proceedings: The Marquess upon this their undertaking, went the next day to *Edenburgh* to the King's Palace at *Haly-rood House*, where after he was a while settled, he fell presently upon the main business with the Confederates, to whom he made two Propositions.

First, what they expected from him for satisfaction to their Complaints; and next, what might be expected from them for returning to their former obedience, especially in renouncing and delivering up their late Covenant. To which after some time, they made answer, That they requested a General Assembly of the Church, and then a Parliament, in which two Judicatures they would represent and discuss their Grievances: To the second, they said, They could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their obedience; and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their Baptism, than abate one word or syllable thereof. And presently after they had given their answers, they possessed the people with many mis-reports, and the Sermons of the Preachers of *Edenburgh* were filled with admonitions, that they should take heed of crafty compositions, or yielding in the least point of their intended Reformation.

The Marquess seem'd much troubled at these actions, and thought the best expedient he could use to reclaim the people, was to publish a Proclamation, which he had brought with him from the King, of his Grace and Favour towards them, for relieving their Grievances, and satisfying them with his forwardness for the maintenance of the true Religion, and his averfeness from Popery; but before he did this, by advice of the Privy Council he writ a Letter to the King, to desire him to sweeten it with a favor of restoring to the City of *Edenburgh* the sitting of the Session, and all Courts of Justice, as a thing very acceptable to the Judges, Advocates, and all Dependents upon the Law, and to all others which had business depending in the Courts, but chiefly to the City of *Edenburgh*, which complained much of being

1638.

His two  
Propositions

The Mar-  
quess obtains  
of the King  
for the restor-  
ing of the  
sitting of the  
Sessions, and  
all Courts of  
Justice.

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1638. impoverish'd by their absence : To this the King returned a very Gracious Answer, consenting that the Courts of Justice should presently begin again to sit at *Edenburgh*, and in pursuance thereof Proclamation was made for the first sitting down of the Session on the third day of *July*, which was receiv'd with great joy by the Judges, Advocates, and the Magistrates and Citizens of *Edenburgh*, so that the Marques and the Council did then hope the peoples minds began to be prepared to receive the Declaration of the King's grace and favour which was to be published in the next Proclamation : but upon the news of this some of the Confederates pretending to know the substance of it, were so bold as to tell the Marques, It would give no satisfaction to the people, and if they publish it, they would make protestation against it ; but not prevailing in this, they perceiving the bringing back of the Courts of Justice to *Edenburgh* had wrought very much upon many of their party, to a good resentment of the King's kindness towards them, cast about how to pervert them ; in order whereunto they sent some of their number to the Marques, to desire that Sir Robert Spotswood, President of the Session, and Sir John Hay, Clerk, Register or Master of the Rolls might be removed from their places, saying they would prove bribery and corruptions against them : To which the Marques replied, That upon the proof thereof, they should be subjected to tryal, but he thought it not fit they should be punished for any crime before they were legally convicted of it ; but this satisfied them not, nor did they expect to be gratified in so unreasonable a request, but they thought his denial would give them occasion to irritate the people to a disgust of the King's favour intended towards them ; for they presently upon this possess'd their party that those Judges were Enemies to their Covenant, affected to Episcopal Government, and Procurers, and Abettors of the late Innovations, giving out that they would publish a Protestation, that whatsoever Act, Decree or Order should be made where any of these Judges were present, should be null and void in Law ; but notwithstanding all this their threatening talk they never proceeded in any process against them, or made any such protestation, though they were often told by the Marques, it would be a very good service to the King, if they could prove their allegations, of which, if they were found guilty, they should not only be displaced, but receive such punishment as the Law had provided for such Notorious criminals ; but they perceiving their way of calumny did not succeed, desisted from further dealing therein, which they would not have done, if the Judges had been guilty of what they alledged against them : And now the Session being settled, the Marques caused the King's Proclamation to be pronounced at the Cross at *Edenburgh*, wherein the King took notice that many disorders had lately happened upon the Introduction of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, many thereby fearing Innovation of Religion and Laws, wherefore He assured his good Subjects, That he was resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, and not thereafter press the practice of the Canons and Service-Book, nor any thing of that nature, but in such a fair and legal way as shall manifest

A Proclamation made for the first sitting.

The King's Proclamation pronounced at the Cross at *Edenburgh*.

1638. he never intends Innovations in Religion nor Laws ; That he will reform the High Commission, so as it shall not be grievous to the people, and what is further fitting to be done, shall be agitated in a General Assembly and Parliament which should be indicted in convenient time, concluding, that he would not have them misled by any disaffected persons, who under pretext of Religion would draw them to disobedience to his grief and their ruine. This Proclamation was no sooner read, but the confederates arraigned it in a Protestation, which they caused to be publicly read, importing That they never doubted the sincerity of the King in defence of the Protestant Religion. That what he granted them, was not a sufficient remedy for their grievances, in that he did not wholly abolish the Service-Book, nor the High Commission, which was imposed upon them contrary to the Laws of the Land. That no Proclamation can secure them from the re-entry of the Innovations which this seemed to discharge, and that an Assembly and Parliament are the only remedies of their evils, and means to prevent the like, and that their proceeding ought not to be interpreted a drawing to disobedience under pretext of Religion, and running headlong into ruine.

The Proclamation arraigned in a Protestation of the Confederates.

The Marques found by this their manner of proceeding, he was not likely to reduce them to obedience ; and the most they could be brought to, was an Explication of their Covenant, wherein they pretended to express great demonstrations of affection to the King ; but when it was presented and read, little more was in it than a Justification of the Confession and their Covenant, protesting they never had any intention to withdraw themselves from their dutiful subjection and obedience to the Kings Government : But whereas it was expected that to these words of their Covenant, whereby they bind themselves to mutual maintenance against all persons whatsoever, should have been added, except the King and his Successors, that was refused.

The Marques was not satisfied herewith, but he told them he had spent all his Instructions, and could treat no further with them, till he had been with the King to acquaint him with his proceedings, and receive his further Orders, but he promised to return speedily to them with the Kings final answer to their demands, which he would shew to him, exhorting them in the mean time to break up their meeting, and contain themselves in quietness and peace : This they promised to do, but added, if he did not return by the 5<sup>th</sup> of *August* with such an answer as they expected, that then they would hold themselves free, and proceed in the courses they had resolved on.

The Marques went immediately to the King, whom he found at *Greenwich*, and to him he related the particulars of all transactions, The K. was offended at the insolencies of the Confederates, but was persuaded to try a little further if he could reduce them by a Gentle means : wherefore he dispatched the Marques with new Instructions, and gave him order to call a General Assembly, and after that a Parliament, but so as he should be first satisfied, by all Informations he could conveniently receive, of the constitution of a General Assembly, none having been kept for divers years.

The Marques comes to the King at *Greenwich*, and acquaints him with the affairs.

He is sent back with new instructions, and as order to call a General Assembly, and after a Parliament.

As soon as he came into *Scotland*, he deputed some of the Lords of the Council to confer with some



1638. some of the chief of the confederates of all Orders concerning some necessary propositions fit to be resolved on before the calling of the Assembly, both concerning the members of which it was to be constituted, and concerning the matters to be treated of; (two consultations usually previous to that meeting; for the omission whereof, in an Assembly of later times, they had so grievously complained, that in a Petition exhibited by the Ministers of their side it was alledged for a Nullity of that Assembly) but this was rejected as a limitation of the Assembly: The Marquess then told them, he could not call the Assembly till he had once again attended the King: Upon this they caused rumors to be spread, that the Marquess neither had power from the King, nor any intention from himself to give them satisfaction; Wherefore the Marquess to disabuse the people in this matter, reduced what he at first propounded, to two heads, which he tendered to them in these words;

The Marquess proposes in order to an Assembly and Parliament.

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves and the rest, that no Laicks shall have voices in chusing the Ministers to be sent from the several Presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbytery.

2. If they will undertake that at the Assembly, they shall not go about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherwise than by Remonstrance or Petition to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiastical to the General Assembly, and things secular by Act of Parliament, to the Parliament.

Then I will presently Indict a General Assembly, and promise upon My Honour, immediately after the Assembly to Indict a Parliament which shall Cognosce of all their Complaints.

They dislike the proposals, and invest themselves with a power of convoking an Assembly.

This would not be condescended unto, but they told the Marquess, if he did not return from the King by the 21<sup>th</sup> of September, to Indict a General Assembly by the Kings authority, they would themselves call one: for they had about this time published a Book, wherein amongst other things it was asserted, that the power of Convoking an Assembly, in case the Prince was an enemy of the Truth, or negligent in advancing the good of the Church, was in the Church itself.

The Marquess hastened with all diligence to the King, and informed him of all occurrences that passed, which occasioned many debates of the way to be used to bring that Kingdom to peace and quietness.

The Scots about the King advised, that he should not have any recourse to Arms, but in an unavoidable extremity; the Lords of the Privy Council in Scotland were many of them in private League with the Confederates, so that nothing could be relied on from them; And therefore that which was thought the best expedient, was to take an exact view of all the Petitions, Remonstrances and Protestations of the Confederates which they had since the beginning of the troubles exhibited either to the King, or the Marquess, or Privy Council, and to grant them all: And besides all these, because the heads of the Confederates had made it a principal motive to alienate the minds of the people from the King, that he was inclined to Popery, and had an

aversion to the Reformed Religion, It was adjudged and consented to by the King, to command and urge the renewing of that Confession and Covenant by his authority, which they had taken without it, by which Legitimation, to save the people who were to swear it, from incurring the danger of those Laws, which made it very criminal to enter into any Covenant without his Authority: And instead of that unjust band of confederacy, which they added to the confession to bind themselves to mutual maintenance and defence against all persons whatsoever, the King caused the General Band for maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings person to be added in the same words as it was expressed, and taken in the year 1590 by an Ordinance of the Privy Council at the desire of the General Assembly.

With these concessions all drawn up in a Proclamation, the Marquess returned into Scotland within eight daies after his first coming to Oatlands to the King, and arrived there before the time limited for his return: The Confederates had made many resolutions in his absence, and though they promised no election of Commissioners for the Assembly should be made before the 21. of September, the day agreed upon for his return, they gave order that the Election should be made the two and twentieth being the next day after, according to which order, Commissioners for the Assembly were elected in many Presbyteries before the Kings answer could be known, or before the Assembly was indicted, which was not till some daies after these elections; and although they would admit of no conference with the Marquess, for debating of what members the Assembly was to be constituted, and the manner thereof, which they said, would be a pre-limitation of it, they sent out to every Presbytery several Articles, wherein many Qualifications were made, limiting both the matter and manner thereof, with a form of Commission to be given to the Commissioners from every Presbytery, requiring that the persons elected should repair to *Edinburgh* after their Election, to consult before-hand of what was to be said or done at the Assembly.

Notwithstanding all these disorders, the Marquess assembled the Council at *Holy-Rood* house; and communicated to them the particulars of the Kings grace and favour for the appeasing of the Troubles of the Kingdom, which they received with excessive joy, believing that malice it self could not invent a pretence of keeping the people from being fully satisfied: The news of this made the heads of the Confederates bestir themselves, fearing their reign was towards an end, and some of them came to the Marquess sitting in Council, and moved him to delay the publishing of the Proclamation till the *Monday* following, for the next day being *Sunday*, they intended their Ministers should in their Pulpits cast such aspersions on it as might not easily be removed; but the Marquess would not be prevailed with, and the Proclamation was that day published at the Market-Cross; which was to this effect: That the King did annul and rescinde all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, and the practise of them: he also dispensed with the

The Kings Proclamation published at the Cross, where he authoriseth their confession and band annexed.



1638. the practice of the five Articles of Perth, and it was declared, that all persons Ecclesiastical or Civil of what quality, title or degree soever should be lyable to the Tryal and censure of Parliament, general Assembly, or any other Judicatories competent, and that no other Oath should be administered to any Minister, at their Entry into the Ministry, but that which is contained in the Act of Parliament: Likewise in manifestation of the Kings integrity to Religion, all persons should be enjoined by his authority, to subscribe the Confession of faith, with the Band annexed, and that no doubt may be left in the minds of the people of the Kings intentions, it is declared, that the Marques the Kings Commissioner, has Warrant to summon a Free General Assembly, to be holden at Glasgow, the 21 of November, and a Parliament at Edinburgh, the 15 of May.

The Lords of the Council approve the Kings Proclamation, and subscribe and swear to the confession and band authorized by the King.

All the Lords of the Council did seem very well to approve of this Proclamation, highly extolling the Goodness and Piety of the King, for having offered so just a means for the conservation of the purity of Religion and the peace of the Kingdom; and in a letter, which they sent to him upon this subject, they offered to defend his Person and Royal Authority, in the profession of that confession, now by him authorised, which they all solemnly subscribed after the Marques, who represented the Kings person, and appointed Commissioners for all Countreys and places, to have it sworn to, and subscribed by all the people, throughout the Realm. Many of the more moderate, both Magistrates, Ministers, and others in several Towns and places, that had taken the Covenant enjoined by the Confederates, were very well satisfied, with the expressions of the Kings condescensions mentioned in the Proclamation, and did swear and subscribe to the confession and Band, by the King directed, which began now to be called the Kings Covenant: But the Lords, Ministers and others of the Tables, and their Confederates did not acquiesce therein, alledging that this Proclamation did in many parts of it tacitely condemn the precedent actions, and restrain the Liberty of the Intended General Assembly; and to shew their dislike, they framed a long Protestation against it, a copy whereof they tendered to the Kings Herald, at the same time the Proclamation was proclaimed, which was to this effect.

A Protestation of the confederates against the Kings Proclamation.

That what the King granted in this Proclamation, did not free them from their just fears and apprehensions, and was not sufficient to cure the wounds of the Church and State; That the King ascribed the last Troubles to their fear of the innovations of Religion and Law, and not to the Innovation themselves, as if the cause were rather in apprehension, than in reality and substance. That the King having extolled the present Government of the Church, according to the late innovated forms of service therein, they could not be secured with a bare suspension of their Usage; if they were not formally taken away: That the General Assembly would be deprived of its just liberty, both in the Election of its Members, and the matters to be therein discussed, because the King appointed Bishops in the Indiction of the Assembly, to be there present, though they ought not so to be unless deputed by the Presbyteries.

1638. That the King declared, his intentions not to innovate any thing in Religion, whereas it depends on the general Assembly, to abolish all such Ecclesiastick constitutions, which appear to them to be hurtful to the Church.

That seeing all persons Ecclesiastical and Civil are lyable to the Tryal and Censure, as in the Proclamation mentioned and expressed, They protested that the Arch-Bishops and Bishops be not present, as having voice at the Assembly, but as persons guilty to appear, to undergo censure, for the complaints made, and to be made against them, and that the warning by this Protestation, and the Kings Proclamation should be a sufficient citation for their Tryal in Life, Office, and Benefice.

That they cannot subscribe this Confession, and Band by the King appointed: because it will tend to a division of them, in regard that they had already sworn, not directly or indirectly to suffer themselves to be divided from this conjunction, which consisted not in the general confession (which they agree to be the same) but also in the explanation and application thereof; and moreover by this new subscription they should both condemn their former subscription, and preclude the like laudable course in the like necessity to be taken by posterity.

That if they should swear the Confession, they should be obliged to maintain the Articles of Perth and Episcopacy, for an Oath is to be taken according to the intention of the person that commends it, and this being now appointed by the Kings Mandate of the 9 of Septemb. last, It is plain, that the Kings mind and intention is, That this Confession be sworn for the maintenance of Religion, as it is now professed, including the Innovations, and Episcopacy, which under that name were ratified by the Kings first Parliament: And if it be objected, that the Marques and the Council do by their Act urge the confession as it was professed in the year 1580. It is answered, that no such Act is yet published by Proclamation: By approving the Proclamation concerning the Ministers Oath according to Act of Parliament, (which is to swear simple obedience to the Diocesan Bishop) we should, say they, seem to determine that the Confession of Faith in 1580 doth consist with Episcopacy, whereas that Question is referred, as other of the like kind, to the Assembly. And they conclude, with an appeal from the Lords of the Council to the next general Assembly, exhorting all to subscribe the Confession and Covenant, as by them explained and applied, and hold back their hands from all other Covenants, till the Assembly be convened and determine the present divisions and differences.

The Marques, and the Lords of the Council perceived by this protestation, that the confederates endeavoured all they could to blast the Kings intentions, and they wondred much at their appeal from the Council to the Assembly, which was by Act of the eighth Parliament of King James made High Treason: They saw also, by what the Confederates did, that little good was to be expected from the approaching assembly (which was summoned to appear at the time expressed by the Kings Proclamation) for they had used great Industry, that all that should



1638.

should be chosen thereunto, should be of the most rigid and most affectionate to their Covenant; and to exclude the Bishops from having any place there, they published, That any persons, cited as Criminals before the Assembly, could have no voice there; and in pursuance thereof, they drew up a Libel against the Archbishops and Bishops, which they exhibited on the 24<sup>th</sup> of October, to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, who proceeded thereon, as if all the Bishops had been subject to their authority; and after some short consideration of the Libel, which was full of scandal and reproaches of the Bishops, they ordered, that it should be referred to the next Assembly, and that the Libel and their Order of Reference should be read in all Churches with a publick warning and citation to the Bishops, to be present at the Assembly, to answer to the complaints against them.

A Libel drawn up against the Arch Bishops and Bishops, who by this means being made criminals, are excluded from having any Place in their Assembly.

Many judged this proceeding, so contrary to all the Legal forms of Justice, was done on no other design, but to render the Bishops odious to the people; For the Assembly when they came to consider of this matter, enter'd not into the examination of the personal Vices, with which the Libel or Bill of Complaint was filled, but upon the abolishing of Episcopacy it self, though it is evident, that if they had had proofs, they would not have spared the Bishops, whom the Confederates had represented so criminous to the people.

A Declinator of the Bishops against the Assembly.

Lay-Elders admitted into their Assembly.

The Bishops Declinator rejected.

The day of the Assembly being come, the Marquess his Commission was Read, and nothing else done considerable that day: The next day a Declinator was presented to the Commissioner in the name of the Arch-bishops and Bishops against the Assembly, and containing a nullity of it, but this was not read without great difficulty: nor was this Declinator of the Bishops the only objection against this Assembly, for the Presbytery of *Glasgow*, and many other places protested against the legality thereof, because of the admission of Lay-Elders, a thing scarce before heard of in that Church: But they made very much scrutiny in the debate of their own constitution, for by one means or other they excluded every Commissioner, that was not clearly agreeable to the minds of the Confederates. The Declinator of the Bishops they would by no means allow of, but put it to the question, Whether the Assembly, notwithstanding the Bishops reasons against it, were not Lawful, and a competent Judge of the Complaints against them? and it was agreed in the affirmative. The Marquess admired at their carriage, since the chiefs of the Confederates, who so lately protested against the sitting of the Bishops in Council, as parties to their Complaints, and made a Declinator of the Councils Authority, and invalidated all their Acts, made while they were sitting, could now oppose the like, though with more reason offered in this case; for most or all of the Members of the Assembly having bound themselves by Oaths, Covenants, Combinations and Associations against the Bishops, and Episcopacy, (which being analogical to judicial Acts) had barred themselves from being Judges, either of the persons or calling of these Bishops: But the Marquess had yet a deeper resentment of their behaviour for

another cause, for the King having nominated six Lords of the Privy Council, to be Assessors to him his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to entertain them, or allow their suffrage, affirming, That were the King himself present, he should have but one voice, and that no negative one neither.

1638.

Six Lords of the Privy Council nominated by the King Assessors to the Marquess, refused and denied their Suffrage.

The Marquess concluding from these actions, that no good was like to be done by continuing the Assembly longer, *Novemb.* the 28<sup>th</sup> consulted with the Council about its dissolution; and it being agreed in the affirmative, he went to the Assembly, and said to them,

*You are now about to settle the Lawfulness of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow; I am glad I have seen this Assembly met, a thing which was supposed his Majesty never intended, and for the further clearing the integrity of his intentions, let this Paper, which I deliver to the Clerk to be read, bear Witness.*

The Marquess his Speech to the Assembly.

The Paper being read by the Clerk, was a Declaration, the same in every substantial point with the Declaration, discharging the Service Book, Book of Canons, &c. This Declaration soon after the Reading, was signed by the Commissioner, and required to be entred into the Books of the Assembly; provided that this Act of Registering this Declaration, should be no approbation of the Lawfulness of this Assembly, to the dissolution whereof he was next to proceed, and therefore protested, That whatsoever should be done or said in it, should not be obligatory, or be reputed an Act of a General Assembly: the very night of the intended dissolution of this Assembly, the Marquess assembled the Council to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving it, which being resolved upon, was subscribed by all, but the Earl of *Argyle*, who began now to shew himself for the Confederates.

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Assembly.

The Proclamation being formed, and published *Novembe* 29<sup>th</sup>, was encountered with a Protestation of the Confederates, That it is Lawful for them to Sit still, and continue the Assembly, and that they would still adhere to all their former Protestations; and accordingly pursuing the Tenor of their Protestations, presently declared six former General Assemblies (which they thought would discern them) to be null, and deprived all the Bishops, and some they excommunicated, and soon after abolished Episcopacy it self, as inconsistent with the Laws of that Church.

Encountred with a Protestation of the Confederates.

Episcopacy abolished by the Assembly.

The Marquess seeing all things tending to a present Rupture, sent to desire leave of the King to return into *England*; which he obtained, but before he went, he saw an end of the Assembly, which made many Acts, not necessary here to be related, and by their own Authority ordained annual Assemblies, the first whereof was assigned to meet at *Edinburgh*, the first of *July* 1639.

Annual Assemblies ordained.

As soon as the Marquess was gone, the Confederates drew up a Declaration, Addressed to all good Christians of *England*, to justify their intentions and Actions, which had so many undutiful Reflections in it of the Government, that it was suppressed by the King's Authority, and he published a Declaration, to satisfy all his faithful

Their Declaration to justify their actions suppressed by the King's Authority.



1638. Subjects of the seditious Practices of those in Scotland, who had, under Pretext of Religion, designed the subversion of his Royal Authority, which was commanded to be Read in all Churches.

On the last of *October* this year, *Marie de Medicis*, the Widow of *Harry* the 4<sup>th</sup>, King of *France*, and Mother to the Queen, came into *England*, and was very honourably entertained: Whil'st she staid here, she was lodged at the King's Palace at *St. James's*, but she finding the King likely to be involved in troubles, to reduce his Subjects of *Scotland* to obedience, after some Months stay returned into *Holland*.

*Mary de Medicis* the Queen's Mother comes into *England*.

The Scots prepare for War, invite home their Commanders abroad, seize on divers Castles, and the King's Arms, and Ammunition.

*Alexander Lesly* made their Captain General.

The Earl of *Arundel* General of the King's Army.

1639.

The Scots having made all things desperate to accommodation, made vigorous preparations for War, and sent for succours to such of the neighbour Princes and States, from whom they could expect any assistance: They also invited home many Eminent Commanders of their Nation, from *Sweden* and *Holland*, to take Employment in their Armies, many of which were at the beginning of the year come to them. They seized on the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbarton*, and all other places of strength in the Kingdom, and took out of *Dalkeyth* all the King's Arms, and Ammunition, laid there the year before by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, next they chose *Alexander Lesly*, an old experienced Officer, to be Captain General of their Armies, to whom all the chiefs of the Confederates (who took Arms) Solemnly swore Obedience in all orders of War, and he swore in like manner, faithfully to exercise his charge.

The Marquess of *Argile* was sent to take care of those places frontier of *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Montrosse* had the charge of *Aberdeen*, and the more Northern parts, and Colonel *Montroe* was sent towards the borders of *England*, to keep all things quiet till the Levies were perfected.

The King in that mean time was not Idle, but made very great Levies in all places, and having got his Army together, he gave the command thereof in chief to the Earl of *Arundel*, as General, under whom the Earl of *Essex* was Lieutenant General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horse, the rest of the Officers were many of them persons of the best quality. And the Army in General consisted of the flower of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Nation: With this Army the King sets out on the 27<sup>th</sup> of *March*, and comes by easie Marches, within two miles of *Berwick*, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of *May*, where he Incamped, and General *Lesly* about the same time, marched with the Scotch Army to the borders towards *England*, and Incamped at *Dunce*, within four miles of *Berwick*.

The Marquess of *Hamilton* sent with a Fleet to *Leyth*.

The King when he began his March, had sent the Marquess of *Hamilton*, with a Fleet of Ships well furnisht with Souldiers to *Leyth*, to attempt that place, and make what Impression he could in those parts to hinder any new Levies, and reduce *Edinburgh*, *Leyth*, and what other Forts and Strengths he could to Obedience: He arrived in the month of *May* with his Fleet in the Road before the Town called the *Fryth*, where after some stay, he Landed some of his

men in a little Island, to give them breath and some refreshments, and there he received a visit from his Mother, a most rigid Covenanter, which made many of the King's Friends suspect his integrity; and the Scots upon the shore that saw this, were heard to say, *They knew the Son of such a Mother would not do them hurt*.

1639.

The Army under *Lesly*, was but ill armed, for they had not three thousand Musquets amongst them, so that though they put a good face on the Business, they were better prepared for a Treaty than a Battel, nevertheless those of that Nation about the King were not wanting on their part, to make the preparations of their Countrymen very terrible, and the Earls of *Trequare* and *Roxborough*, and other Noblemen of *Scotland*, who had permission to repair to *York* to the King, as he was in his March, for mediating an Atonement, did so practise upon the *English* Lords by their insinuations, that they mitigated much the displeasure of some, and quite took off the edge of others, so that after the King had been a while in his Leaguer near *Berwick*, he was easily disposed to receive Overtures from them, to be received into his grace and favour, which they made with great protestations of their Resolution upon his gracious Assurance of the preservation of their Religion and Laws, to give example to others of all Civil and Temporal Obedience, which could be required or expected from his loving Subjects: This produced a Treaty, for which on the King's part were appointed, The Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Berkehire*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and secretary *Cook*: And for the Scots, the Earls of *Roths* and *Dumfermling*, the *L. Lowdon*, the *L. Dowglas*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Johnston*: These having had several Debates, at length, *June* the 17<sup>th</sup> concluded upon a Pacification, which on the King's part was expressed by a Declaration of that date: so much whereof as is pertinent for the better understanding of these transactions, is here inserted.

A Pacification made by the King and the Scots.

We are pleased to confirm and make good whatsoever the Marquess of *Hamilton* our Commissioner hath granted; And that all matters Ecclesiastical shall be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and matters Civil by the Parliament, and other inferiour Judicatories established by Law; which Assembly shall be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon by the General Assembly, and our Commissioner for the time being.

That a free and General Assembly be kept at *Edinburgh* the sixth of *August* next, where we intend (God willing) to be personally present, and thereafter a Parliament the 20<sup>th</sup> of *August*, and there an Act of Oblivion to be passed; And that upon their Disarming and Disbanding of their Forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended Tables and Conventicles, and restoring to the King all his Castles, Forts and Ammunition, as also his Royal Honours, and to every one of his good Subjects, their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever taken and detained since the late pretended General Assembly; The King will presently thereafter recal his Fleet, and retire his Forces, and cause Restitution of their Ships and Goods taken since the aforesaid time.

The



1639.

The Articles of Pacification were these, the 17th. of June, 1639.

Articles of Pacification.

1. The Forces of Scotland to be disbanded and dissolved within 24 hours after the agreement of the Kings Declaration.
2. The Kings Castles, Forts and Ammunition to be delivered after the said Publication, so soon as he should send to receive them.
3. His Ships to depart presently after the Delivery of the Castles, and in the mean time no interruption of Trade.
4. All Persons, Goods and Ships detained by the King since the first of November, to be restored.
5. No Meetings, Treatings, Consultations or Convocations of any of the Scots, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.
6. All Fortifications to desist and to be remitted to the Kings pleasure.
7. To restore to every one their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever taken and detained from them by whatsoever means since the first of November last.

The King signed the Declaration on the 18th of June, and the same day the Commissioners on each party signed the Articles, and the Scots Commissioners subscribed a short Declarative submission in these words :

A declarative submission subscribed by the Scots Commissioners.

In Obedience to his Majesties Royal Commands, We shall upon Thursday next the 20th. of June dismiss our Forces, and immediately thereafter deliver his Majesties Castles, &c. And shall ever in all things carry our selves like humble and Loyal Subjects,

Roths. Dumfermlin. Lowdon. Dowglas. Henderson. Johnston.

The Pacification being thus agreed, the King sent for some of the Scotch Lords, and informed them that he had given Orders to the Marquess of Hamilton to draw off the Fleet, and did intend to have been at *Edinburgh* at the opening of the Assembly, but that he had received letters from the Queen, which intimated a necessity of his presence at *London* about some pressing affairs, but he would depute the Earl of *Traquair* with full power and authority as his High Commissioner to hold the Assembly and the Parliament.

The Earl of Traquair deputed the Kings Commissioner.

Most men thought these graces of the King to his Scotch Subjects, would have obliged them to an inire submission to his authority, but the Confederates had some further designs of trouble : For no sooner was the Kings Declaration published, but at that instant they incountred it with a Protestation of several heads. First, of adhering to the late General Assembly at *Glasgow* as a Free and General Assembly of the Church, and to all proceedings there, especially to the sentences of Deprivation and Excommunication of the Bishops : Secondly, of adhering to their Solemn Covenant and declaration of the Assembly, whereby the Office of Bishops is abjured. Thirdly, in regard many of the Gentry and the Ministers, who had long attended at *Edinburgh* during the discussion of the Pacification and the preparatives to it, were to repair to their own homes, whereby such

The Scots Protestation against the Kings Declaration.

of them as had Suits depending at Law, could not stay at *Edinburgh* to attend them; they Declared, That if any members of the Colledge of Justice should attend the Session or Term, all their Acts and Sentences of Judgements should be void and ineffectual.

1639.]

The King could not but resent this Ingratitude, but was forced to temporize, in hopes that at the meeting of the Parliament, some moderate Counsels might temper the minds of the people : he had been so just to those conditions of peace which he granted them, that he immediately discharged his Army, which if he had kept together, or any considerable part of them, untill he had seen their Souldiers disbanded, their Officers cashiered, their Forts and Castles delivered up to him, and some good issue of the Assembly and Parliament to be held at *Edinburgh*, he had preserved his Honour among Foreign Princes, and crush'd those practises at home which afterward undermined his peace, and destroyed his glories.

The Scots did not punctually perform any one Article, the Castle of *Edinburgh* was indeed put under the command of Sir *Patrick Ruthen* by the Kings orders, but they did not slight their Fortifications at *Leyth*, they still kept their Officers in pay, and continued their meetings and consultations, disquieting, molesting and frightening all of different inclinations; and the more to stir up the people, they dispersed a Scandalous Libell, Entituled, *Some Conditions of His Majesties Treaty with the Subjects of Scotland before the English Nobility, are set down here for a Remembrance.*

The Scots breach of Articles.

This Paper consisted of eight heads, which were pretended to be drawn out of Notes taken upon the several Discourses with the King about the matter of his Declaration : This was put into the hands of the Earl of *Pembroke* at his coming from *Berwick*, who pretended not to have read it, but seal'd it up till he had presented it to the King; The matter of it was very scandalous, & derogatory to the Kings honour ; for all the substance of the Declaration was so qualified thereby, that the whole sense & intention of it was perverted : The King therefore summoned all the English Lords that were privy to these transactions, to meet in Council, who disavowed any such consent of his Majesty as in that Paper was expressed, and therefore both they and all the rest of the Council became Petitioners to the King that it might be burnt by the common Hangman, as a false and scandalous paper, which was done accordingly.

Upon the 6th. of August (old stile) The General Assembly conven'd at *Edinburgh* according to the Kings Indiction, and sat till the 24th, the chief matters passed were the Confirmation of the Act of the Assembly at *Glasgow*, the abolishing Episcopacy, the five Articles of *Perth*, the High Commission, the Liturgie, and the Book of Canons, and ended with rendring thanks to the King for his Indulgence towards them, in the assent of his Commissioner to their Acts, & assigned another to meet at *Aberdeen* the next year in the moneth of July.

The General Assembly convened at Edinburgh.

The Assembly now ended, the Parliament which was prorogued till the last of August, did again come together : the first four daies produced

The Parliament met again.



1639. duced a high debate about settling their constitution to determine what estate should supply that of the Bishops now abolisht, which being at last agreed, they fell upon other matters concerning Rescissory Acts of former Parliaments, and several consultations tending rather totally to eclipse the Kings Regal Power, and to new model his Government, than to reform abuses: so that he sent an express to the Earl of Trequayr to prorogue the Parliament again till the second of June following.

The Lords Dumfermlin and London presenting a Remonstrance to the King without Warrant from his Commissioner, are sent back without Audience.

The Prince Elector comes to England.

To this Prorogation they very unwillingly submitted, declaring that the King had no power to prorogue them without their consent, and they appointed some of every of the three Estates to continue in *Edenburgh* till they had made a remonstrance thereof to the King, which before the separation they perfected, and the Earl of *Dumfermlin* and the Lord *Lowdon* were sent to present it to him: These coming to the Court without warrant from the Kings Commissioner, were sent back again without Audience, and after a while the Commissioner himself comes up to inform the King of the present condition of *Scotland*, which being reported to the Council, it was resolved, That the Disobedience of that Nation was not reducible but by force. And thus matters stood between the King and them about the beginning of *December*, which for the better connexion of the Relations of that affair, we have drawn thus far in time; but we must now look a little back to affairs of *England*.

The Prince Elector in *July* this year arrived at the Court of *England* in prosecution of a design he had to get the Command of the Army of Duke *Bernard*, *Saxon Weymar* lately dead, which consisted of a gallant number of *Swedes*, *Germans*, and other Nations: The King did like very well of the business, and proposed it to the French Ambassador, offering that the Prince should joyn in perpetual League with *France*, and that he would contribute what he could to his assistance. The Ambassador seemed to be very well pleased with the offer, and told the King that he doubted not but his Master would approve of it, and that Cardinal *Richlieu* the chief Minister of that State would be willing to serve the King and the Prince therein: and thereupon he dispatched a Messenger to *Paris*, to acquaint the French King with the matter; but in the mean while, it was suggested to the King, that *Richlieu* under-hand fomented the troubles of *Scotland*, whereby the confederate Covenanters had been encouraged to write a letter to that King for assistance, so that the reality of *Richlieu* was so much suspected, that the Prince was advised to go privately through *France* to Duke *Bernards* Army, of which it was believ'd he might by his appearance easily get the Command. The Prince therefore in *Novemb.* passed over to *Bullen*, and from thence endeavored to pass by disguise through *France*, but at *Lyons* he was discovered, and taken Prisoner: And the King of *France* interpreted this action of the Prince of no fair intentions towards him, because it was done in a time of Treaty, so that he was kept under a strict Guard.

A sea-fight between the Spaniards & Hollanders.

The great business of this Summer was a Sea-Fight betwixt the two Navies of *Spain* and *Holland* in the *Downs*, which we shall here insert in

the words of Sir *John Pennington*, the King's Vice-Admiral, who made this following Narration thereof.

1639.

The *Spanish* Fleet consisting of near seventy Sail, bound and designed for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders* with a recruit both of men and money, met with the Vice-Admiral of the *Holland* Fleet, having in his company seventeen small Ships, *Sep.* the 7th. and entred into a very fierce dispute with them, until the Hollander perceiving himself too weak, got to wind-ward, sailing along towards *Dunkirk*, and continually firing their Ordnance to give warning to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the residue of the Fleet: in the first Encounter the *Hollanders* had two Ships sunk, and the next morning by two of the clock the Admiral came up, and joying with the Vice-Admiral between *Dover* and *Calais*, they set upon the *Spaniard*, and continued a very sharp fight till past Noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two Gallions, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, though they were but 25 Sail to the *Spaniards* 60 and upwards, and at length forced them upon the *English* coast near *Dover*, where they left them, and bare off for the Coast of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the King of *England*'s liberties.

The *Spaniards* being now got as they thought under the Lee of *England*'s protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad Neighbours; and the *Spanish* Resident importuned the King, that he would keep the *Hollander* in subjection two Tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity of shipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand neuter, and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired some *English* Ships to transport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*, the King upon complaint of the Dutch Ambassador, strictly commanded, that none should take in any *Spaniards*, nor pass beyond *Gravesend* without Licence, but the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders* plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the *Spaniard* at length somewhat outwitted his Enemy, and by a Stratagem in the night conveyed away 14 *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them four thousand men.

In the beginning of *October* the King sent the Earl of *Arundel* to the Admiral of *Spain*, *Don Antonio D'Oquendo*, desiring him to retreat upon the first fair wind, because he would not they should engage within his Seas, but the wind continued Eastwardly so long (a thing not usual in that Season) as the *Hollanders* got daily fresh supply from *Zealand*, so that at length their Fleet was compleated to an hundred Ships, wherewith they encompassed their Enemies within Pistol-shot for four daies: But that which was so long an interview of these two Fleets, at last turned to an Engagement.

On the Eleventh of the same Month, *Van Trump* the Dutch Admiral charged the *Spaniards* with Cannon and Fire-ships so furiously, as made them all cut their Cables, and being 53 in number, 23 ran on shore, and stranded in the *Downes*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore. One of these was a great Gallion, the Vice-Admiral of *Gallica* commanded by *Don Antonio de Castro*, which had 52  
brass



1639. brass pieces of Ordnance: the remainder of the 23 stranded and deserted by the Spaniards, were man'd by the English, to save them from the Dutch: The other 30 Spanish Ships under the command of the Admirals *Don Antonio D'Oquendo*, and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal*, went to Sea and kept in close Order until a great fogg fell upon them, when the Dutch taking the advantage thereof, interposed betwixt the Admirals & their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the Admiral of *Portugal* began to flame, being fired with two *Holland* Fire-ships, which *D'Oquendo* perceiving, he presently took his course towards *Dunkirk*, with the Admiral of that place, and some few ships more, for most of the rest were taken. Of these thirty, eleven were sent into *Holland*, three perish'd upon the coast of *France*, one near *Dover*, five sunk in the Fight, and only ten escaped.

These two potent Enemies being both friends to *England*, the *British* Seas ought by rule of State to have been an harbour of retreat to secure the weaker from the stronger, not the scene of their hostile engagement, and had this presumptuous attempt of the *Hollander* been made in times of another temper, it would not, it's like, have been so silently connived at, and their victory might have cost them the loss of *England's* correspondence: But self-denial is a Christian, not a Martial virtue, and who is able to resist the temptation of an advantage, whereby he may destroy his foe, upon the nicety of exceeding his just limits? Besides, The King, the Dutch well knew, was of a Genius as not querulous, so if provoked very placable, and the disposition of his affairs as well as of his mind dissuaded him at this conjuncture from expostulating the matter with them.

About the 19th of *Novemb.* being the Anniversary night of the Kings Birth-day, a great part of the walls of the Castle of *Edenburgh* fell down, and the King having given order for the repair thereof, the Confederate Covenanters would not permit any materials to be carried in for that use, which added much to those resentments, which the King had conceived against them, so that preparations of War went on against them, but the Kings Treasure being exhausted by the last Summers expedition, he consulted with the Lords of the Council of his means of Supply, who considering the present exigence of Affairs, advised the calling of a Parliament, as the best expedient to assist and strengthen him, both with Money, and Counsel; to this the King readily agreed, being ever (till diverted by the practice of intemperate men) a great lover of Parliaments, and in compliance with this advice, a Parliament was intimated to be Assembled on the 13. of *April*. This resolution was taken the 5th, of *December*, and the notice given so long before, for two reasons; first, that the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland* (being lately sent for hither on the occasion of these troubles) might in the meantime hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did, and managed so much to the Kings advantage; that an Army of 8000 horse and foot, were speedily raised, and money granted by the Parliament there, to keep them in pay, and furnish them with Ammunition and Armes, and all other ne-

cessaries: Secondly, That by the reputation of a following Parliament he might borrow money, for the carrying on of the War, which could not admit of so much delay, as is commonly used in those great Councils, in the granting of subsidies; which last being represented to the Lords of the Council, many of them subscribed to a Loan of great sums of money for the Kings assistance: The Deputy of *Ireland* being about to return to *Ireland*, on the errand before expressed, to give good example here, first subscribed 20000 *l.* the Duke of *Richmond* as much, and most of the Lords (except the Marquess of *Hamilton*) and likewise the Bishops, and the Judges and Officers, and dependants of Courts of Judicature, both of the Common and Civil Law, and generally the greatest part of the Gentry, even the Recusants contributed according to their abilities.

The King thus busie in providing against the Scots, they endeavoured to remove the storm hanging over them by an humble Address to him, craving Leave to represent to him the State of all their transactions; The King said, He was accountable by any Subject he had, and would not therefore deny that, which was pretended to be from a whole Kingdom, which he never refused from a private man.

This Answer being sent, The Earl of *Dumfermlin*, Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *William Dowglas*, and Mr. *Robert Barkely*, attended the King as Commissioners from *Scotland*, who being admitted, and their Commission examined, it was found, that the two last were not named in nor impowered by it, but the King hoping to gain upon them by lenity, insisted not thereon.

The King appointed a Select Committee of the Council, to hear the Allegations of the Commissioners, as also what could be said by the Earl of *Trequayr*, touching those matters, where things were handled with so much acrimony, that no good understanding could be arrived at; And at this very time of their addresses to the King by Supplication, the Confederates in *Scotland* acted very different from peaceable men, for they secured many of the Nobility, and Gentry of that Nation, who stood firm to the King, and now again as they had done the last year, invited and procured to their service many Commnaders from *Holland*, and other places; but that which manifested most their bad intentions to the King, was a Letter written by the Lord *Lowdon*, subscribed by himself, and several others of the chief confederates, to the *French* King, to favour their proceedings, and grant them his assistance; of the which the Original came to the Kings hands, and being known to be *Lowdons* Character, he was therefore Committed to the Tower.

Cardinal *Richlieu* was no small incendiary in this difference betwixt the King and Scots, for the King making it alwaies a great Master-piece, to keep the Ballance even betwixt *France* and *Spain*, that neither of them being too strong for the other, the affairs of Christendome might be the everer poised, he knew the *French* design of driving the Spaniard out of *Flanders*, and the rest of the *Netherlands*, could not be effected, unless the King were imbroyled at home; So that he

1639. A Loan for the Kings Assistance against the Scots subscribed to by many of the Lords of the Council and Bishops, &c.

Commissioners from Scotland to the King

Lord Lowdon committed to the Tower for a Letter to the French King.

The Walls of the Castle of *Edenburgh* not suffered to be repaired by the Covenanters.

The King calls a Parliament in *Scotland*.



1639.

he sent his Chaplain and Almoner, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlayn* a Scotchman, to assist the Confederates in advancing the business, and to attempt all ways of exasperation, and not to depart from them, till he might return with good News, in this Project. *Con* also the Popes Agent to the Queen, a Scot by Nation, and one *Reed* of the same Country were very active, & many Scotch Jesuites, at this time in England, were not idle, and *Hamiltons* Chaplain had often secret communication with *Con*; all which practises were discovered in a great part by one *Andrew Habernsfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, then become Physician to the Kings Sister, the *Palsgrave's* Relict, who made it also apparent that many of the Nobility of England, and the chief favourites at Court (among whom the Earl and Countess of *Arundell*, Secretary *Windebanke*, and *Endymion Porter*) were named to be acquainted, and consenting with their transactions. To this the King, out of the bounty of his nature, gave not much credit.

The death  
of Arch-  
Bishop  
*Spotswood*.

About the later end of this year, *John Spotswood*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, Primate and Chancellour of *Scotland*, dyed at *London*, he was one that by his just desert arrived to those high dignities; in whom there always appeared great prudence in conduct, clearness of Spirit, and solidity of Judgement, he left this world very aged, and it was his happiness, to do it without seeing that desolation, which after happened to his Country, and to be interr'd near his beloved Master King *James*, in the Abbey Church of *Westminster*, than which none perhaps contains more magnificent Trophies of death: Near the same time also dyed, that Grave and learned Judge, Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Privy Counsellor to the King, and Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England* fifteen years, one that was a truly loyall Subject, and a good Patriot, and in the administration of Justice so incorrupt, that malice it self stands mute in the blemish of his fame: *Sr. John Finch*, the Chief Justice of the Common-pleas, succeeded him in the Office of Keeper of the Great Seal.

The death  
of the Lord  
Keeper, *Coventry*.

Sir *John Finch* Lord  
Keeper.

An Embas-  
sador from  
the States of  
*Holland*.

The Heer of *Somerdick*, Ambassador from the States of the *United Provinces*, in the Month of *January*, had audience of the King; he had with him Count *William of Nassaw*, and the *Rhine-Grave*, and a very splendid train, his business was to give him satisfaction concerning the late attaque, made upon the *Spaniards* by the *Dutch Fleet* in the *Downs*, and the Embassy was sweetened by some overture of a marriage betwixt the young Prince of *Orange*, and the Kings eldest Daughter, of which more hereafter.

The Parlia-  
ment sits in  
England.  
1640.

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Mr. *Glanvil*
chosen
Speaker.

On the 13 of *April* the Parliament sate, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, being not long before created Earl of *Strafford* and made Lord Lieutenant of that Realm, was led into the Upper house by two Noblemen, where he gave an account of his service in *Ireland*, where he had obtained the grant of four Subsidies for the maintenance of an Army, as before was hinted; Mr. *John Glanvil* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and generally the choice of members to that house was so good, that great probabilities

1640.

were given of a happy Union betwixt the King and this Parliament; but in the midst of this expectation some ill instruments at Court by their factious contrivances undermined all, and amongst these the chiefest imputation was laid on Sir *Henry Vane* the principal Secretary of State, who bore a grudge to the Earl of *Strafford*, for that he had caused himself to be made Baron of *Raby*, to which he aspired, it being a Mannor granted to him together with *Barny Castle* from the Crown: & because he saw the Earl very earnest to incline the King to endeavour by all fair means to gain the affections of the Commons, out of a desire to see a good issue of this Parliament, to the calling whereof it was generally believed none had more contributed than he had done; He resolved to endeavour that the Parliament should rather be abruptly dissolved, than any good success be produced by the Earls counsels; to effect which, on the one side insinuations were made to some, of the dangers to be feared by the Army raised in *Ireland* in order to Religion, & to others of the justness of the pretences of the *Scots*, & the good that might be obtained by favouring them in this conjuncture; and on the other side every thing was represented to the King in the worst sense, and that so slyly, as no indirect intentions could be perceived; The matter of supply gave a fit occasion to heighten discontent: For the King being intent to vindicate his honour, which he thought to be trampled on by the insolencies of the *Scots*, was very earnest in preparing for the War against them, and to enable him therein, he pressed hard for supplies, and offered to the Commons in recompence of their assistance to him, to quit for ever his claim of Ship-money, which at that time being warranted by a Judgement of all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, had as good an establishment as our Laws could give it: The Commons were somewhat deliberate in this affair of money, and first they desired security from the King for redress of grievances in three particulars.

The Com-
mons desire
redress of
grievances.

First, for clearing the Subjects Property.
Secondly, for establishment of Religion.
Thirdly, for the Priviledges of Parliament.

The Lords seemed somewhat more sensible of the Kings Proposition for supply, and after many conferences with the Commons, did at last dispose them to a compliance, but the Question being in that house asked, how much would serve to answer the present expectation? Secretary *Vane* demanded twelve Subsidies, which drew them into such high debates, that all things became desperate, so that on the 4th. of *May* by an unanimous consent of the Kings Council, he was advised to their dissolution, and the Parliament was the next day dissolved.

The Parlia-
ment's dis-
solved.

It is said this fatal action was precipitated upon some intelligence, that the house of Commons meant to vote against the War with *Scotland*, which was suggested, for that the day before in the debates for money, some glances had been made at an inquisition into the causes of the War, which were improved to draw on that fatal counsel, and it was likewise reported, that the Marquess of *Hamilton* was a great Stickler in this matter,

1640. matter; and that he had privately prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament before it was proposed in Council, thereby to imbroil his Majesties affairs the more, that he might confirm the Scots and distract the English, to work his own advantages on both.

The Convocation of the Clergy was continued to the 29th of May, and they granted the King a benevolence of four shillings in the pound, for all their Ecclesiastical Promotions; to be paid six years together then next ensuing; but this their continuance, and the Acts then made by them, were censured and condemned in the following Parliament.

The dissolution of this Parliament was by some ill disposed people wrongfully ascribed to the advice of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, so that on the 9th of May a paper was posted upon the Old Exchange by one John Lilburne, exciting the Apprentices to rise, and rife his House at Lambeth on Monday following, of which he having notice, made provision of some quantity of Arms and Ammunition for his Defence, and in the dead of the Night of the Day appointed, five hundred of the Rabble beset his house, and strove to force an entrance, but were repulsed, and made to depart without doing much more mischief, than asserting their anger in Seditious Language against him, and breaking the windows of the house, the next day many of them upon enquiry were Apprehended and Imprisoned in the White-Lyon Prison in Southwark; but within three daies after some of their Complices got together and came to the Prison and brake it open, and set them free; nevertheless one of the chief Imprisoned Ringleaders was taken, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawn and quartered on the 21 of May.

The King being disappointed of Supply by the breaking up of the Parliament, was very industrious to get Money otherwaies, to go on in the War; to which end the City of London were sent to for a Loan, and all Knights and Gentlemen, who held Lands in Capite of the King, were summoned to send Men, Horses and Arms, according to their abilities: The Citizens pleaded poverty by want of Trade, and refused to lend, though the City was scarce at any time richer, and the Trade greater; They were luxuriant in wealth and ease by a forty years Peace, and that made them wanton, and apt to take any Impressions; but that which was supposed at this time to be the reason of their backwardness, was a Sentence in the Star-Chamber against the City of London-Derry in Ireland, which belonged to the City of London, whereby for some Misdemeanours, their Charter for that Plantation was declared forfeited to the King, and many Fines were Imposed upon the Inhabitants planted there. But though the City refused, the Gentry generally afforded their help to supply the King, and by that assistance and other before-mentioned Aids, the King had quickly raised a very good Army, whereof the Earl of Northumberland was appointed General, the Earl of Strafford Lieutenant General, and the Lord Conway General of the Horse: Northumberland was sick, and could not go, but the King went himself in Person, so soon as the Queen then great with Child was delivered of her Son Henry who was born at Oatlands on the 20th of July,

but in the mean time the Army was on their march Northward, and my Lord Conway marched with the Van some daies before the rest could come up, and as he was marching, news was brought that the Scotch Army was marched to Dunce, which was their old Quarter the last year not far from Berwick: Upon this advice he was ordered to hast forwards towards Newcastle; but ere he got thither, fresh Intelligence came; That the Scotch Army was march'd into England on the 20th of August: The King met this advice in his way to York, and dispatched orders to Conway to do what he could to impede their advance, till the Army could come up; upon this advice Conway calling his Officers together, the result was, that they should keep the pass at Newborne upon Tine to hinder their possessing of Newcastle, where Sir Jacob Ashley had newly entred with his Regiment, but had not time to make any Fortifications: The King made all the haste he could, but by that time he reached North-Allerton, about two daies march on this side of Newcastle, the Lord Conway sent to him an account of a defeat of the Forces under his Command, which they had received at Newborne; The substance of which Action was as followeth;

August the 27th the Lord Conway upon Information of the March of the Scotch Army, and their design upon Newcastle, drew up three thousand Foot, and about twelve hundred Horse to secure the pass at Newborne: The Foot he lodged behind a Breast-work newly cast up for that purpose, and placed the Horse in convenient posts to be ready to receive the Enemy if they came on: General Lesly marched the greatest part of his Army that night to the Rivers side, and before morning planted there nine pieces of Ordnance, which he covered with bushes, that they might not be seen by the English; the next morning he sent a Trumpeter with a Letter to the Lord Conway, desiring leave therein to pass towards the King with their Petition; to which he returned answer, he would let a few pass, but not an Army: Lesly then commanded three hundred Horse to advance into the River, whom the Musqueteers from behind the Works so galled, as they were enforced to retire; Lesly then discharged his Cannon upon the English Foot, which so terrified them, that they quickly left their station, and threw down their Arms, and fled: The Scots Horse encouraged with this Success, plunged into the River, and passed over, and were gallantly received by some of the English Troops commanded by Commissary General Wilmot, Sir John Digby, Captain Nevil, and Captain Daniel O Neale; but they were so over-powered with numbers, that they were forced to retreat in disorder: three hundred of the English being killed and taken in the encounter; Conway then deserted the pass, and lets the Scotch Army without any farther interruption possess Newcastle, which was a little before quitted by Sir Jacob Ashley, as not at that time tenible, but he first sunk his Cannon in the River; Conway retreated with his Troops towards York, to which place the King and the Earl of Strafford with the rest of the Army were marched before, and there by the Lieutenant General he was Accused of not doing his duty

1640.

The Lord Conway's Forces defeated at Newborne.

Arch bishop Lambeth beset by the Rabble in his house at Lambeth.

The City refuse to lend the King money.

The Earl of Northumberland appointed General of the King's Army, but falling sick, the King goes himself in Person.

1640.

duty at *Newborne*, which he as well as he could excused, but acquitted not himself thereby (in the Opinions of many men) though matters proceeded not so far as to a publick censure Judicially upon him.

The Earl of
Haddington
kill'd by the
accidental
firing of the
Castle of
Dunglass.

Whilst the *Scotch* Army were on their march towards *Newcastle*, a party from *Berwick* marched to *Dunce*, and drew off some Ordnance which General *Lesly* had left there, but the Earl of *Haddington*, who had some Troops near to Guard the Borders, came in so soon upon them, that they were forced to leave them, and retreat hastily to *Berwick*: The Earl a while after with two of his Brothers was smothered in the Ruines of the Castle of *Dunglass*, which was blown up by an accident of Fire, that blew up the Magazine, which was done as the *Scotch* Writers say, either by accident, or the malice of one of the Earls Pages.

The Scots
find their
Friends and
Favourers
in England.

The *Scots* at their being in *England* had so formed a way of Intelligence with some of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, that nothing succeeded well in the Councils or Actions of the King against them, and by this means they took courage to invade the Kingdom, which otherwise they durst not have done, and this treachery was afterwards in the Usurpation of *Cromwell*, boasted to the Writer of these Papers by *Archibald Johnston* then Laird of *Warriston*, who valued himself to have been the chief contriver in it, as that which thereby gave the occasion of Ruine to the Royal Family of the *STUARTS*. *M^r. Frost* of *Cambridge*, afterwards Clerk of the Council of State in the year 1648. after the Murther of this King, was often employed to Scotland in that correspondence, and he carried his Letters in a hollow Staff to prevent discovery, and many others that were in those intrigues, who are yet alive, and we have charity to believe, never intended to see such sad effects of their Councils, as afterwards ensued to the subversion of our Government, and the desolation of one of the most flourishing Kingdoms of *Europe*.

The Scots
publish a
Pamphlet
not to lay
down their
Arms till the
Reformed
Religion
were settled
in both Na-
tions, and
the opposers
of it brought
to punish-
ment.

The *Scots* Confederates in pursuance of what their friends in *England* had agreed, declared in a Pamphlet, published at the head of their Army, (which was dispersed in *London*, and many other places) not to lay down Arms till the reformed Religion were settled in both Nations upon sure grounds, and the Causers and Abettors of their present troubles brought to publick Justice in Parliament, and these Abettors they declared to be the Prelates and their Adherents, but more particularly the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*: They pretended upon their March into *England* to take nothing from any of the *English*, but for ready money or bonds, but they were no sooner seated in *Newcastle*, but they seized on four Ships laden with Corn, and imposed a Tax of 350 *l.* per diem on the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and 300 *l.* per diem upon *Northumberland*, which was more than their whole Kingdom could provide for some years after, when an *English* Army had the power of *Scotland*, though their Trade was free and greater than it had been many years before, and when much money was monthly brought in by the *English* in *Specie*, yet could not more than 6000 *l.* a month be raised in the

the whole Kingdom, and that not without extreme rigour.

1640.

The King having lost the occasion of getting a reputation in arms, by being perswaded to the last years treaty at *Berwick*, and being now in great perplexity by the unfaithfulness of many of those about him, could think of no expedient so good as to call together the great Council of his Peers to advise with them, and therefore Writs were Issued to them to Assemble at *Tork* on the 24th of *September*, but this was not very well liked by those who favoured the *Scots*, whose chief design aim'd at the calling of a Parliament, which they feared the meeting of the Peers might prevent; Wherefore the Earls of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Mouldgrave*, *Bullingbrook* and *Bristol*, and the Lords *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mandevile*, and the Lord *Edward Howard* presented a Petition to the King, representing many great distempers and dangers, threatening the Church and State, and his Royal Person, under seven heads.

The Favou-
rers of the
Scotch Fa-
ction put up
a Petition to
the King to
hinder the
meeting of
the Peers,
and to cause
the calling
of a Parlia-
ment.

1. The danger and hazard to which he is exposed in the War, the waste of his Revenue thereby, and the discontents occasioned by the disorders of the Souldiers.

2. Sundry Innovations in matters of Religion.

3. Increase of Popery by employing those of that Religion in places of trust, in commanding men and Arms in the Field, they being not permitted by Law to have any Arms in their Houses.

4. The great Mischiefs that may ensue, if the Forces raised in *Ireland* should be brought into *England*.

5. The urging of Ship-money.

6. The heavy charge upon Merchandise, to the discouragement of Trade, and the multitude of Monopolies, whereby the Manufacturers of the Kingdom are burthened.

7. The grief of the Subjects by long intermission of Parliaments, and the dissolution of such as have been called without effect.

For Remedy whereof, They pray that a Parliament may be summoned, whereby the causes of the Grievances that the People lie under may be taken away, and the Authors and Counsellours of them be brought to Tryal and Punishment as their offences shall require. And that the War may be Compos'd without Blood, to the Honour and Safety of the King's Person, the comfort of the people, and the uniting both Realms against the common Enemy of the reformed Religion.

Many of the Citizens of *London* who were in combination with some of these Lords and the *Scots*, did so influence the Common Council, that a Petition was framed in the name of all the Citizens of *London*, also to the same purpose as this of the Lords.

A Petition
fram'd in
the Name of
the Citizens
of *London*
tending to
the same
end.

The King saw by these applications, what endeavours were used to weaken him in the opinions of his people, and was forced to comply to the necessity of the time; wherefore he acquainted the Lords, that before the receipt of their Petition, fore-seeing the danger that threatened himself and the Crown, he had summoned the Peers to consult with them what was fit to be done for his own Honour and Safety of the Kingdom; where they with the rest might offer any thing conduceable to those ends.

The

1640.
The Scots
joyn also in
a Petition
for calling a
Parliament.

The Peers
Assemble at
York.

The sub-
stance of the
King's
Speech.

A Treaty
with the
Scots at
Rippon.

The Scots proceeded hand in hand with their friends in England in the substance of a Petition to the King about this time presented, requesting that a Parliament might be called in England for settling a Peace between the two Nations: they sent the Petition to the Lord *Lenerick* Secretary of State for Scotland, who delivered it to the King, but an answer thereunto was respited to the meeting of the Peers.

On the 24th of September, the Peers Assembled at York, and the King at the opening of the Assembly spake to them to this effect, That an Army of Rebels being within the Kingdom, he thought it adviseable according to the Practice of his Predecessors in like Cases, to call them together, that with their advice and assistance, he and they might proceed jointly to the chastisement of their insolencies, and secure him and his good Subjects from their Malice: He said, He had of himself resolved to call a Parliament to meet on the third of November next, and in the mean time he desired their Advice on two points. First, what Answer to give to the Petition of the Rebels (for so he now on all occasions termed the Scots) and in what manner to Treat with them: Secondly, how the English Army should be maintained till Supplies from the Parliament might be had.

The Lords entered into Consultations of these matters, and for their better information, the King caused a true Relation to be given to them of the state of the whole business, and upon what reason and advices, the unanimous consent of the Privy Council for this War was guided: After many debates, To the first point, they advised the King to a Treaty with the Scots; and to the second, they used their Mediation with the City of London for a Loan to the King for the present support of his Army: A Message was hereupon sent to the Scots to intimate his Majesties consent that a Treaty should be had at York betwixt him and them; The Scots replied, They held that no place of security for their Commissioners, considering that the Lieutenant of Ireland, who had his residence there, commanded his Majesties Army, and who proclaimed them Traytors in Ireland before the King had done it in England, and against whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain; hereupon it was concluded that the Treaty should be at Rippon, and the King appointed six Earls, and as many Barons to be Commissioners on his part, and the Scots nominated as many Noblemen on theirs, and for the better understanding of the state of the Affair, the Earl of Trequayr, the Kings late Commissioner in Scotland, was ordered to be present, to give account as occasion offered of what had passed in Scotland from the beginning of the troubles; the Earl of Bristol managed the Treaty for the English, and the Lord Lowdon for the Scots, the greatest part of the demands of each side were accorded without great difficulty: That which seemed hardest to the English, was to consent to the raising of monyes in England for the Scots, having an Army of their own at the same time in being: For the Scots notwithstanding their pretences of coming into England without a charge to the Nation, had by this time increased their levies to the sum of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day: Nevertheless, the English Lords willing on any condition to make Peace, agreed with the Scots

in the ensuing Articles; Which on the 26th. of October were signed by the Commissioners, and afterwards by the King, but there were many other demands of the Scots referred to a further Treaty, which the King consented to be afterwards holden at London. The Articles agreed at Rippon, were these following.

1. That there be a Cessation of Arms both by Sea and land from this present.

2. That all acts of Hostility do henceforth cease.

3. That both Parties shall peaceably retain during the Treaty, whatsoever they possess at the time of the Cessation.

4. That all such persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forts beyond the River Tees, shall not exempt their Lands which lye within the Counties of Northumberland and the Bishoprick of Durham, from such Contributions as shall be laid upon them for the payment of eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem.

5. That none of the Kings Forces upon the other side of Tees shall give any Impediment to such Contributions as are already allowed for the maintenance of the Scottish Army, and shall fetch no Victuals nor Forrage out of their bounds, except that which the inhabitants and Owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any restraints or detention of Victuals, Chattel or Forrage which shall be made by the Scots within those bounds for their maintenance, shall be no breach.

6. That no recruit shall be brought into either Armies from the time of the Cessation, and during the Treaty.

7. That the Contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem, shall be only raised out of the Counties of Northumberland, Bishoprick, Town of Newcastle, Cumberland and Westmerland: and that the not payment thereof shall be no breach of the Treaty, but the Counties and Towns shall be left to the Scots power to raise the same, but not to exceed the sum agreed upon, unless it be for Charges of driving, to be set by a Priser of the Forrage.

8. That the River of Tees shall be the bounds of both Armies (excepting alwaies the Town and Castle of Stockton, and the Village of Egiliff) and the Counties of Northumberland and Bishoprick, be the limits within which the Scottish Army is to reside, having liberty for them to send such Convoys as shall be necessary for the gathering up only of the Contribution, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

9. That if any Person commit any private insolence, it shall be no breach of the Treaty, if upon complaint made by either Parties, reparation and punishment be granted.

10. If no Victuals be delivered upon the prices which shall be agreed upon, and ready money offered for the same and refused, it shall be no breach of the Cessation to take such Victuals, paying such prices.

11. No New Fortifications to be made during the Treaty against either Parties.

12. That the Subjects of both Kingdoms may in their Trade of Commerce freely pass to and fro, without any stay at all, but it is particularly provided that no Member of either Army, pass without a formal Pass, under the hands of the General, or of him that commands in chief.

The Earl of Montross having been a while misled

T t t

by

1640.
The Articles
of Agree-
ment signed
by the Com-
missioners
at Rippon.

1640.

by the Confederates after some time discovered, that notwithstanding their fair pretences, they had no good intentions to the King, and was therefore willing to leave their party; he had in the Army two Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, and there were five or six Regiments amongst his Friends: the first distaste he took, was a little time after the Pacification, when he perceived the Confederates to make no further use of it, than to gain time of greater strength, to set up thereby a kind of arbitrary Despotical Government, but finding the people so insatuated by the speciousness of their pretences, he was forced to continue his former vigor in acting with them, that they might have no jealousy of him, and upon the advance of the *Scotch* Army to invade *England*, he was the first that march'd out of the Kingdom at the head of his own Regiment; but during the Treaty at *Rippon*, he found means to write a Letter to the King wherein he assured him of his fidelity, and a most ready Obedience to him: this Letter was by some of the *Scotch* of the Kings Bed-chamber secretly taken out of his pocket, and a Copy thereof sent to General *Lesly*: he presently sends for the Earl to him, and told him he had managed a Correspondence with their Enemies, and that he had known the heads of Princes to set off for lesser matters: The Earl required an instance, and thereupon *Lesly* produced a Copy of his Letter to the King; to which he boldly answered, *That he understood not that writing to the King was to hold Intelligence with an Enemy, but rather what became the duty of a Loyal Subject to his Sovereign*; this answer did so amuse the General, that he thought it not at that time convenient to pursue the business farther, for fear of a revolt in the Army, wherein *Montrose* had a great party.

The Earl of *Montrose* being dissatisfied at the proceedings of the Confederates, sends a Letter to the King to assure him of his Fidelity.

The time now approach'd for the meeting of the Parliament, and great endeavours were used in many parts of the Kingdom, to have such persons chosen as shewed their dislike of the Government of the Church, or had been earnest pretenders for reformation in former Parliaments.

The Parliament assembled.
The Kings Speech.

On the third of *November*, being the day prefixed, the Parliament Assembled, and the King expressed himself to this purpose, *He declared his earnest desire for the happiness and prosperity of the Kingdom, desiring them, as he promised he would, to lay aside all prejudice, and he would now clearly and freely put himself upon the Love and Affection of his English Subjects; willing them to consider the best way for the safety and security of the Kingdom of England, and in order to it, first to think of the chasing out of the Rebels (for so he termed the Scots) and next for satisfaction of their just Grievances, wherein he would heartily concur, that the World might see his Intentions were to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom; freely leaving it to them where to begin; and adding, that it should not be his fault if this were not a good and a happy Parliament; and in the conclusion he told them, for their better understanding the state of all affairs, he had commanded my Lord Keeper to give them a short and free account of all Matters.*

The King having ended, the Lord Keeper gave them a summary Relation of all things relating to the *Scotch* Invasion, we will not say Rebellion, for it was ill resented by some considerable persons, that the King in his Speech had re-

presented them under that character, whereof he having notice, told them two days after, he must needs call them Rebels who had invaded *England* with an Army.

1640.

Great was the expectation of all people concerning the success of this Parliament, which was much raised, upon the Kings declared resolution at the opening of it, to concur with them in satisfying all their just Grievances.

The long intermission of Parliaments had produced many mischiefs and inconveniencies in the Government, by the remissness of some, and the rigor of others in Church and State, which inflamed the zeal of many good men of both Houses, at this their meeting, to be very earnest in their endeavours for the redress of Grievances, wherein they were very much heightened by some others of the Lords and Commons House, who were in confederacy with the *Scots*; and in a kind of Combination to alter the Government of the Church, and therewith to have so much influence on that of the State also, as to gain to themselves honours and advancement into places of power and trust: The pursuit of these things, made them exceed the method and paths of their predecessors, and by fomenting Jealousies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous Petitions and Assemblies by menaces and force, they often obtained the accomplishment of their purposes contriving without doors in private meetings, what they designed to prosecute in their Assemblies. Raising of money by extraordinary means, when necessity was the best argument for so doing, Billering of Souldiers, Innovations in matters of Religion and illegal Imprisonments, were the great Grievances of the Subject now to be redressed: but the means used to remove these, engaged the reformers in process of time in a bloody War, to act over all the same things with greater excess, demonstrating thereby the extreme hazard of intemperate Counsels.

Success in this war enlarged their desires, and extended their ambition, it bred thoughts in them they never thought before, & this was that which drew on the ruine of the King, and with him for some time the subversion of our Monarchy; for many of those that were in the beginning most active for reformation, had not in their prospect the calamity that ensued, and too late repented the errors of their former actions, when they could not stem the violence of that tyde, their impetuosity had swell'd to too great a height. These matters will appear more plainly by what follows in the course of the History, whereof the greatest part as to this Kings Reign will be taken up in the proceedings of this Parliament.

The first weeks business was in settling the five standing Committees, For Grievances, Religion, Courts of Justice, Trade and Priviledges in Elections, and in several declamatory speeches against the exorbitances of Government both in Church and State. A great part whereof were ascribed to the Counsels of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

Five standing Committees settled.

The *Scottish* Commissioners were now come to *London* in order to the conclusion of some things undetermined at *Rippon*: These had many private Conferences with their friends of the house of Commons; And it was agreed by them, That the Earl should be immediately impeached

1640.
The Scottish
Commissioners
agree with their
friends of the
house of
Commons to
impeach the
Earl of
Strafford of
High Treason.

at his first coming to the House of Peers, for he was not yet come from York, and this they resolved on to prevent, and be before-hand with him in an Impeachment he had ready against Mr. Pym, and some of the Leading Members of both Houses for holding Intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst them: Wherefore those in the Commons House that were concerned, were very industrious in their designs, and the House had not sate many dayes before he was therein declared to be guilty of High Treason, and a secret Committee of five more nominated to collect matter for an Impeachment against him: This was like to take up more time than the Prosecutors could with convenience to themselves allow of, so that the House were prevailed with, upon assertions of particular persons, to Vote, that a General Impeachment of High Treason should be made against him to the Lords, to endeavour thereby to have him sequestred from that House. And on the 11 of November Mr. Pym was sent from the Commons to the Lords with a Message, which he delivered in these words;

Mr. Pym's
Message
from the
Commons to
the Lords.

My Lords,
The Knights, Citizens and Burgeses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have received information of divers trayterous designs and practises of a great Peer of this House: And by vertue of a Command from them, I do here in the name of the Commons now Assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the Commons of England, accuse Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of High Treason; and they have commanded me further to desire your Lordships, that he may be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Prison; They have further commanded me to let you know, that they will within a very few dayes resort to your Lordships with the particular Articles and Grounds of this accusation.

The Earl being required to withdraw, it was much debated by the Peers, whether he should be Imprisoned on a General Accusation without any particular Act of Treason charged against him; but upon the Question it was carried in the affirmative: and he being called in, kneel'd at the Bar, And after standing up, the Lord Keeper spake to him as followeth;

The Lord
Keepers
Speech to
the Earl of
Strafford upon
his Impeachment.

My Lord of Strafford,
The House of Commons in their own Name, and in the name of the whole Commons of England, have this day accused your Lordship to the Lords of the higher House of Parliament, of High Treason, The Articles they will in a very few dayes produce, in the mean time they have desired of my Lords, and my Lords have accordingly Resolved, That your Lordship, shall be committed to safe Custody to the Gentleman Usher, and be sequestred from the House till your Lordship shall clear your self of the accusations that shall be laid against you: And hereupon he was immediately taken into Custody.

The next day the Commons considering the

great Pressures of the Northern Counties by the two Armies that lay upon them; resolved that a hundred thousand pound should be forthwith raised for their maintenance, and till it could be regularly levied, a hundred thousand pound was borrowed in the City upon the Credit of some of the Members of the House of Commons: many Petitions from all parts were brought to them for redress of Grievances, and to be relieved against Orders and Decrees of the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and High Commission Court, which were referred to several Committees, and divers were ordered to be enlarged out of Prison upon these Petitions, especially Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick, who seemed more eminent than the rest of the Sufferers, and a while after by the intercession of the Lords with the King, the Bishop of Lincoln also was freed from his Imprisonment in the Tower.

1640.
A hundred
thousand
pounds bor-
rowed of the
City to
maintain
the Army in
the North.

Pryn, Burton,
Bastwick,
and the B-
ishop of Lin-
coln enlarg-
ed.

The King willing to be rid of the Scotch Army, hastened the Commission to the Lords who were employed in the Treaty at Rippon, or any ten of them, to treat with the Scottish Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earls of Rothes and Dumfermlin, John Lord Lowdon, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, William Drummond, John Smyth Bayliff of Edinburgh, Alexander Wedderburn, Hugh Kennedy, Alexander Henderson, and Archibald Johnston, to take into consideration their demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon, which Commission was passed under the Great Seal of England on the 23 of November, and in a while after the Scots presented their demands, which were eight in number, and afterwards they put in seventeen heads, wherein One, (and that not the least considerable) was, That some Scottish men of respect might be in places of trust about the King, Queen, and Prince: This was that which all their Pretences aimed at notwithstanding their Zeal to Reformation of Religion, and though all they desired else was granted, they never attained their ends in this, for the troubles which they raised, did not only bring after them a Misery to this Nation, but theirs also, and the ring-leaders of them wanted not their part thereof.

Lords ap-
pointed to
treat with
the Scots
Commission-
ers in or-
der to a full
pacification.

The Scots
present
eight De-
mands.

Sir Francis Windebanke Secretary of State was aimed at as one of the great Delinquents in the Opinion of the Parliament, being one suspected in his Religion, a great favourer of Priests of the Romish Church; for whom he had obtained many Reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of misdemeanors of a higher nature: But he thinking himself not sufficiently provided to ride out the approaching storm, made his escape into France, where he dyed a Roman Catholick.

Secretary
Windebanke
foreseeing a
storm, makes
his escape
into France.

In the consideration of Grievances the charge imposed upon the Subject for providing and furnishing of Ships, and the Assessments for raising Money for that purpose, commonly called Ship-money, are Voted by both Houses to be against the Laws of the Realm, and all proceedings in the Case both at the Council Table, Star-Chamber, and Courts of Justice, declared null and void. This was thought a strange way of proceeding; First, because all the Judges had subscribed unanimously to the Lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared

Ship-money
voted un-
lawful.

1640. to be judge: Secondly, because being brought to a publick test, after it had been argued by Council on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, They passed a definitive Sentence for it on the behalf of the King: Thirdly, because the Votes of the Houses of Parliament were passed without hearing the Kings Council, or calling the Judges to shew the reasons of their Opinions; And fourthly, because the arguments of Justice *Crook* and Justice *Hutton* for the illegality thereof, were ordered to be put in Print, and those of the other Judges for the Legality of it suppressed: But those Votes were not by the makers of them deemed a sufficient security against imposing the like charge for the future, but they took in the King's Aid to an Act of Parliament for the confirmation of them. And they now began to consider of a charge of High Treason against the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Judges: In the first whereof they made some expedition, but more deliberate in that of the Judges, being willing to keep a rod over them, that nothing should be declared for Law against their intentions: This Debate of the Ship-money led them to consider of the first occasion of the raising of it, which was because the Parliament immediately preceding the last was dissolved without those supplies the King expected from them; and from hence they were led into an Enquiry of several violations of the Priviledges of Parliament by the commitment of divers Members, and a Judgement against them in the Kings Bench: And then all the Inconveniencies were summ'd up that hapned by the long Intermision of Parliaments, to provide against which, they resolved of a Bill for a Triennial Parliament. These Debates took up many dayes: but in the mean time, whilest these consultations were had for a reformation of the civil State, the Scottish Commissioners and their friends were not idle in their endeavours, to reform or alter the Ecclesiastical State: In Order whereunto many Petitions from all places were delivered to the House of Commons against Ecclesiastical Discipline, the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Bishops, amongst which one was presented by Alderman *Pennington*, subscribed by fifteen hundred Citizens of *London*.

The Citizens present a Petition against Church-Ceremonies.

This Petition was very surprising to many sober men in the House of Commons, who were not unwilling to have the abuses in the Government of the Church reformed, but could not approve of the alteration of the Government it self, so that after some debate, the Petition was transmitted to another time, but those that favoured the business, though they were not successful in it, fell a while after upon another Argument more plausible, which was an inspection into the legality of the late Convocation, which produced this Resolution of the Commons.

The illegality of the late Convocation resolved upon, and their Canons and Constitutions Voted down.

That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation, hath no power to make Canons, Constitutions or Laws Ecclesiastical, to bind either Laity or Clergy without a Parliament: And that the Canons are against the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subjects, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

The Clergy of this Convocation thought

1640. themselves hardly used in these Votes, who thought to have been called by themselves or their Counsel to have justified their proceedings, alledging that it was never known before, that the Convocation had dependance upon the Parliament, either in the calling or dissolving of it, nor in the confirmation and authorising of the Acts thereof, but only on the King himself, as appears by the Statute made in the 26th of *Henry* the Eighth, and the constant Practice ever since; and it is certain, that before the Canons were subscribed, they were imparted to the King, and by him Communicated to the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges and the Kings Counsel learned in the Laws of this Realm, being then attending; In the hearing of all which they were read, and by all approved, which had been strange if any thing tending to faction and sedition, or to the diminution of the Subjects Property and the Kings Prerogative, or otherwise against the known Laws of the Land, had been found in them: but the Reputation of the Commons was at this time so great, it was not safe for any to dispute their Actions: The very same day that the Canons were thus Voted down, the Scots Commissioners had presented a Paper to the Parliament, wherein they named the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, an Incendiary, and promised to bring in a complaint against him the Morrow after, this produced an Order in the House of Commons for a Committee to draw up a Charge against him, but the Scots failing to bring in their Complaint the next day, Mr. *Hollis* the day after, was sent up to the Lords from the Commons with a General Impeachment of High Treason against him, praying that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and in a few days they would resort to them, with the particular ground of their Accusation; immediately upon this the Scots Commissioners sent in their charge, upon the reading whereof he was committed to the Custody of the Usher of the *Black Rod*, where he continued ten weeks before any particular charge was brought against him: The Lord Keeper *Finch* was the next great Delinquent against whom the Commons designed to proceed, whereof he having gained intelligence, he moved by his Friends in that House, that he might be permitted to clear himself before them of several imputations that lay upon him; which the Commons agreed to, and on the 21. of *December* he made an Elegant and Quaint Oration, tending to the Vindication of himself in every particular, but notwithstanding all that he could say, they Voted him that very day a Traytor, upon these considerations.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* being impeached of High Treason is committed to the *Black Rod*.

Lord Keeper *Finch* Voted a Traytor.

1. For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, 4. *Caroli* when the Parliament desired it.

2. For soliciting, perswading, and threatening the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the levying of Ship-money.

3. For several illegal actions in Forest matters.

4. For ill Offices done in moving the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.

The next day he was accus'd before the Lords, but he wisely withdrew himself into *Holland*, and thereby escaped the danger that threatened him, and

He flies over into *Holland*.

1640.

Sir Edward Littleton succeeds in his place.

and a while after Sir Edward Littleton was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England in his place.

The King having been some time in treaty with the Dutch Ambassador for a match betwixt the young Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary his daughter, before he would make any conclusion therein, thought fit to communicate the same to the Lords in Parliament, which he did on the 10 of February; the consideration that induced to this treaty, he said were three; First, the matter of Religion, wherein there needed no dispensation, nor fear that his daughters conscience should be any way perverted.

A Match proposed between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, approved by the Parliament.

Secondly, he esteemed a strict alliance and confederacy with the States, as useful to the Kingdom as that of any of his neighbours, especially considering their affinity, neighbourhood, and way of strength; And lastly, the use he might make of this Alliance towards the establishing of his Sister and Nephews. He told them, the Articles of Marriage were in a manner concluded, but not to be ratified till that Alliance should be ended and agreed, which he said he thought not fit to enter upon without their assistance; he then delivered to them, the Propositions offered by him to the States Embassador, which he left to their consideration and free debate, desiring them to make as much expedition in their Counsels as so great a business should require: The Lords communicated this favourable Proposition of the King to the Commons, who resented it very well, and indeed nothing from the King since the first sitting of this Parliament was so acceptable to both Houses, which was a wonder, considering the jealousies of the times. About this time, or a few dayes before, the particular charge against the Earl of Strafford was brought up to the Lords by Mr. Pym under 28 Articles. They had a little while before exhibited some General Articles, to which he could not be forced to answer, but upon this further Impeachment, the Lords required him to answer to the whole, and though the Charge was very long, yet were the Commons so pressing for his answer, that by the 24 of February he delivered it to the Lords, and it was Read in the House, the King being present.

A particular charge brought by Mr. Pym against the Earl of Strafford, whereupon he is committed to the Tower.

Upon the carrying up of this Impeachment, he was taken out of the Custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, and committed to the Tower, he moved the Lords to have Counsel allowed him, which was much opposed by the Commons, but his Accusation having much in it of matter of Law, he had permission to have Counsel: The Articles as they consisted first of Generals, and as they were after distributed into particulars, we shall insert when we come to the Relation of his Tryal.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments having passed both Houses, was on the 16 of February offered to the King, it was Entituled, An Act for the preventing inconveniencies happening by the Long intermission of Parliaments: and at the same time the Commons presented an Act for the relief of his Majesties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom, which was a Grant of four intire Subsidies: to both which the King gave his Royal assent.

The King gives his assent to the Bill for a Triennial Parliament.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments was an Act of as great Favour to the Subject as ever pass'd in Parliament; for if the King should refuse to summon a Parliament at the time therein limited; the Chancellor or Keeper might issue out Writs to summon the Peers, and for election of the Commons: and if the Chancellor or Keeper would not do it, any twelve of the Peers might summon the Parliament; and if the Peers should omit the issuing out of summons, the Sheriffs in Counties, and other Magistrates respectively might cause Elections to be made; and if the Sheriffs should refuse, the Freeholders in Counties, and all other persons that have right of choosing, might make Election of Members: And the Members so chosen, were under great penalties obliged to attend: with many other clauses to accomplish the end designed by the Act, which also had in it several expressions too reflecting on the Prerogative: but the King really believing most of the mischiefs then complained of, proceeded from the too long intermission of Parliaments, and being resolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with his Subjects, he consented to it: And this Act of his Grace and Favour, was so pleasing to the Parliament, that upon a conference with both Houses it was unanimously agreed to wait upon the King at Whitehall, and return him their humble thanks, and that night Bone-fires and other tokens of joy were made in the City by Order of Parliament.

1640.

On the same day the charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury was carried from the Commons to the Lords by Sir Henry Vane the younger, whereupon he was ordered to the Tower; but upon his humble Suit to the Lords, his commitment was respited till the first of March.

The Archbishop of Canterbury ordered to the Tower.

The Scots Commissioners laboured very much under-hand to introduce their Presbyterian discipline into the Church of England, and by their Confederates had made an active party in the House of Commons, who took frequent occasion of aspersing the Bishops, and in these debates they spared not Episcopacy: also the debate of the forementioned City Petition was now resumed, and many Members spake for the eradication of the Episcopal Hierarchy, amongst which Nathaniel Fiennes, the younger Son of the Lord Say was most vehement, but the Lord Faulkland, the Lord Digby, and many others of great Learning and Integrity, did by the weight of reason so far prevail, that the Order of Episcopacy was yet preserved, though their power was much lessened by a Vote passed in the House of Commons preparatory to a Bill, viz. That no Bishop shall have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial power in the Star-Chamber, nor bear any sway in temporal affairs, and that no Clergy-man shall be in Commission of the Peace: The next thing of Note, was the Tryal of the Earl of Strafford, which began on the 22 of March, and was so remarkable in the circumstances of it, that we shall be very particular in the Relation thereof.

The Bishops Votes in Parliament voted down.

The Earl of Strafford brought to his Tryal.

He came from the Tower about seven of the clock in the morning accompanied with six Barges, wherein were 100 Souldiers of the Tower, all with Partisans for his Guard, and 50 pair of Oars: at his landing at Westminster he was attended with 200 of the Trained Bands, and was Guarded

1640.

Guarded by them into the Hall: The King, Queen and Prince came about 9 a clock, but kept themselves private within their Closets, so that the King saw and heard all that passed, but was seen of none: When the Earl entered the Hall, the Porter asked the Usher of the *Black-Rod*, whether the Axe should be carried before him or no, who answered, that the King had expressly forbidden it; nor was it the Custome of *England* to use that Ceremony, but only when the party accused was to be put upon his Jury. Those of the Upper House sat with their Heads covered, those of the Lower House that were present (for they sat not there as a House) were all uncovered. The Bishops upon the Saturday before did voluntarily decline the giving of their Suffrages in matters criminal, and of that nature, according to the provision of the Canon Law, and Practice of the Kingdom to this day, and therefore would not be present, yet withal they gave in a Protestation, that their absence should not prejudice them of that or any other Privilege competent to them, as the Lords Spiritual in Parliament, which was accepted.

The Bishops decline the giving of their Suffrages in the matter.

The Earl of *Arundel* sat as Lord high Steward of *England*, and at the Earls appearing commanded the Prosecutors to proceed. Mr. *Pym* being Speaker of the Committee of the Commons that were appointed to prosecute, gave in the Articles of Impeachment, which we shall here insert as they were read in Court.

The Articles of Impeachment.

1. That he the said *Thomas Earl of Strafford* hath trayterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government by Law, which he hath declared by trayterous Words, Counsels and Actions, and by giving his Majesty advice by force of Arms, to compel his Loyal Subjects to submit thereunto.

2. That he hath trayterously assumed to himself Regal Power over the Lives, Liberties, Persons, Lands and Goods of his Majesties Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, and hath exercised the same tyrannically, to the Subversion of many both of Peers, and others of his Majesties Liege People.

3. That the better to enrich and enable himself to go through with his trayterous designs, he hath detained a great part of his Majesties Revenue, without giving Legal Account, and hath taken great sums out of the *Exchequer*, converting them to his own use, when his Majesty was necessitated for his own urgent Occasions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid.

4. That he hath trayterously abused the Power and Authority of his Government, to the increasing, countenancing, and encouraging of Papists, that so he might settle a mutual dependance and confidence betwixt himself and that party, and by their help, prosecute and accomplish his malicious and tyrannical Designs.

5. That he hath maliciously endeavoured to stir up enmity and hostility between his Majesties Subjects of *England*, and those of *Scotland*.

6. That he hath trayterously broken the great trust reposed in him by his Majesty of Lieutenant General of his Army, by wilfully betraying divers

of his Majesties Subjects to death, his Army to a dishonourable Retreat by the Scots at *Newborn*, and the Town of *Newcastle* into their hands, to the end that by the effusion of Blood, by dishonour, and so great a loss of *Newcastle*, His Majesties Realm of *England* might be engaged in a National and Irreconcilable Quarrel with the Scots.

1640.

7. That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his trayterous Courses, he laboured to subvert the Rights of Parliaments, and the ancient course of Parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments. By which words, Counsels and Actions, he hath trayterously, and contrary to his allegiance laboured to alienate the hearts of the Kings liege people from his Majesty, to set a division between them, and to ruine and destroy his Majesties Kingdoms, for which they Impeach him of High Treason against our Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

8. And he the said Earl of *Strafford* was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant General of the Army there, (*viz.*) of his most Excellent Majesty for his Kingdoms both of *England* and *Ireland*, and Lord President of the North, during the time that all and every of the crimes and offences before set forth were done and committed: And he the said Earl was Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Army in the North parts of *England* during the time that the crimes and offences in the 5 and 6 Articles set forth were done and committed.

The further Impeachment which was more particular, was thus expressed.

1. That he the said Earl of *Strafford* the 21 day of *March* in the eighth year of his now Majesties Reign, was President of the Kings Council in the Northern parts of *England*.

That he the said Earl being President of the said Council, on the 21 day of *March*, a Commission under the Great Seal of *England* with schedules of instruction thereto annexed, was directed to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein Named, whereby amongst other things, power and authority is limited to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein named, to hear and determine all offences and misdemeanors, suits, debates, controversies and demands, causes, things and matters whatsoever therein contained, and within certain precincts in the said Northern parts therein specified, and in such manner as by the said schedule is limited and appointed.

That amongst other things in the said Instructions, it is directed, that the said President and others therein appointed, shall hear and determine according to the course of proceedings in the Court of Star-Chamber, divers offences, deceits and falsities therein mentioned, whether the same be provided for by the Acts of Parliament or not, so that the fines imposed be not less than by Act or Acts of Parliament provided for by those offences is appointed.

That also amongst other things in the said Instructions, it is directed, that the said President and others therein appointed, have power to examine,

1640.

amine, hear, and determine, according to the course of proceedings in the Court of *Chancery*, all manner of complaints for any matter within the said precincts, as well concerning Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, either Free-hold, Customary or Copy-hold, as Leases and other things therein mentioned, and to stay proceedings in the Court of Common Law, by injunction or otherwise, by all ways and means as is used in the Court of *Chancery*.

And although the former Presidents of the said Council had never put in practice such instructions, nor had they any such instructions, yet the said Earl in the Month of *May* in the said 8th. year, and divers years following did put in practice, exercise and use, and caused to be used and put in practice, the said Commission and instructions, and did direct and exercise an exorbitant and unlawful power and jurisdiction, on the persons and estates of his Majesties Subjects in those parts, and did disinherit divers of his Majesties Subjects in those parts of their inheritances, sequestered their possession, and did fine, ransom, punish and imprison them, and caused them to be fined, ransomed, punished and imprisoned, to their ruine and destruction, and namely Sir *Conyers Darcy*, Sir *John Bourcher*, and divers others against the Laws, and in subversion of the same: And the said Commission and Instructions were procured and issued by advice of the said Earl.

And he the said Earl to the intent that such illegal and unjust power might be exercised with the greater licence and will, did advise, counsel and procure further directions, in and by the said instructions to be given, that no Prohibition be granted at all, but in cases where the said Council shall exceed the limits of the said Instructions: And that if any Writ of *Habeas Corpus* be granted, the party be not discharged till the party perform the Decree and Order of the said Council.

And the said Earl in the 13th. year of his now Majesties Reign, did procure a new Commission to himself and others therein appointed with the said instructions and other unlawful additions.

That the said Commission and Instructions were procured by the solicitation and advice of the said Earl of *Strafford*.

2. That shortly after the obtaining of the said Commission dated the 21th. of *March* in the 8th. year of his now Majesties Reign, (to wit) the last day of *August* then next following, he the said Earl, (to bring his Majesties Liege people into a dislike of his Majesty and of his Government, and to terrifie the Justices of the Peace from executing of the Laws; he the said Earl being then President as aforesaid, and a Justice of the Peace) did publickly at the Assizes held for the County of *York* in the City of *York*, in and upon the said last day of *August*, declare and publish before the people there attending for the administration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, that some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should find that the Kings little finger should be heavier than the Loyns of the Law.

3. That the Realm of *Ireland* having been

time out of mind annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Majesties Realm of *England*, and governed by the same Laws: the said Earl being Lord Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majesties Liege people of that Kingdom likewise into dislike of his Majesties Government, and intending the subversion of the fundamental Laws and settled government of that Realm, and the destruction of his Majesties liege people there, did upon the 30th. day of *September* in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, in the City of *Dublin* (the chief City of that Kingdom, where his Majesties Privy Council and Courts of Justice do ordainarily reside, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in publick Speech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder, and many Citizens of *Dublin*, & other his Majesties liege people, declare and publish, That *Ireland* was a Conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased; and speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of *England* made to that City, he further said, that their Charters were nothing worth, and did bind the King no further than he pleased.

4. That *Richard* Earl of *Cork* having sued out Process in course of Law for recovery of his possession, from which he was put by colour of an Order, made by the said Earl of *Strafford* and the Council Table of the said Realm of *Ireland*; The said Earl of *Strafford* upon a paper Petition, without legal proceedings, did the 20th. day of *February* in the 11th. year of his now Majesties Reign, threaten the said Earl of *Cork* (being then a Peer of the said Realm) to Imprison him, unless he would surcease his Suit, and said, he would neither have Law nor Lawyers dispute or question any of his Orders: And the 20th. day of *March* in the said 11th. year, the said Earl of *Strafford* speaking of an Order of the said Council Table of that Realm made in the time of King *James*, which concerned a Lease, which the said Earl of *Cork* claimed in certain Rectories or Tythes, which the said Earl of *Cork* alledged to be of no force, said, that he would make the said Earl and all *Ireland* know, so long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made or to be made, should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom as an Act of Parliament. And did question the said Earl of *Cork* in the Castle-Chamber, upon pretence of breach of the said Order of the Council Table, and did sundry other times, and upon sundry other occasions by his word and speeches arrogate to himself, a power above the fundamental Laws and established Government of that Kingdom, and scorned the said Laws and established Government.

5. That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the said Earl of *Strafford* did use and exercise a power above and against, and to the subversion of the said fundamental Laws and established Government of the said Realm of *Ireland*, extending such his power to the Goods; Free-holds, Inheritances, Liberties and Lives of his Majesties Subjects of the said Realm, viz. The said Earl of *Strafford*, the 12th. day of *December*, Anno Dom. 1635. in the time of full Peace, did in the said Realm of *Ireland* give and procure

The Castle-Chamber is the same with the Star-Chamber in *England*.

to

1640. to be given against the Lord Mount-Norris, (then and yet a Peer of Ireland, and then Vice-Treasurer and Receiver General of the Realm of Ireland, and one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the Privy Signet of the said Kingdom) a Sentence of Death by a Council of War called together by the said Earl of Strafford without any warrant or Authority of Law or offence deserving any such punishment: And he the said Earl did also at Dublin within the said Realm of Ireland in the Month of March in the 14th. year of his Majesties Reign without any legal or due proceedings or Tryal, give or cause to be given a Sentence of Death against one other of his Majesties Subjects, whose name is yet unknown, and caused him to be put to Death in Execution of the said Sentence.

6. That the said Earl of Strafford without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper Petition of Richard Ralstone, did cause the said Lord Mount-Norris to be disseised and put out of his Free-hold and Inheritance of his Mannor of Tymore in the County of Armagh, in the Kingdom of Ireland, the said Lord Mount-Norris having been two years before in quiet possession thereof.

7. That the said Earl of Strafford in the Holy Trinity in the 13th. year of his now Majesties Reign, did cause a Case commonly called *The Case of Tenures upon defective Titles*, to be made or drawn up without any Jury or Tryal, or other legal Process, and without the consent of Parties, and did then procure the Judges of the said Realm of England to deliver their Opinions and Resolutions to that Case, and by colour of such Opinions and Resolutions, did without any legal proceeding cause Thomas Lord Dillon a Peer of the said Realm of Ireland, to be put out of possession of divers Lands and Tenements being his Free-hold in the County of Mayo and Roscomen, in the said Kingdom, and divers other of his Majesties Subjects to be also put out of possession, and disseised of their Free-hold by colour of the same Resolutions, without legal Proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

8. That the said Earl of Strafford upon a Petition of Sir John Gifford Knight, the first day of February in the said 13th. year of his Majesties Reign, without any legal Process made a Decree or order against Adam Viscount Lofts of Elye a Peer of the said Realm of Ireland, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and did cause the said Viscount to be imprisoned, and to be kept close Prisoner on pretence of disobedience to the said Decree or Order.

And the said Earl without any Authority, and contrary to his Commission, required and commanded the said Lord Viscount to yield unto him the Great Seal of the Realm of Ireland, which was then in his Custody, by his Majesties command, and imprisoned the said Chancellor for not obeying such his command.

And without any legal proceedings did in the same 13th. year imprison George Earl of Kil-dare a Peer of Ireland against Law, thereby to enforce him to submit his Title to the Mannor and Lordship of Castle-Leigh in the Queens County (being of great yearly value) to the said Earl of

1640. Straffords will and pleasure, and kept him a year Prisoner for the said cause, two Months whereof he kept him close Prisoner, and refused to enlarge him, notwithstanding his Majesties Letters for his Enlargement to the said Earl of Strafford directed.

And upon a Petition exhibited in October 1635. by Thomas Hibbotts against Dame Mary Hibbotts Widow, to him the said Earl of Strafford, the said Earl of Strafford recommended the said Petition to the Council Table of Ireland, where the most part of the Council gave their Vote and Opinion for the said Lady, but the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an Order to be entred against the said Lady, and threatened her, that if she refused to submit thereunto, he would Imprison her and Fine her 500 l. that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her Imprisonment, and double her Fine every month by month: Wherefore she was enforced to relinquish her Estate in the Land questioned in the said Petition, which shortly after was conveyed to Sir Robert Meredith to the use of the said Earl of Strafford.

And the said Earl in like manner did Imprison divers other of his Majesties Subjects upon pretence of Disobedience to his Orders and Decrees, and other illegal commands by him made for pretended Debates, Titles of Lands, and other causes in an arbitrary and extrajudicial course, upon Paper Petitions to him preferred, and no other cause legally depending.

9. That the said Earl of Strafford the 16th. day of February in the 12th. year of his now Majesties Reign, assuming to himself a power above and against Law, took upon him by a General Warrant under his hand, to give Power to the Lord Bishop of Downe and Connor, his Chancellor or Chancellors, and their several Officers thereto, to be appointed to attach and arrest the Bodies of all such of the meaner and poorer sort who, after citation, should either refuse to appear before them, or appearing, should omit or deny to perform or undergo all lawful decrees, sentences and orders issued out against them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaol, until they should either perform such sentences, or put in sufficient Bail to shew some reason before the Council Table, of such their contempt and neglect; and the said Earl the day and year last mentioned, signed and issued a Warrant to that effect, and made the like Warrant to all other Bishops and their Chancellors, in the said Realm of Ireland to the same effect.

10. That the said Earl of Strafford being Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy of Ireland, procured the Customs of the Merchandise exported out and Imported into that Realm to be farmed to his own use.

And in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, he having then Interest in the said Customs (to advance his own gain and lucre) did cause and procure the native Commodities of Ireland to be rated in the Book of Rates for the Customs (according to which the Customs were usually gathered) at far greater values and prices than in truth they were worth: That is to say, Every Hide at 20s. which in truth is worth but five shillings, Every Stone of Wool at thirteen shillings

1640. shillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five shillings at the utmost, by which means the Custom which was before but a twentieth part of the true value of the Commodities, was enhanced sometimes to a 5th. part, and sometimes to a 4th. and sometimes to a 3d. part of the true value, to the great oppression of the Subjects, and decay of Merchandise.

11. That the said Earl in the 9th. year of his now Majesties Reign, did by his own will and pleasure, and for his own lucre, restrain the exportation of the Commodities of that Kingdom without his Licence, as namely Pipe-staves and other Commodities, and then raised great sums of money for licencing of exportation of those Commodities, and dispensation of the said restraint imposed on them, by which means the Pipe-staves were raised from 4 l. 10 s. or 5 l. per thousand to 10 l. and sometimes 11 l. per thousand, and other Commodities were enhanced in the like proportion, and by the same means by him the said Earl.

12. That the said Earl being Lord Deputy of Ireland on the 9th. of January in the 13th. year of his Majesties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the Importation of Tobacco into the said Realm of Ireland, issue a Proclamation in his Majesties name, prohibiting the Importation of Tobacco without Licence of him and the Council there, from and after the first day of May, 1638. after which restraint, the said E. notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of Tobacco to be Imported to his own use, and freighted divers ships with Tobacco, which he Imported to his own use; And that if any Ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the said Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use at their own price: And if that the owner refused to let him have the same at under-values, then they were not permitted to vent the same; by which undue means, the said Earl having gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he sold it at great and excessive prices (such as he list to Impose) for his own profit.

And the more to assure the said Monopoly of Tobacco, he the said Earl on the 23th. day of February in the 13th. year aforesaid, did issue another Proclamation, commanding that none should put to sale any Tobacco by whole-sale from and after the last day of May then next following; but what should be made up into Rolls, and the same sealed with two Seals by himself appointed, one at each end of the Roll: And such as was not so sealed to be seized, appointing 6d. the pound for a reward to such persons as should seize the same; And the persons in whose custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found, to be committed to Gaol; which last proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining the sale of unwholsome Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the said Monopoly.

Which Proclamation the said Earl did rigorously put in Execution by seizing the Goods, Fining, Imprisoning, Whipping, and putting the Offenders against the same Proclamation on the Pillory, as namely, Barnaby Hubbard, Edward Cavenah, and John Tumen, and divers others; and made the Officers of State, and Justices of Peace and other Officers, to serve him in com-

passing and Executing these unjust and undue Courses, by which Cruelties and unjust Monopolies, the said Earl raised an hundred thousand pounds per ann. gain to himself: And yet the said Earl though he enhanced the Customs where it concerned the Merchants in General, yet drew down the impost formerly taken on Tobacco from 6d. the pound to 3d. the pound, it being for his own profit so to do. And the said Earl by the same and other rigorous and undue means, raised several other Monopolies and unlawful exactions for his own gain, viz. on Starch, Iron-pots, Glasses, Tobacco-pipes, and several other Commodities.

13. That Flax being one of the principal and Native Commodities of that Kingdom of Ireland, the said Earl having got great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own Lands, did issue out several Proclamations, viz. One dated the 21th. day of May in the 11th. year of his Majesties Reign, and the other dated the one and thirtieth of January in the same year, thereby prescribing and injoyning the working of Flax into yarn and threed, and the ordering of the same in such ways, wherein the Natives of that Kingdom were unpractised and unskilful: which Proclamations so issued, were by his commands & Warrants to his Majesties Justices of Peace and other Officers, and by other rigorous means put in execution; and the flax wrought or ordered in other manner than as the Proclamation prescribed, was seized and imployed to the use of him and his Agents, and thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect the sole sale of that native Commodity.

14. That the said Earl of Strafford by Proclamation dated the 16th. day of October in the 14th. year of his Majesties Reign, did Impose upon the Owners, Masters, Purfers and Boat-swains of every Ship, a new and unlawful Oath, viz. That they (two or more of them) immediately after the arrival of any Ship within any Port or Creek in the said Kingdom of Ireland, should give in a true Invoice of the outward bulk of Wares and Merchandises, and number of Goods, and the qualities and conditions of the said Goods, as far as to them should be known, and the names of the several Merchants Proprietors of the said Goods, and the places from whence they were freighted, and whither they were bound to discharge, which Proclamation was accordingly put in Execution, and sundry persons enforced to take the said unlawful Oath.

15. That the said Earl of Strafford trayterously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of Arms in a war-like manner to subdue the Subjects of the said Realm of Ireland, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in pursuance of his wicked and trayterous purposes aforesaid, the said Earl of Strafford in the 8th. year of his Majesties Reign, did by his own Authority without any warrant or colour of Law, tax and Impose great sums of Money upon the Towns of Baltemore, Baudenbridge, Talowe, and divers other Towns and places in the said Realm of Ireland, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns by Troops of Souldiers with force and arms in a warlike manner: And on the 9th. day of March in the 12th.

^{1640.} year of his now Majesties Reign, trayterously did give Authority unto *Robert Savile* a Sergeant at Arms, and to the Captains of Companies of Souldiers in several Parts of the Realm, to send such numbers of Souldiers to lye on the lands and houses of such as would not conform to his orders, until they should render obedience to his said orders and warrants, and after such submission (and not before) the said Souldiers to return to their Garrisons: And did also issue the like Warrants unto divers others, which Warrants were in war-like manner with force and Arms put in execution accordingly, and by such war-like means he did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful commands.

And in the said 12th. year of his Majesties Reign, the said Earl of *Strafford* did trayterously cause certain Troops of Horse and Foot armed in war-like manner, and in war-like array with force and Arms to expel *Richard Butler* from the Possession of *Castle Cumber* in the territory of *Idough* in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did likewise, and in the like war-like manner expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their Houses, Families and Possessions, as namely, *Edward Brewman*, *Owen Oberman*, *Patrick Oberman* and *Sir Cyprian Horsefeilde*, and divers others, to the number of about a hundred Families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them Prisoners to *Dublin*, and there detained them till they did yield up, surrender or release their respective Estates and Rights.

And the said Earl in like war-like manner hath during his Government of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects to his will, and thereby, and by the means aforesaid, hath levied War within the said Realm against his Majesty and his liege people of that Kingdom.

16. That the said Earl of *Strafford* the 22th of *February* in the 7th. year of his now Majesties Reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of *Ireland*, did make a Proposition, and obtained from his Majesty an Allowance, that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in *Ireland*, should be received in *England* against any, unless it first appeared that the party made first his address to him in *Ireland*: And he restored divers Fryeries and Mafs-houses (which had been formerly suppressed by the precedent Deputies of that Kingdom, two of which Houses were in the City of *Dublin*, and had been assigned to the use of the University there) to the pretended owners thereof, who have since employed the same to the exercise of the Popish Religion.

17. And in the month of *May* and *June* last, the said Earl did raise an Army in the said Realm of *Ireland*, consisting of eight thousand Foot, all of which except 1000 or thereabouts, were Papists, and the said 1000 were drawn out of the old Army there consisting of 2000 Foot, and in their places there were 1000 Papists put into the Army by the said Earl. And the more to engage and tye the new Army of Papists to himself, and to encourage them, and to discourage and wear out the old Army, the said Earl did so provide, that the said New Army of Papists were duly paid, and had all necessities provided for them,

and permitted the exercise of their Religion, but the said old Army were for the space of one whole year and upwards unpaid.

18. And the said Earl being appointed Commissioner within eleven several Counties of the Northern parts of *England*, for compounding with Recusants for their Forfeitures due to his Majesty, which Commission beareth date the 8th day of *July* in the 5th. year of his Majesties Reign that now is, and being also Receiver of the composition mony thereby arising, and other debts, duties and penalties for his Majesties use, by Letters Patents dated the ninth day of the said *July*: He to ingage the said Recusants to him, did compound with them at low and under-rates, and provided that they should be discharged of all proceedings against them, in all his Majesties Courts both Temporal and Ecclesiastical, in manifest breach of, and contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm in that behalf established.

19. That the said Earl having taxed and levied the said Impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said oppressions in his Majesties name, and as by his Majesties Royal command, he the said Earl in *May* in the 15th. year of his Majesties Reign, did of his own Authority continue and frame a new and unusual Oath, by the purport whereof among many other things the party taking the said Oath, was to swear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal Commands, but submit himself in all obedience thereunto; which Oath he so contrived to enforce the same on the Subjects of the *Scottish* Nation inhabiting in *Ireland*, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a discontent of his Majesty and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said Subjects there to take the said Oath, some whereof he grievously fined and imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely the tenth of *October*, *An. Dom.* 1639. he fined *Henry Steward* and his Wife who refused to take the said Oath, five thousand pounds a-piece, and their two Daughters and *James Grey* 3000 l. a-piece, and Imprisoned them for not paying the said Fines; The said *Henry Stewards* Wife and Daughters, and *James Grey*, being the Kings liege people of the *Scottish* Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner. And the said Earl upon that occasion did declare, That the said Oath did not only oblige them in point of Allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgement of his supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church established or not established by his Majesties Royal Authority, and said, that the refusers to obey he would prosecute to the blood.

20. That the said Earl in the 15 and 16 years of his Majesties Reign, and divers years past, laboured, and endeavoured to beget in his Majesty an ill Opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the *Scottish* Nation, and divers and sundry times, and especially since the pacification made by his Majesty with his said Subjects of *Scotland* in Summer in the 15th. year of his Majesties Reign, he the said Earl did endeavour to perswade, incite and provoke his Majesty to an offensive War against his said Subjects of the *Scottish* Nation: and

1640.

and the said Earl by his Counsel, actions and endeavours, hath been. and is a principal and chief incendiary of the War and discord between his Majesty and his Subjects of *England*, and the said Subjects of *Scotland*, and hath declared and advised his Majesty that the demands made by the Scots in their Parliament, were a sufficient cause of War against them; The said Earl having formerly expressed the heat and rancor of his mind, towards his Subjects of the Scottish Nation, viz. The tenth day of *October*, in the 15th year of his Majesties Reign, he said, that the Nation of the Scots were Rebels and Traytors; and he being then about to come to *England*, he then further said, that if it pleased his Master (meaning his Majesty) to send him back again, he would root out of the said Kingdom, (meaning the Kingdom of *Ireland*) the Scottish Nation both root and branch. (Some Lords and others who had taken the said Oath in the precedent Article only excepted.) And the said Earl hath caused divers of the Ships and Goods of the Scots to be stayed, seized and molested, to the intent to set on the said War.

21. That the said Earl of *Strafford* shortly after his Speeches mentioned in the last precedent Article, to wit, in the 15th year of his Majesties Reign, came into this Realm of *England*, and was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and continued his Government of that Kingdom by a Deputy: At his arrival here, finding that his Majesty had with much wisdom and goodness composed the troubles in the North, and had made a pacification with his Subjects of *Scotland*: He laboured by all means to procure his Majesty to break that Pacification, incensing his Majesty against his Subjects of that Kingdom, and the proceedings of the Parliament there: And having incensed his Majesty to an offensive War against his said Subjects of *Scotland* by Sea and by Land, and by pretext thereof to raise money and Forces for the maintenance of that War, he counselled his Majesty to call a Parliament in *England*, yet the said Earl intended, if the said Proceedings of that Parliament should not be such as should stand with the said Earl of *Strafford*'s mischievous designs, he would then procure his Majesty to break off the same, and by wayes of force and power to raise monies upon the said Subjects of this Kingdom.

And for the incouragement of his Majesty to hearken to his advice, he did before his Majesty and his Privy-Council then sitting in Council, make a large Declaration, that he would serve his Majesty in any other way, in case the Parliament should not supply him.

22. That in the moneth of *March* before the beginning of the last Parliament, the said Earl of *Strafford* went into *Ireland*, and procured the Parliament of that Kingdom to declare their assistance in a War against the Scots; and gave directions for the raising of an Army consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, being for the most part Papists as aforesaid, and confederating with one Sir *George Ratcliff*, did together with him the said Sir *George*, trayterously conspire to imploy the said Army for the ruine and destruction of the Kingdom of *England*, and of his Majesties Subjects, and of altering and subverting

the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And shortly after the said Earl of *Strafford* returned into *England*, and to sundry persons declared his opinion to be, That his Majesty should first try this Parliament here, and if that did not supply him according to his occasions, he might then use his Prerogative as he pleased, to levy what he needed, and that he should be acquitted both of God and man, if he took some other courses to supply himself, though it were against the will of his Subjects.

23. That upon the thirteenth day of *April* last, the Parliament of *England* met, and the Commons House (then being the representative body of all the Commons in the Kingdom) did according to the trust reposed in them, enter into debate and consideration of the great Grievances of this Kingdom, both in respect of Religion, and the publick liberty of this Kingdom, and his Majesty referring chiefly to the said Earl of *Strafford* and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the ordering and disposing of all matters concerning the Parliament: He the said Earl of *Strafford* with the assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did procure his Majesty by sundry Speeches and Messages, to urge the said Commons House, to enter into some resolution for his Majesties supply, for maintenance of his War against his Subjects of *Scotland*, before any course were taken for relief of the great and pressing Grievances, wherewith the Kingdom was then afflicted: whereupon a demand was then made from his Majesty of twelve Subsidies for the release of Ship-money only; and while the said Commons then Assembled (with expressions of great affection to his Majesties Service) were in debate and consideration of some Supply, before resolution by them made; He the said Earl of *Strafford* with the help and assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament upon the fifth day of *May* last: And upon the same day, the said Earl of *Strafford* did treacherously, falsely and maliciously endeavour to incense his Majesty against his loving and faithful Subjects, who had been Members of the said House of Commons, by telling his Majesty they had denyed to supply him: and afterwards in the same Moneth, did treacherously and wickedly counsel and advise his Majesty to, this effect, viz. That having tryed the affection of his people, he was loose and absolved from all rules of Government, and was to do every thing that power would admit, and that his Majesty had tryed all wayes, and was refused, and should be acquitted both of God and Man; And that he had an Army in *Ireland* (meaning the Army above-mentioned consisting of Papists his Dependants as is aforesaid) which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience.

24. That in the same moneth of *May*, he the said Earl of *Strafford*, falsely, treacherously and maliciously published and declared before others of his Majesties Privy Council, That the Parliament of *England* had forsaken the King, and that in denying to supply the King, they had given him the advantage to supply himself by other wayes; and divers times he did maliciously, falsely and wickedly publish and declare, That seeing the Parliament had refused to supply his Majesty

1640. in the ordinary and usual way, the King might provide for the Kingdom in such wayes as he should hold fit, and that he was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardness of the people.

And having so maliciously slandered the said House of Commons, he did with the help and advice of the said Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Finch late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, cause to be printed and published in his Majesties name a false and scandalous Book, Entituled, *His Majesties Declaration of the Causes that moved him to dissolve the last Parliament*, full of bitter and malicious invectives, and false and scandalous aspersions against the said House of Commons.

25. That not long after the dissolution of the said last Parliament, (*viz.* in the Month of May and June) he the said Earl of Strafford did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of several Counties to be sent for, for not levying thereof, divers of which were threatened by him to be sued in the *Star-Chamber*, and afterwards by his advice were sued in the *Star-Chamber* for not levying the same, and divers of his Majesties Loving Subjects were sent for, and Imprisoned by his Advice, about that and other illegal payments.

And a great Loane of 100000*l.* was demanded of the City of London, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and the Sheriffs of the said City were often sent for to the Council-Table, to give an account of their proceedings in raising of Ship-Money, and furthering of that Loane, and were required to certify the names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of Strafford did use these or the like speeches, *viz.* That they deserved to be put to fine and ransom, and that no good would be done with them, till an example were made of them, they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.

26. That the said Earl of Strafford by wicked Council having brought his Majesty into excessive charges without any just cause he did in the Month of July last (for the support of the said great charges) counsel and approve two dangerous projects.

1. To seize upon the Bullion, and the Money in the Mint.

2. And to embase his Majesties coyn with the mixtures of brass.

And accordingly he procured one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchant-strangers and others, to be seized on and stayed to his Majesties use: And when divers Merchants of London owners of the said Bullion, came to his house to let him understand what great mischief that course would produce here and in other parts, and what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom by discrediting the Mint, and hindering the Importation of Bullion: He the said Earl told them, that the City of London dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the course of other Princes to

1640. make use of such Moneys to serve their occasions.

And when in the same Month of July, the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers reasons against the embasing of the said Money, he told them, that the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse with Commissions to search into mens Estates, and to peruse their Accounts, that so they might know what to Levy of them by force, which they did accordingly Levy: and turning to the Lord Cottington, said, That this was a point worthy his Lordships consideration.

27. That in or about the Month of August last, he was made Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, and being at York, did in the Month of September by his own Authority, and without any lawful Warrant, Impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of York of 8*d.* per diem for maintenance of every Souldier of the Trained Bands of that County, which sums of Money he caused to be levied by force: And to the end to compel his Majesties Subjects out of fear and terrour to yield to the payment of the same, he did declare that he would commit them that refused the payment thereof, and the Souldiers should be satisfied out of their Estates, and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than guilty of High Treason.

28. That in the Month of September and October last, he the said Earl of Strafford being certified of the Scots Armes coming into the Kingdom, being then Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army, did not provide for the Town of Newcastle as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the English against the Scots: And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malicious desire to engage the Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a National and bloody War, he did write to the Lord Conwey the General of the Horse, and under the said Earls command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army at the passage over the Tyne, whatsoever should follow, notwithstanding, that the said Lord Conwey had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his command, was not of force sufficient to encounter the Scots, by which advice of his, he did contrary to the duty of his place betray his Majesties Army then under his Command, to apparent danger and loss.

After these Articles were read, the Earls answer thereunto which he had delivered in writing into the Lords House was also read, and this took up the time till two in the afternoon: at which hour the Court rose, and the Earl was remanded to the Tower, with orders to be there again the next day at eight in the morning.

On Tuesday He came accompanied as before, and staid in the *Exchequer-Chamber* till nine in the morning, at which time the Court being sat, and the King, Queen and Prince within their Closets, the Earl was brought in.

Mr. Pym one of the Prosecutors began first, and aggravated the charge which was the day before read with many superlative expressions, The main points whereof were, That it was a Treason

Mr. Pym one of the Prosecutors first aggravates the Charge against the

1640.

Treason far beyond the reach of words, that a Native Subject and a Peer of England, the prime Governour of Ireland, the Commander of his Majesties Forces, and a Protestant in Religion, should have in such an impious and gross manner recompensed his Majesties favours, abused his goodness, and drawn all his Dominions into hazard and peril of their Religion, Lives, Goods and Priviledges: That one of these faults alone had been enough and too much for the fulfilling of the exorbitancy and wickedness of any one man, and what punishment could be thought upon sufficient to expiate crimes of such a transcendent nature?

The Earl begins to make his defence.

The Earl with great moderation spake in his own defence to this purpose: He modestly recounted his Services done to the King and Crown of England, and his endeavours for advancement as well of the Honour as Commodity both of England and Ireland; and as to Ireland he said, That there had been more Parliaments there since his Government than in fifty years before; that he had opposed divers Projects and Monopolies, and Improved the Kings Revenue from 50000 lib. per Annum, to 120000 lib. per Annum: That he had restored the Churches maintenance, suppressed the Outlaws, established Obedience to Royal Authority, and restrained the tyranny and usurpation of Great ones over the Commons, yet for the effecting of all these Actions, he reputed himself the most weak and meanest Instrument.

Pym offers three new Articles against him.

To which the Earl answers.

Pym excepts against the Earls answer

The Lords retire a while and return, and grant him no further time.

The Articles are then read.

1. That he had within these two years withdrawn 30000 l. Sterling from the Exchequer in Ireland, and employed it to his own private uses.
2. That in the beginning of his Government, the Garrisons in Ireland had been maintained by the English Treasury.
3. That he had advanced Popish and infamous persons, as the Bishop of Waterford and

others to the prime Dignities of the Church of Ireland.

1640.

1. To the First, he answered, That thirty thousand pounds were set apart for the Kings late Service as his most special and most pre-emptory Command, for which he produced the Kings own Letter already approved, as his Acquittance at the Exchequer-board in Ireland.

The Earl answers to the three Articles newly entered.

2. To the second, That at the beginning of his Government, as ever before his time, the Garrisons had been burthensome to the Kingdom of England, but that he had so improved the Revenue, that they were now paid by that Crown without any charge to this; for which if the best endeavours of a Subject may justly expect any reward from his King and Countrey, he craved leave to think that he rather deserved many thanks than the least punishment.

3. To the third, He attests all the Clergy of Ireland, if ever he had taken upon him any particular meddling in advancing their Churchmen, or whether he had done any thing concerning such affairs, but upon the special advice of the best and wisest of their number: adding, that when he befriended the Bishop of Waterford he conceived of him as a man of integrity and learning fit for such an Employment, nor was there then the least suspicion of those monstrous Impieties, wherewith he was afterwards charged. That he had now justly suffered for the same, and that he hoped they would not lay a necessity upon him to prophesie and divine of the future conditions and deportments of men: For others of the Church, suspected of Popery, he knew none such, but should answer to the particulars so far as they concerned him, when they should happen to be alledged.

This was all the business of this day; the Lords rose, and the Earl was appointed to come again the next morning, at which time they intended to proceed upon the particular Articles, and give Oath to the Witnesses, for hitherto they had only been upon the general heads.

On the first of the special Articles they insisted not.

The Committee of Prosecutors were, Mr. Jeffery Palmer, Mr. John Maynard, Mr. Bulstrode Whitlock, Mr. John Glyn, the Lord George Digby, Mr. Oliver St. John, Sir Walter Earl, Mr. John Selden, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. Stroud.

The Names of the Committee of the House of Commons prosecutors of the Earl.

The Lords being sate, and the Earl present on Wednesday in the morning, Mr. Glyn first spake: He said,

The Earl of Strafford was Impeached not with simple but accumulative Treason, for though in each particular such a monstrous Crime could not be deprehended, yet when all conceived in the Mass, and under one view, he should be undoubtedly found the most wicked and exorbitant Traitor that ever was Arraigned at the Bar: he added, That his charge was intending to subvert and change the fundamental Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges of both the Kingdoms, and to introduce an arbitrary and Tyrannical Government: This, he said, could not appear but by the fruits, which were

Mr. Glyn's Speech to the Charge in the second Article.

1640. were either in expression or action. The expressions were;

1. That in the presence of the Justices sitting at York he said, Some were all for Law, but they should find, That the Kings little finger should be heavier than the loins of the Law.

The Earls
Answer.

To this, being the substance of the second Article, the Earl replied, That having spoken sufficiently before to his justification in general, he would by their Lordships favour add these few words, That it did strike him to the heart, to be accused of such a wicked crime, and that such honourable persons who were the Companions of his youth, and with whom he had spent the best of his dayes, should now rise up in judgement against him; yet he thanked God for it, it was not guilt but grief, that so much troubled him; he added, That it was a wonder how he had gotten strength sufficient in such infirmity of body and anguish of mind, to collect his thoughts and say any thing at all for himself: But the Almighty God who knows him to be innocent, had furnished him with some abilities to give testimony to the truth and a good Conscience: He therefore intreated, that if either in judgement or memory, he should at any time fail, it might be imputed to his great weakness: And although the Gentlemen his Accusers should seem more ready in their Accusations, than himself in his Defence, that it might not prejudice his cause, who in very unequal terms, had to do with learned and elequent Lawyers, bred up a long time and inured to such judiciary pleadings, and whose Rhetorick he doubted not might present many things to their view in a multiplying Glass; he told them farther, that for these many years he had been weary of Publick service, and that now it was his resolution after he had vindicated his honour to retire himself, and to enjoy his much longed-for privacy: And yet he could not but say, it had been his hearty wish and desire, to have rather voluntarily resigned his places of honour like a ripe fruit fallen from the tree, than to be violently pulled from thence as a fruitless and unprofitable withered branch.

To the Charge of Treason, he said, That under favour he conceived, although all the Articles contained in his Impeachment were verified against him, yet they could not all amount to Treason, neither simple nor accumulative; for, said he, I do not understand by what interpretation of Law, the diversion of Justice can be called a subversion of the same, or the exceeding of a Commission, the Usurpation of a new Power; To the particular alledged, he replied, That his words were inverted, for that his expression was, That the little finger of the Law, (if not supported by the Regal Power in granting Pardons for the Penalties of the same) was heavier than the Kings loins: That this was his expression, he verified.

1. First by the occasion, for he spake the words a long time since to some who had been imprisoned at York, and were then by the Kings favour set at liberty, whom he incited to thankfulness towards his Majesty by this expression.

2. Secondly, by Sir William Pen-yman, a

Member of the House of Commons, who was there present and heard the words: which Sir William declared to be true. 1640.

In the examination of the Witnesses against him to this Article, he convinced one of them of untruth by interrogating, where he was when the speech was heard, and how far distant from him? to which the man replied, He was twelve yards from him: the Earl then said, It was impossible for him to hear a man three yards off, by reason of a deafness he had, which had held him fourteen years, which being found true, the Witness was rejected.

Another Witness Sir David Fowles was brought against him, against whom he excepted as his known and profest Enemy, but that was not allowed of, because in matters of Treason, a mans enemy may Witness against him pro Domino Rege: this was all that was done for that time.

On Thursday he appeared again, and the second expressions in the third Article of the Charge, was charged against him, viz. 1641.

That he had declared that Ireland was a Conquered Nation, and that the King may do with them what he pleased; and speaking of the Characters the former Kings of England made to the City of Dublin, he said, They were nothing worth, and did bind the King no farther than he pleased. The second expression in the third Article charg'd against him.

This was aggravated as a prime Note of his tyrannical Will and Disaffection, that would permit no Law to bound the Subject, but what himself and such as he should appoint might draw by finistrous Informations from a gracious and well-meaning Prince, and if this were admitted, the whole power and liberty of the Republick would utterly be lost.

To this he replied, That the first part of it cannot be denied: and to the second, That he said only, That the King was the Law-giver, which he hoped none could deny without incurring the crime of Treason; and that the Kings Sentence was a Law in matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, which all but disloyal Subjects would grant: professing wishal, that it had been ever his endeavours to have the liberty of the Subject, and the Royal Prerogative follow both in one Channel; knowing, that if either of them crossed other, we could expect nothing but a subversion of the Common-wealth, either by Tyranny or Rebellion: That the Prerogative was like the first; the liberty of the Subject like the second Table, either both or neither can be preserved: That in his duty, he stood obliged, first to the King as Gods Anointed, then in the second place to his Countrey, if it did not cross the Regal Power: And therefore hoped that what he had said was so far from being Treason, that he thought a thousand such expressions would not make up one Felony. This was all the proceedings of this day. The Earl Answers thereunto.

On Friday, two other expressions were urged against him out of the fourth Article:

1. That he would neither have Law or Lawyers dispute or question any of his Orders. Two expressions out of the fourth Article urged against him.

2. In speaking of the Earl of Cork, he said, he would make him and all Ireland know, so long as he had the Government, That any Act of State there

1641. there made or to be made, should be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdom as an Act of Parliament.

The Earls Answer.

The Earl of Cork was the main Witness to prove these expressions.

The Earl answered, *It were hard measure for a Man to lose his Honour and his Life for a hasty word: he confessed, he had often said he would not suffer his Orders to be contemned, because in contempt of him, his Masters Honour would be wounded.*

To the second he said, *If a proportionable Obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did the Council sit: And that he had done no more than what former Deputies and chief Governours of Ireland had done: And what was agreeable to his Instructions for the Council Table, which he produced.*

He convinced the Earl of Cork of two oversights in his Deposition, for he had declared upon his Oath, that the Earl had caused an Ordinance made against him to be interlined, and some words to be scraped out, which words were notwithstanding still found to be in the Ordinance by an Authentick Copy under the hand of Sir Paul Davies, Clark of the Council-Board in Ireland, which the Earl of Strafford produced.

In the next place, the Earl of Cork alledging amongst other things, that he had advanced a Groom of his to be a Preacher.

He disproves what the Earl of Cork alledged against him.

To disprove which, the Earl produced a testimony from the University of Dublin, *That the man had been a Master of Arts of ten or twelve years standing before his advancement; adding withal, that my Lord Cork was an excellent Scholar that could breed such Grooms.* These matters took up the whole day on Fryday.

Upon Saturday he appeared again, and having (as they said) done with expressions, they would next proceed to his actions, and begin with those concerning his execution of Martial Law against the Lord Mount-Norris and another person, as the matter is laid down in the 5th. Article;

Which they distinguished under four heads.

1. That he exercised Martial Law in time of Peace.
2. That he was both party and Judge in Mount-Norris his Case.
3. That he proceeded summarily in the matter.
4. That he had not heard the exceptions made by Mount-Norris against his Witnesses.

To the first he answered;

The Earl answers the first head of the first Article.

1. *That all Armies have been, and must be governed by Martial Law.*
2. *That there is a standing Army in Ireland, and therefore the case is all one in time of Peace or War; And that the Army might be undone if they should not use Martial Law, but were to expect remedy for the settling of a Mutiny, or assurance of Obedience from the Common Law.*

3. *That it had ever been the Practice of the Deputies, particularly of Wilmot, Faulkland, Chichester, yea Cork himself, and therefore was no new thing brought in by him: This he proved both by the production of the Military Ordinances, and by divers Witnesses who knew Sentences given in that kind by them.*

4. *That he had a particular Warrant in his Commission for his Power.*

5. *That in the Lord Mount-Norris his Case, he was commanded to exercise the same by the Kings particular Letter, both which he caused to be read.*

To the second he said, *He was not a Judge in the Tryal, but a party which appear'd, in that he sat bare in the Court all the time of Tryal, and gave no suffrage in it, and for further evidence of his being a party, he caused his Brother Sir George Wentworth, in regard of interest of blood, to decline all acting in the process.*

To the Third he said, *That he being not a Judge in this matter, the Court of War was to be answerable for their own proceedings, and that after a long reasoning he had heard them say, No delay could safely be granted in Martial Courts.*

To the fourth he answered, *That he was not a Judge in the Case, and remembers not the exceptions against any Witnesses, adding, That as he had been regular in his proceedings, so he had been moderate in the execution of that Sentence: for though the Lord Mount-Norris justly deserved to Dye, yet he had obtained for him the Kings Pardon for the saving of his Life, and protested that he intended nothing by that Sentence; but in some measure to repair his own Honour, and to give Mount-Norris fair reproof; who was known to be of an exorbitant and licentious tongue and spirit: Adding, That if the House of Commons would go on the same way with him, and assure him that the issue of his Charge should be nothing else but to admonish him for the time to come, he would thank them heartily for it, and study amendment in all his pretended oversights: And whereas Mount-Norris complained, that he had jeeringly told him, when the Sentence was passed and pronounced against him, That e're he lost his head, himself would lose his hand; he answered, That although he had been thought to be insolent and haughty, yet he was never so impertinent to use this expression: if any such were, it was for undervaluing himself in saying, That e're a hair of Mount-Norris should perish, he would lose his hands; And truly (said he) if Mount-Norris would say so to me, even in the worst sence that can be conceived, that e're I dye, he would lose his hand, I would take it very kindly from him. For the other man he avouched, that he himself had voiced to hang him, both because he was an arrant Thief, & also had fled from his Colours, which by the very Common law was justifiable: (and to this effect he cited a Statute 20 Henr. 6. and 7 Henr. 7.) That to fly from their Colours, is Felony: He concluded, *That seeing he was not accessory to the Sentence against Mount-Norris, had not sat there as Judge, had a power to keep Martial Courts by his Commission, had not exercised the same till a new Command came from his Majesty, had done no more than ever was practised in Ireland before his time, and had at last obtained Mount-Norris his pardon, He hoped there was nothing accusable in him but his too remiss and too moderate proceedings.**

Mr. Glyn in aggravation of his Exercise of Martial Law said, *That he knew the time when the Earl of Strafford was no less active and stirring*

1641.

His answer to the second head.

His answer to the third head.

His answer to the fourth head.

Mr. Glyn's aggravation of the first Head.

1641. ring to enlarge the liberty of the subject, and advance the Petition of Right, than now he is for extending his own Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government.

The Earls
reply.

To this he replied, without the least semblance of Passion, That if at any time he had done the least Service to the House of Commons, he thought his whole Life well spent, nor could they ever so graciously reward him as to give Commission to that Gentleman to express so much before that Honourable Assembly; But withal, he said, If ever any such thing was done by him, he intreated it might now be remembered, and serve to over-balance some slight and mean over-sights committed by him, which he hoped should never make him guilty of Treason, unless it were Treason for a Man to have no more wit and prudence than God and Nature had bestowed upon him. And so much for Saturday.

On Monday the Court sat again, and the Earl appeared, and was charged with the sixth Article, concerning the dispossession of the Lord Mount-Norris of the Mannor of Tymore, which the Prosecutors enforced with many Arguments, saying, this fact was

1. Against an Act of the 7th. of Henr. 6. which provides all matters to be determined by the ordinary Judges.
2. Against the late Proclamation of the King.
3. Against the Practice of all Deputies before that time: withal, they added, that it was a Tyranny that could not be express'd, to exercise this power over the persons of the Peers of the Land and their Goods.

The Earls
answer to
the sixth
Article.

To this he replied, That for his part in matter of justice (under favour he spake it) he thought there was no distinction to be made betwixt a Peer of the Land, and one of the Commons, except they did think that either fear or faction should do something, which had no place in him. He said,

1. That the Act of H. 6. answered it self sufficiently, both because it excepted the Court of Requests (and that his proceedings were nothing else in Ireland) and also it makes an express reservation of the Kings Prerogative, which he said was his Strength, because he derived his Commission from the King, and that the Act was the most express Warrant in the World for him.

2. The Kings Proclamation mentioned came not out in five years after, wherefore he thought it hard to have a disobedience objected to him for a thing that was not in being, adding, that he wish'd from his heart, they would respect the Kings Command and Commissions, with that tenderness of affection and obedience as he did his Proclamations: He then proved that the like course by summary Proceedings before the Deputies of Ireland, was the constant Practice of all the Deputies that went before him, but nevertheless, He said, he was tender to exercise that Power, till the King (induced by the humble Remonstrance of the meaner sort of people) had most peremptorily and upon just reasons commanded him, causing the Kings Letter in that behalf to be read.

Obj. It was objected, that other Deputies had indeed determined upon suits of Equity, and matters of debt, but not of land.

He replied, That neither he nor they had ever given Sentence or determined any thing concerning

1641. matters of Inheritance, but only concerning violent Intrusion, which was this Case in question, & which fell directly within a suit of Equity: and in deciding this controversy he had, he said, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolles, and Lord Chief Justice of the common Pleas, to assist him, nor did he hear the business, till the Complainant by Petition had complained of delay of Justice in the Chancery where the suit had long depended, & upon the proofs exhibited in that Court, he made the Decree. He said moreover, the Natives would unwillingly be debarred of relief in this summary way of proceeding, because they had that dispatch in a day or two which the Common Law would not yield in so many years; that as to this matter charged on him, seeing he had done nothing therein but what was customary, necessary & equitable, and the Sentence just, he expected rather thanks from the State than a charge for ill Deportment; He likewise shewed with what extortion and violence the Lord Mount-Norris had taken seisure of that piece of Land, and made the action to appear on his part very foul; and at last he concluded, saying, That he had done no more in Ireland, than the Court of Requests in England usually doth: And that the Chancery Court in Ireland doth the same daily, and the last Chancellor was never charged for such Proceedings, though his Power and Authority was less than his: But the difference of the Person and his Authority (it seemeth) doth difference the matter. And this was the business on Monday.

On Tuesday March the 31th. he was charged with the 7th. Article, to which he answered, That the L. Dillon with others producing his Patent according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Majesty, the said Patent was questionable, upon which a Case was drawn and argued by Counsel, and the Judges delivered their Opinion thereupon. But the L. Dillon or any other was not bound thereby, nor put out of their Possessions, but might have traversed the Office, or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said Opinions.

His answer
to the 7th.
Article.

They then proceeded to the 8th. Article concerning a Petition exhibited by Thomas Hibbotts against Dame Mary Hibbotts Widow, to which he answered, That true it is, he had voted against the Lady Hibbotts, and thought he had reason so to do, the said Lady being discovered, by fraud and circumvention to have bargained for Lands of a great value for a small sum. And he denied that the said Lands were after sold to his Use, or that the major part of the Council Board Voted for the Lady, the contrary appearing by the Sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Council: which being true, He said, he might well threaten her with Commitment, in case she disobeyed the said Order; Neither had he any underhand dealings with Sir Robert Meredith, for the Lady had her own Land back from him; he also declared with what fraud and deceit the Lady had come to her Lands.

His answer
to the 8th.
Article.

After this Article, they fell the same day upon the ninth, about the giving of Warrants to the Bishop of Downe and Conner, for apprehending all such persons (and presenting them before the Council Table) as contemned the Ecclesiastical Ordinances.

This was aggravated as a new and Tyrannical form of proceeding against the liberty of the Subject.

To

1641.

His answer
to the 9th
Article.

To this he replied :

First, He produced the Primate of Irelands, Arch-bishop Usher's testimony under his hand, (he being himself sick) that the same course had been used in Ireland before, and that Bishop Montgomery, the Primates Predecessor in the Bishoprick of Meath, had had the same Warrant.

Secondly, He shewed the equity that such assistance should be given to Church-men, who otherwise because of Papists and Schismatics either to God or the King, would have no respect or obedience given them in that Kingdom.

Thirdly, He proved by two Witnesses, that such Warrants were in use before his time.

Fourthly, He said, He had never granted any but that one, and had presently within some few Months called the same in again ; What (said he) was the Bishop of Downs carriage in it, he had no reason to answer for : But he presumed the Bishop could give a satisfactory Answer for himself when he should be called in question ; and so he concluded, That a matter so just, so necessary, so customary and practical before, he hoped should not be charged upon him, as an introduction of a new and Tyrannical form of Government. And therefore submitted himself to the mercy of God, and the equity of his Peers in his Trial thereon. And this was the work on Tuesday.

On Wednesday they charged him with the 12th Article, which was pressed hard upon him by Mr. Glyn, who said, That the Earl of Strafford having established an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government over the Lives, Lands and Liberties of the King's Subjects, his next desire was to make intrusion upon the Crown it self. That by applying to his own use the publick Revenues, he might be the more enabled to accomplish his disloyal and trayterous Intentions ; to which end having by a new Book of Rates inanced the Customs, he had gotten by advantage of a Lease from the Duchess of Buckingham (which he procured for her, far different from a former Lease to the Duke her Husband) above twenty six thousand pounds yearly, which was a crime of a higher nature than those contained in the preceding Articles, because in those there was some colour or pretext of Justice, here none ; those in particulars, this in general ; those against the Subject only, this against the King himself.

For the Proof of the Charge, they produced the Lease of the Duke of Buckingham, which was read and compared with that Lease to the Duchess of Buckingham (which the Earl hath now by assignment) and some differences were shewn, arising to the sum of 2000 lib. in the Dukes Lease ; the moiety only of concealed and forfeited goods were due to him, but the whole goods to the Duchess in her Lease. Again, the King's Ships of prizes did not pay Customs in the Dukes Lease, in the Duchesses they did : Again, the Impost of the Wines (then belonging to the Earl of Carlisle) was not in the Dukes Lease, in the Duchesses it was : Lastly, Whereas the Earl of Strafford paid but 14000 lib. per ann. for the Custom, it was worth to him, they said, as was apparent by the Books of the Exchequer, 40000 lib. Witnesses were examined.

First, Sir James Hay, who deposed that the

Earl of Carlisle had an advantage of 1600 lib. per ann. by his Lease of Wines.

1641.

Secondly, The Lord Ranelagh, who deposed, that by the inspection of the Books of Accompts, he had found the Customs to be Anno 1636. thirty six thousand pounds. Anno 1637. 39000 lib. Anno 1638. 54000 lib. Anno 1639. 59000 lib.

With the Proofs they concluded the Charge ; That notwithstanding the Lord Strafford pretended a great measure of zeal and honesty in his Majesties service, yet it is evident, he had abused the trust put upon him, and by withdrawing so great sums of money from the Crown, had weakened the King, prejudiced the subject of the protection they were to expect from him, and had been the cause that the extraordinary waies of Impost and Monopolies had been taken, for supplying of the Royal necessity : And that this Act therefore ought to be enough to make the Charge and Impeachment of High-Treason laid against him.

The Earl replied, That he conceived he had given full satisfaction to all hitherto brought against him, about his pretended arbitrary Government, nor would he spend time in vain repetitions ; and for the present Article, though in all parts it were granted to be true, yet he could not perceive by what interpretation of Law it could imply the least act of Treason ; and when it should be directly charged upon him as a point of Misdemeanor, Oppression, or Felony, he made no doubt, but he should be very able to clear himself abundantly in that point also : yet lest any prejudice might stick to his Honour by these bold assertions, He was content to step so far out of the way as to give answers.

The Earl
answers to
the 12th
Article.

First, That it concerned him nothing, what particulars in the Lease had past betwixt the King and the Duchess of Buckingham ; or whether she had obtained more easie conditions than the Duke her Husband, especially seeing the same was granted some years before his coming to that Government ; yet thus much he could say, that the Duchess had paid thirty thousand pounds fine, and therefore no marvel that her yearly Rent was the less.

Secondly, For the Book of Rates (wherein the chief matter of oppression and grievance seemed to rest) the same was there established by the Deputy Faulkland, Anno 1628. three years before his going into Ireland, and therefore it was exceeding strange in his apprehension, how that could rise up in judgement against him.

Thirdly, That he had his interest in the Customs by assignation of a Lease from the Duchess of Buckingham, which was granted her before his Government, and he never heard it before alleged as a crime of Treason, for a man to make a good bargain for himself.

Fourthly, That not of his own accord, but at the King's special command, he had undergone that Charge ; on hopes that upon the enquiry into the worth thereof, the Customs might be improved for the benefit of the Crown, and the true value thereof discovered ; this he proved by the Lord Cottington and Sir Arthur Ingram.

Fifthly, That when a new Book of Rates

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was

1641. was recommended to him by the Council-board of England, in the time of his Lease, which might have been of great advantage to him, he so preferred a fear he had, That the Trade of Ireland might thereby be discouraged, before his own Commodity, as he presumed in all humility to refuse the said Book, and tendered his reasons thereof to the Kingdom and Council-table of England.

Sixthly, That he never understood that the Customs could arise to those great summs alleged, but though they should, yet his advantage was but small; For first, dividing the fourteen thousand pounds he paid to the King into eight parts, five parts thereof was yearly given in upon Oath (and that procured first by himself) at the Exchequer board, the other three parts was divided amongst four of them, which were equal sharers in the Lease, granted before his time: And therefore he was confident, he said, the Lords would rather take his accusation in this Article as an exercise of Rhetorick in the Gentlemen his Adversaries, than as a thing spoken in good earnest by them.

The same day the 11th and 12th Articles were charged against him.

He answers to the 11th Article.

To the 11th concerning Licences for Exportation of Pipe-staves, he answered, The Pipe-staves were prohibited in King James his time, and not exported but by Licence, paying 6 s. 8 d. a thousand, and that he had not raised so much thereby to himself as his Predecessours had done for such Licences.

The 12th Article was more insisted on, and in the opening of it, Mr. Glyn said, That for the further advancement of his tyrannical and avaritious designs, he had of himself established a Monopoly for the restraint of Tobacco in that Kingdom: where they offered five particulars to the proof:

1. That he had restrained the Importation of Tobacco.
2. That in the mean time he had brought in a great quantity himself, and sold the same at exorbitant prices.
3. That of Tobacco already Imported, he had forbidden any to be sold, but what was first sealed by his Officers.
4. That upon a pretended Disobedience, he had punished a great number of people by seizure, imprisonments, fining, whipping, pillory, and such like cruel and inhumane usages.
5. That by these means he had gained 100000^l. yearly.

For proof whereof they produced.

1. The Proclamation for restraining Tobacco, which was read.
2. The Proclamation about Sealing the same.
3. Some Witnesses who declared the Ships had been restrained from landing Tobacco.
4. Others who had known some Tobacco seized on as forfeited.
5. A Remonstrance of the House of Commons in Ireland, declaring that the Earl had sold 500 Tun of Tobacco, which sold at 2 s. 6 d. per pound, amounts to an hundred thousand pounds.

They concluded the Charge, That he had sucked up the Blood of the King's Liege people, and had by this one point of oppression raised great

er summs to himself than all the King's Revenue in that Kingdom extended unto, and therefore was liable to the crime of Treason, for troubling the Peace, and bereaving the people of their Goods, who were intrusted unto his Care and Government.

The Earls Reply to this was,

1. That long before his coming to Ireland, the same restraint had been of Tobacco, and the same impost of eighteen pence per pound, enjoined by King James.

He answers to the 12th Article.

2. That at that time the Tradesmen for this Commodity paid but 20 lib. a year to the Crown for the Impost, but now 400.

3. That the Parliament in Ireland 1628. had Petitioned to have the Impost settled by an Act of State for ever afterwards as a part of the Revenue of the Crown.

4. That he had express Command from the King for issuing those Proclamations, and therefore could not imagine more danger in them, than in others for Monopolies in England in the worst sense.

5. That the Proclamations were sent forth not by himself alone, but by the whole Council-board of Ireland.

For the Proclamations, he told them, It was his own Opinion (and if he failed in it he humbly craved pardon, and hoped that it should not be Treason to have no more judgement than God had bestowed on him) that the King was induced by God with a power to make temporary Laws, and cause the same to be promulgated for the good of his people, upon sudden emergent occasions, to which Laws, Obedience is due, till they be abrogated by ensuing Parliaments: that he restrained no man from Importing Tobacco, who was willing to pay the appointed Impost; that for his part, he had never trafficked in all his time therein, nor had any part with the Contractors: And if any Tobacco was seized on, it was in contempt of the Proclamations: And if any person were censured to the Pillory, or Whipping, it was for known Perjury, the ordinary and usual punishment in such a case: Concerning the Tobacco Imported, he said, No consideration was taken of the Prices given for the Tobacco beyond Seas, of the King's Revenue of 40000^l. of the Merchants pains and danger in bringing the same home; for his part, if any advantage were made, surely it was not his, nor could he annul every Contract or Lease made by the King: And therefore seeing his Interest was none, he had done nothing but at the King's direction, and at the advice of the Council-board; since the same Impost was in King James his time, and Petitioned for by themselves in Ireland; he hoped his carriage in the business should be so far from a crime of Treason, that it should rather be thought no crime at all.

So much for Wednesday.

On Thursday he was charged with the 13th Article, to which he made this ensuing Answer;

His answer to the 13th Article.

That he did endeavour to advance the Manufacture of Linnen rather than of Woollen, because the last would be the greater detriment to England: That the Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellour Loftus, and the Lord Mount-Norris all of the Council, and

1641. and subscribers of the Proclamation were as liable to the charge as himself: That the reducing of that Nation by Orders of the Council-board to the English Customs from their more savage usage, as drawing Horses by their tails, &c. had been of former practice: that the project was of so ill avail to him, as he was the worse for the Manufacture thirty thousand pounds at least by the Looms he had set up at his own charge: As for the Warrants that were issued out to seize upon goods, he affirmed the same to be necessary, because there ought to be no contempt of Proclamations; but that any part did accrue to him, he flatly denied: And if any rigour was used in the execution, he said, Not he, but the Officers were to answer for it, for this might happen in the most just and necessary commands, nor was there ever any complaint presented to him of any such matter.

The same day they proceeded upon the latter part of the 15th Article, waving the 14th, and the former part of this. Mr. Jeffry Palmer urged upon him in these or the like words; That the Earl having by a Tyrannical power inverted the ordinary course of Justice, and given immediate Sentence upon the Lands and Goods of the Kings Subjects, under pretence of Disobedience to his Orders, in prosecution whereof he had laid Souldiers upon the same to their utter ruine: This Article, he said, of it self did contain an individual Treason, so that if there were no more than this, it were more than sufficient to convince him of his Impeachment; two things were offered in proof:

1. The Testimony of one Savil a Serjeant at Arms, who was called forth, and produced the Copy of a Warrant, upon which he had fessed Souldiers.

2. He began to name some Statutes, by which such fessing was Treason. But before he went on to that, the Earl desired to be heard against Savil's testimony, and said, He hoped their Lordships would not upon an Article of such importance admit of the Copy of an Order: he said, No Transcript but an Original can make faith before the King's-Bench in a matter of Debt, and therefore he thought in matter of life and death before the Supreme Judicatory, less would not be allowed of: Moreover, if Copies be at any time received, they are such as are given in upon Oath to have been compared with the Originals, but this was not so.

Glyn hereupon replied, That this Order ought to be admitted, since it was produced by the Officer himself, who best knew it, having executed the same.

The Earl answered, That was the best argument he could use why it should not be admitted: for (said he) Mr. Savil may be charged with Treason, for fessing men of War upon the King's Subjects, he hath nothing for his defence but a pretended Warrant from me: Now what he swears to my prejudice is to his own advantage, nor can a man by any equity in the World be admitted to testify against another, in suam justificationem.

This answer seemed so weighty to the Lords, that they rose and went up to their House; and after an hours stay, they returned, and declared,

That after much deliberation, they had resolved, 1641. that this Copy should not be admitted, and willed them to proceed to other proofs; which after a little pause they did.

1. The Lord Ranelagh affirmed that he heard of such a Warrant, and knew sometimes three, sometimes five Souldiers billeted by it.

2. Mr. Clare declares the very same.

3. Another Deposed, that he had seen such a Warrant under the Deputies hand and seal; and so much for the proof.

For the Statutes alledged, one of Edw. 3. 6. That whosoever should carry about with them English Enemies, Irish Rebels, or Hooded men, and tefs them upon the Subject, should be punished as a Traytor. Another of Henr. 6. 7. That whosoever should fess men of War, in his Majesties Dominions, should be thought to make War against the King, and punished as a Traytor.

The Earls Reply was;

That in all the course of his life, he had intended nothing more than the preservation of the lives, goods and welfare of the King's Subjects, and that he dared to profess, that under no Deputy, more than under himself, had there been a more free and uninterrupted course of Justice.

To the Charge he answered,

1. That the Customs of Ireland differed exceedingly from the Customs of England, as was clear by Coke's Books, and therefore though fessing of men might seem strange here, yet not so there.

2. That even in England he had known Souldiers pressed upon men, by the Presidents of York and Wales, in case of known and open contempts, and that both in point of Outlawry and Rebellion, and also even for summs of Debt between party and party, there is nothing more ordinary than these fessings to this day in Scotland, whereby the chief house of the Owner is seized upon.

3. That to this day hath been nothing more usual in Ireland than for the Governours to appoint Souldiers to put all manner of Sentences in Execution, which he proved plainly to have been done frequently, and familiarly exercised in Grandison's, Faulkland's, Chichester's, Wilmot's, Cork's, and all preceding Deputies times: And had even been done for Outlawries for the King's Debts in the Exchequer, of Collections of Contribution money, and (which comes home to the point) for small summs of money between party and party, so that he marvelled qua fronte or with what boldness it could be called an Arbitrary Government lately brought in by him.

To this the Lord Dillon, Sir Adam Loftus, and Sir Arthur Terringham deposed: the last of whom told, that in Faulkland's time he knew twenty Souldiers fessed upon a man for refusing to pay sixteen shillings sterling:

4. That in his instructions for executing his Commission, he had express Warrant for the same, as were in the instructions to the Lord Faulkland before him, both of which were produced and read.

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5. That

1641.

5. That although all these Presidents were not, yet it were not possible to govern the Kingdom of Ireland otherwise, which had been from all times accustomed to such summary proceedings.

6. That no Testimony brought against him, can prove that ever he gave warrant to that effect; And for the deeds of the Serjeant at Arms, he did conceive himself to be answerable for it.

And for the Acts of Parliament, he had reserved them to the dispute of his Lawyers, but was content to say thus much for the present.

1. That it is a ground in the Civil Law, that where the King is not mentioned, there he cannot be included: But (with all distance to his sacred Person be it spoken) he conceived himself to be in his Master the Kings place (for so his Commission did run) in that Kingdom of Ireland.

2. The words in the Statute are not applicable to him, for God knows, he never went about in Person to lay Souldiers upon any of the King's Subjects.

3. That the King's own Souldiers, requiring in a Customary way, obedience to his Orders could in no construction be called, Irish Rebels, English Enemies, or Hooded men.

4. That the use and custom of the Law, was the best interpreter thereof, and for that he had already spoken enough.

5. That it favoured more of prejudice than equity, to start out such an old Statute against him and none others, (though culpable of the same fact) to the overthrow and ruine of him and his Posterity.

6. That (under favour he conceived) for any Irish Custom, or upon any Irish Statute, he was to be judged by the Peers of Ireland.

7. The Statute of what force soever was repealed.

1. By the 10th of Henr. 7. where it is expressly declared nothing shall be reputed Treason hereafter, but what is so declared by the present Statute, now not a word is there of any such Treason.

2. By the 11th of Queen Elizabeth, where expressly power is given to the Deputy of Ireland to seise and lay Souldiers, although the same be reputed Treason in any others.

To the Statute of Henr. 6. he replied, That a slender answer might serve, he hoped that no man would think him so inconsiderate to War against the King of Britain and Ireland, by the seising of five Souldiers: That he had been charged by many for taking Arms for the King, but to that time never for taking Arms against him; And that he heartily wished that no man in all his Majesties Dominions had more practices with Rebels and rebellious designs than himself. So much for Thursday.

At the close he desired the intermission of a day, that he might recollect his spirits and strength against the next time of Charge, and with much difficulty obtained rest till Saturday.

On Saturday they proceeded to the 16th Article, which Mr. Palmer charged thus: That the Lord of Strafford having established a Ty-

rannical and Independent Authority, by giving summary Decrees and Sentences, had deprived the Subject of all just remedy; for in that Kingdom there was no Supreme to himself to whom they might appeal: And lest their just Grievances might be made known to his Majesty, he had obtained a restraint, that no complaint should be made of injustice or oppression done there, till the first address had been made to himself, and that no person should come out of that Kingdom but upon Licence obtained from himself.

To which the Earl replied to this effect.

That the Deputy Faulkland had set out the same Proclamation, That the same restraint was contained in the Statute of 25 Hen. 6. upon which the Proclamation was founded: That he had the King's express Warrant for the Proclamation: That he had also power to do it by the Commission granted to him: and that the Lords of the Council and the Justices not only yielded, but pressed him unto it. That it was done upon just cause, for had the Ports been open, divers would have taken liberty to go to Spain, to Doway, Rhemes or St. Omers, which might have proved of dangerous and mischievous consequence to the State. That the Earl of D'elmond stood at the time of this restraint charged with Treason before the Council of Ireland, for practising against the Life of one Sir Valentine Coke. That the Lord Roch was then a Prisoner for Debt in the Castle of Dublin, and therefore incapable of a Licence; That Parry was not Fined for coming over without Licence, but for several contempts against the Council-board in Ireland, and that in his Sentence he had but only a casting Voice, as the Lord Keeper in the Star-Chamber: He concluded, that he hoped the least suspicion of Treason could not accrue to him from these actings: and for oppression or misdemeanour when it should be laid to his charge, he made no doubt but he was able to answer it.

The 17th and 18th Articles were waved, and on the close of the day Mr. Whitlock charged him with the 19th Article, saying, That he did not only Tyrannize over the bodies, but also over the consciences of men, and to that purpose did contrive and frame a new and unusual Oath enjoined to the Scots in Ireland, and because some of tenderness of conscience did refuse to take the same, he had fined them in great summs of money, banished a great number from that Kingdom, called all that Nation Traitors and Rebels, and said if ever he returned home from England, he would root them out both stock and branch.

For proof of this,

1. Sir James Montgomery was produced, who declared at large how that Oath was contrived.

2. Sir Robert Maxwell of Ochyarden who spake to the same purpose.

3. Sir John Clotworthy, who declared that a great number had fled the Kingdom for fear of that Oath.

4. One Mr. Samuel, who deposed, that upon the 10th of October 1638. he heard the Deputy say these words, That if he returned, he would root them out stock and branch.

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1641.

H's Reply to
the sixteenth
Article.

1641.

They concluded, that this was one of the chiefest crimes he had done against the Privilege and Liberty of the Subject.

The Earl's Reply to the nineteenth Article.

The Earl Replied, That every new Article acquainted him with a new Treason, that if he had done any thing in all his Life acceptable to the King and Country, he conceived it to be this: And to these particulars he answered to this purpose,

1. He desired the Lords would call to mind the condition of those times, no man (pointing to my Lord Steward) knows better than your Lordship, who had in the expedition against the Scots, the chiefest Place in his Majesties Service: I would be very sorry (said he) to rub old sores, especially seeing I hope things are in a fair way to a firm Peace, and I wish that I may not be deceived, that is, that it may be so; only thus much I may say, we had then greater fears and apprehensions in Ireland, lest the Scots in that Kingdom (who were above 100000 Souls) might have joined with their Country-men at home, for the disturbance of our Peace: and we detected a Treason of betraying of the Castle of Knockfergus, to a great man in that Kingdom (whose name I now spare) by one Freeman, who upon the discovery was Executed.

The Council-board in Ireland resolved to prescribe the Scots an Oath, whereby they might declare their discontent to their Country-mens proceedings, and oblige themselves to the King's Service: But while we were about this, they of their own accord came to Dublin to Petition for it, and took it with a wonderful Alacrity and Free-heartedness, so that it is a marvellous thing for any man to say it was invented or violently enjoined by me.

2. About the same time the same Oath, Verbum Verbo, was by the Council of England prescribed to the Scots at London and elsewhere, which was no small encouragement to us in Ireland.

3. I had (said he) which I never shewed, because I had no need before this time, a special Warrant from the King, all written with his own hand to that effect: And when the King commands a matter not contrary to the Law, truly, I (said he) do conceive it both contrary to Law and Conscience, not to yield him all due Obedience.

For the proof brought against him, there was nothing insisted on, to be of any moment but the words.

For the first words, That he had called all the Nation Rebels and Traitors, He said, there was no proof at all, nor indeed could there be any, for if I had said it (said he) I had been perfectly out of my wits; and he thanked God, such irrational speeches used not to escape him: He honoured that Kingdom very much, because it was the Native Soil of our dread Sovereign, his Gracious Master, and because he knew a great part, yea, (he hoped) the greatest part of them had been and ever will be as Loyal and Dutiful to the King as any other of his Subjects; and of those who had subscribed that unhappy Combination, he knew a great many had done it

against their hearts and wills, and would ever be ready upon occasion to remonstrate the same, by adhering to the King's Service; so that this accusation was nothing but a wresting and perverting his words and meaning of purpose to make him odious, and irritate a whole Nation against him.

For other words they were proved only by one Witness, which could make no sufficient faith, and that Witness too he could evidence, if not of Perjury, yet of a notable mistake; for he had sworn positively that he had spoken those words the 10th of October, whereas he came out of Ireland into England the 12th of September before, and was at London the 21th.

For those that had fled the Kingdom because of that Oath, he knew none such, and if they did, they fled into Scotland, which might sufficiently argue their intention and resolutions: for his part, if they were not willing to give that testimony of their Loyalty to their Prince, although he had known of their departure, he would have been very loth to have kept them against their wills, but should have been gladly rid of them, and have made them a Bridge to be gone rather than to stay.

Upon Munday, Mr. Whitlock proceeded to the 20th Article, but said, because the matter was consimilis natura, they would join the five next Articles together, because all of them tended to one period, to shew what bad design he had to have subdued the Kingdoms both of England and Scotland by force of Arms, to reduce them to that arbitrary Government he had lately introduced into Ireland.

The Earl intreated they would proceed Article by Article as they had hitherto done, he said, five Articles were many, the matter weighty, his Memory treacherous, and his Judgement weak.

It was sharply Replied by Mr. Glyn, that it doth not become the Prisoner at the Bar to prescribe them in what way they should give in their Evidence.

The Earl modestly answered, That if he stood in his place, he would crave the like favour, unless his abilities did furnish him with more strength than he could find in himself, for his part he was contented they should proceed any way, alwaies provided they would grant him a competent time for Replying.

Then Whitlock went on, and told the Lords, That some things in those Articles concerned the Scottish, some things the English Nation; that which concerned the Scottish, he reduced to five Heads.

1. That the Deputy had said at the Council-board, that the Scots demands contained sufficient matter to perswade to an offensive War.

2. That the same demands did strike at the Root and Life of Monarchical Government, and were only to be answered by the Sword.

3. That he had caused some Scottish Goods and Ships to be seized on in Ireland.

4. That he had engaged the Irish Parliament by their Declaration in that War against the Scots.

5. That by all possible means he put bad thoughts and suspicions into his Majesty against his Scottish Subjects, and laboured to make a National

1641. tional Quarrel between them and England: which if the King's Piety, and the Prudence of better State-men had not prevented, could not have been soldred up again without much blood.

Concerning England, his Speeches were either before, or after the Parliament.

1. Before his Creature and Bosome friend Sir George Ratcliff, he had said to Sir Rob. King, when he was doubting how the King might have moneys to pay the Armies, that the King had 400000 *lib.* in his purse, 30000 Men in the field, and his sword by his side, and if he wanted money afterwards, who would pity him.

2. That is Brother Sir George Wentworth had said to Sir Robert Barrington, upon the dissolution of the last Parliament, that seeing the English would not grant supply to the King, it seems they were weary of their Peace, and desired to be conquered a second time.

3. That he himself upon a discourse with the Primate of Ireland, had said, That he was much of the mind of those English Divines, who maintained it lawful for a King, having tried the affection and benevolence of his people, and then denied their help, upon an inevitable necessity, and to prevent danger of the Kingdom, that he might use his Prerogative for his own supply, and the defence of his Subjects.

4. To the Lord Conwey in a discourse he had said, that if the Parliament (meaning the last Parliament) should not grant a competent supply, then the King was acquitted before God and Man, and might use the Authority put into his hands.

5. He did say at the Council-Board, that if the Parliament should deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majesties service and assistance.

His expressions after the Parliament were two.

1. That the Parliament had forsaken the King, and denied to supply him, and that the King should not suffer himself to be over-mastered by the frowardness, obstinacy, and stubbornness of his people.

2. That if his Majesty pleased to imploy Forces, he had some in Ireland, that might serve to reduce this Kingdom.

The Proofs of the Scots Particulars were these,

1. The Earl of Traquayr, who told them, that when he gave in the demands of the Scots, he heard him say, That it was time for the King to put himself into a posture of War, but that 1. All the Council of England said the same as well as he. 2. That it was a double supposition, First, that the demands were truly given in: Secondly, that there was no other Remedy left but Arms to reduce them.

2. The Earl of Mortons testimony, being sick himself, was produced, and it was one and the same with the Article.

3. Sir Henry Vane was examined, who declared that he had heard the Earl advise the King to an offensive War, when his own Judgement was for a defensive.

4. The testimony of the Earl of Northumberland was produced, which was the very same with that of Sir Henry Vane.

5. The Lord Treasurer deposed the same with Traquayr.

6. One Beane from Ireland deposed, that he had known Ships seized on there, but by whose procurement or warrant he knew not.

To the Articles about England.

1. Sir Robert King, and the Lord Ranelagh, deposed the same, that they had heard Sir George Ratcliff speak those words in the Article.

2. Sir Robert Barrington of Sir George Wentworth.

3. The Lord Primate of Ireland's Testimony, who was sick, was the same with the Article.

4. The Lord Conwey deposed the same with the Article.

5. Sir Henry Vane deposed, he did hear those words said at the Council-Table, if the Parliament should deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majesties service and assistance.

For the two Expressions after the Parliament.

Sir Thomas Jermayn, the Lord Newburgh, the Earl of Bristol, and the Earl of Holland were examined to the first: but the testimony they gave did not reach to prove the words.

And to the second, Sir Henry Vane was examined, who declared that he said either those words, or the like.

At this some of the Lords spake.

1. The Lord Savile, who desired of Sir Henry Vane to know whether he said, their, or this, or that Kingdom, and withal said it was very hard to condemn a man for such *petit* circumstances.

2. The Earl of Southampton desired to know whether Sir Henry Vane would swear these words positively or not: Sir Henry said, positively either them, or the like; The Earl replied, that under favour, those, or the like, could not be positive.

3. The Earl of Clare desired to know, what could be meant by this Kingdom; for his part, he said, he thought it meant of the Kingdom of Scotland, to which the word (*Thk*) might very well be relative, that Kingdom being only mentioned in the preceding discourse: and that he was the more ready to be of that opinion, because he could not see, by what Grammatical construction it could be gathered from his words, that he meant to reduce England, which neither then was, neither is now (God be thanked) out of the way of Obedience, nor upon Rebellious Courses.

The Prosecutors at last concluded the Charge, that the words were so monstrous that to aggravate them was to allay them, and therefore they would singly leave them to the Judgement of the Lords.

The Earls reply was;

That though the heaping up of these Articles had put him to a great confusion, yet he would endeavour to bring his Answer to the best method he could, and first he would reply to the Proof, then add something in general for himself, in what a hard taking and lamentable condition he was, to have his private Discourses, his intimate and bosom friends searcht and sifted to the least circumstance, that he might seem guilty of that, which by God's assistance he should never be.

1641.

To the Lord Traquayres depositions, he thought their proofs did not much stick upon him; for upon the suppositions, First, that the demands were true: Secondly, that they were not justifiable: Thirdly, that no other course could prevail: He could not see what other advice he could possibly give the King, than to put himself into a posture of War, especially seeing that there was frequent Reports of the Scots Invading or entering into England, neither was he of any other mind, than all the rest of the Council-board.

For that of Mortons, he doth not positively remember the words, but if the demands were read, perhaps they would imply nothing less, and if so, how otherwise to be answered but by the Sword? All other means being first assayed, which is ever to be supposed.

For Sir Henry Vane, and Northumberlands testimony about perswading of an offensive War, He said, he remembered it very well, and thought it as free for him to give his Opinion for an offensive, as they for a defensive War: Opinions (said he) if they be attended with obstinacy or pertinacy, may make a Heretick, but that they make a Traytor, I never heard till now, nor (under favour) shall I be unwilling to acknowledge my weakness, and correct my Errors, whereof no man hath more, nor is more sensible of them, than my self; yet if that Opinion of mine had been followed, it might perhaps have spared us some money, and some reputation too, of which we have been prodigal enough.

For the last about the Ships, it proves nothing, but what he would willingly confess, viz. That some Ships were there detained, and that by himself, and his own direction, as Vice-Admiral of Conaught, but it was at the Command of the Lord Admiral the Earl of Northumberland, and produced his Letter to that purpose.

To the English Proofs, he marvelled much (he said) how Sir George Ratcliffes words could be put upon him; Sir George (though alledged to be his bosom friend) yet had thoughts of his own: No man (said he) can commit Treason by an Attorney, and should I by my friend Sir George as by a Proxy, it would be something strange.

For his Brother, He never knew him before so rash, but that was nothing to him, except they could prove a nearer Identity than nature had instituted, and that his Brothers words and his were all one: yet withal he conceived, that his Brothers words might be very well understood of the Scots Conquering England, but not at all of the Irish; and so he wished with all his heart he had not spoken something which is like Propheeie.

To the Primates Testimony (with all reverence to his integrity be it spoken) he is but one Witness, and in Law can prove nothing: add to this (said he) that it was a private discourse between him and me, and perhaps spoken by me tentandi gratia, and how far this should be laid to a man's charge, Let your Lordships judge.

Yea, this seems to me against humanity it self, and will make the Society of Men so dangerous and loathing to us, that our dwelling Houses will

be turned to Cells, and our Towns to Desarts: 1641. That which God and Nature have bestowed upon us, our Tongues (for the greater comfort of venting our own conceptions, or craving the advice of wise and learned Men) shall become to be snares and burdens to us, by a curious and needless fear; yet if my words be taken (said he) with all that went before and followed after, I see no danger in them.

To the Lord Conwey, I may reply the same; with this addition, that it is a very natural motion for a Man to preserve himself, every Creature hath this Priviledge, and shall we deny it to Man, provided this be done in a lawful, though in an extraordinary way; this grain of Salt must be added to all my discourse.

To that of Sir Henry Vane, of offering my Service to the King, I thank him for the Testimony, and think he hath done me much Honour thereby; but if he or anybody else do suspect that his Majesty will employ me in any unlawful Enterprises, I shall think them more liable to the Charge of Treason than my self.

And then he went on saying;

To the first of the subsequent Testimonies, concerning that Expression, That the Parliament had forsaken the King, and denied to supply him, &c. (pretended in the Charge against me, to be said the same day of the dissolution of the Parliament, and urged as a consequence of Malice in me, for having first advised the dissolution, and then endeavoured to incense his Majesty against his people) though no testimony hath yet proved the words, nor is it I hope, believed that I was the principal cause of the dissolution of the Parliament, yet I shall crave leave to relate the matters that occurred previous thereunto.

Before I came to the Council Table, it was Voted by the Lords to demand twelve Subsidies; and Sir Henry Vane was ordered to demand no less; but coming in the interim, I perswaded the Lords to Vote it again, and resume the debate; whereupon it was agreed, That if the Parliament would not grant twelve Subsidies, Sir Henry should descend to eight, and rather than fail to six; but he not observing his instructions, demanded twelve only without abatement or going lower; so that the height of this demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, whereof Sir Henry Vane as I humbly conceive, was the chief occasion.

To that part of the Testimony proved by Sir Henry Vane, That if his Majesty pleased to employ Forces, he had some in Ireland which would serve to reduce the Kingdom: He said to this purpose;

This lies sore upon me, but to that which the Earl of Clare hath said already, give me leave to add this, That the Testimony of one man is not a sufficient Witness, nor can a man be accused, much less condemned of Treason upon this: and for that read the Statutes of H. 7. 12. and of Ed. 6. 5. But to give you further satisfaction, I shall desire all the Lords of the Council which were then present, may be examined, whether they heard those words or not, there were but eight present, with the Arch-bishop, and Sir Francis Windebank; Sir Henry

1641. Henry Vane gives the Testimony, I deny it, four only remain.

Upon the this Testimony of the Lords was taken.

1. The Earl of Northumberland's testimony was read, wherein was declared expressly, that he had never heard those words, nor any like them, but that he spake with great honour and regard of England to the King.

2. The Marquess Hamilton declared that he never heard such words, but that he had often heard the Earl say, that the King was to use his Royal power *candide & caste*, that it would never be well for this Kingdom till the Prerogative of the Crown and the Privilege of the Subject went in one pace together, and that Parliaments were the happiest means to keep a correspondence betwixt the King and people.

The very same was delivered by the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Cottington; Now, my Lords, said he, you may marvel how these words rested only on the Ears of Sir Henry Vane: but my Lords, (said he) that I may remove all scruples from you, I will make it evident, that there was not the least intention that the Irish Army should set a foot in England, and then I hope you will conceive that I had no meaning to reduce this Kingdom.

This he made clear by the testimony of the Earl of Northumberland, the Oaths of Marquess Hamilton, Lord Cottington, Lord Treasurer, Sir Thomas Lucas, who only were private to that matter.

For other of my words, my Lords, (said he) I desire you would not take them by halves, if so, who should be free from Treason? Certainly if such a President take footing, Westminster-Hall shall be more troubled with Treason than with Common-Law: Look therefore to the antecedents and consequents of my speeches, and you shall find the State of the Question clearly altered: The Antecedents were upon an absolute or inevitable necessity upon a present invasion, when the remedy of Parliament cannot be expected; the consequents to the Kingdom with accompts afterwards to the Parliament: The Qualification too in a lawful, convenient and ordinary way, so far as the present necessity can permit. Add but these, and which of you are not of my mind? Is the King endowed with no power from the Law? Is he not Publicus inspector regni? stands it not him in hand to do something on present necessities?

And that these were his words, he then proved again, by the Marquess, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Cottington, Sir Tho. Fermine.

My Lords, What I have kept to the last (said he) is this, and I would intreat you seriously to think of it: If a man's table, his bed, his house, his brother, his friends, (and that too after they have given an Oath of secrecy) are to be rack'd to find out Treason against him; Let my misfortune, my Lords, be your advertisement, your wise Ancestors were glad to put bands and limits to this Lion Treason, if you give it large scope of words to range into, he will at last pull you or yours all to pieces.

But my Lords, I never did think till now,

that matter of opinion should be objected as matter of Treason.

For first, Opinions are free, and men may argue both Pro and Con in all faculties without any stain of reputation, otherwise all consultations were vain.

2. I may be of another judgement, than I declare my self to be of opinion, perhaps to gain better arguments for the maintenance of my own Grounds.

3. Many and my self oftentimes have pronounced an opinion, yet upon hearing better Judgements, have presently changed it.

4. We use to strain our opinions too high sometimes that we may meet in a just moderation with those whom we conceive in the other extremity to be too low.

5. It is expressly commanded by that Stat. Henr. 6. 9. that though a man should say the King is not lawful Heir to the Crown, and may be deposed, yet he is not to be charged with Treason, but only with Felony, and I hope my Lords, those words are of a more transcendent and superlative nature than any alledged by me to be spoken; But, my Lords, said he, Lay it to your hearts: it must come to you, you and yours, your Posterity are they whom God and Nature, Birth and Education, have fitted to beautifie the Royal Throne, and to sustain the weighty affairs of the Kingdom. If to give your Opinions in Political agitation shall be accounted Treason, who will be willing to serve the King, or what a Dilemma are you in? if being sworn Counsellours you speak not your minds freely, you are convicted of Perjury, if you do, perhaps of Treason; what detriment, what incommodity shall fall to the King and Kingdom, if this be permitted? Which of you hereafter will adventure, yea dare adventure so much as to help by your advice, unless you be weary of your Lives, your Estates, your Posterity, yea your very honour? Let me never live longer than to see this confusion, nay I may say it, this inhumanity in England; for my part, my Lords, I here confess my self, I ever have, and ever shall speak my opinion freely in anything that may concern the Honour and Safety of my Gracious King, or my Dear Country, though the Sword be two-edged, fearing him rather who killeth the Soul, than he whose power reacheth only to the body.

Nor do I see how I am culpable of Treason, unless it be Treason for not being infallible, yet if it be so, my Lords, you have this rag of mortality before you loaden with many infirmities, though you pull this into shreds, yet there is no great loss, there may be perhaps a great gain; If I have seemed to have dared too far to give testimony to the World of an innocent conscience towards God, and a resolute loyalty towards my Prince (which have ever been my only Pole-stars in the whole course of my life) and if by spilling of mine there be not a way found to trace out the Blood of the Nobility, (which I hope your Lordships will look to) there will be no disadvantage at all suffered by the loss of Me.

Tuesday was a day of Rest.

Upon Wednesday Mr. Whitlock charged thus: That

1641. That the precedent Articles were of so high a consequence, and of so transcendent a nature, that nothing wanted to make up the perfect measure of the most horrid Treason and monstrous attempt that ever by a Native was intended against his King and Countrey, but putting these designed projects into Execution, which had undoubtedly hapned to the subversion both of Church and State, had not the clemency and goodness of the Prince, and the piety and carefulness of the well affected Peers timely foreseen and prevented the same; that still the Principles of Tyranny and Oppression had lodged within his bosome, and therefore had burst forth into these expressions and advices contained in the following Articles, where first they charged him in the twenty fifth with three things.

1. That he had advised the King to rigorous and unlawful exaction of Ship-money.

2. That he had given Counsel, That if the Sheriffs should deny their best indeavours and assistance to that effect, they should be sent for and fined by the Star-chamber and Imprisonment.

3. That when the Aldermen of London had in all humility presented the causes why the Ship-money could not be collected amongst them, and had given in their reasons why they refused to give in a list of their names within their City, who were able to afford the Loan-money; He in a contemptuous and Tyrannical manner in the face of the Council-board had said to the King, Sir, these men because of their obstinacy and forwardness deserved very well to be fined, ransomed and laid by the heels: And it will never go well with your service untill some of them be hanged for example to others.

The proofs were these,

1. The Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer, who declared that he remembered the words very well, that the Earl had advised the King to cause the Ship-money to be gathered in, but he remembered withal that both himself and all the Council had done the like, and that it was upon a present necessity and defect of money for entertaining the Army, which (the condition of the Army considered) they all conceived was by any means to be kept on foot.

2. Alderman Wiseman declared, that upon an humble Remonstrance made to the Council-board, that the City would take it ill, if a Tax roll should be delivered of their Estates who were thought able for the loan-money; the Lord Strafford said, they deserved to be fined, ransomed, and laid by the heels; But for the words of hanging them up, he heard not at all.

3. The Earl of Berkshire declared, that the Lord Strafford had said, that upon the refusal of such a service enjoyned by the Kings peremptory command, it was his opinion they might be fined.

4. Alderman Garway attested the preceding words, and withal added, that the Earl to his best remembrance, had said, it were well for the Kings service if some of them were hanged up.

They closed up the charge, saying, That by such undutiful Expressions he had invaded the propriety of the Subject, and had put such discon-

tent upon the City, that they were the less willing upon occasion to concur for advantage of the Kings Service.

The Earl replied, That though all the charge were, in the most strict and rigid way verified against him, yet he could not conceive by what Interpretation of Law it could be reach'd home to High Treason; And to that common objection (that the Treason was not individual, but accumulative) he replied, that, under favour, he thought that were as much as to say, No Treason at all; Because,

1. That neither in Statute Law, Common Law nor practice, there was ever till this time heard of such a matter as accumulative Treason, or a Treason by way of consequence, but that it is a word newly coined to attend a charge newly invented, such a one as never was before.

2. That Treason was a thing of a simple and specificative nature, and therefore could not be so by accumulation, but either must be so in some or either of the Articles, or else could not be so at all.

3. That a heap or Accumulation should be, and not be of Homo-geneous things, and therefore that which in its first being is not Treasonable, can never confer to make up an accumulative Treason. Cumulus, an heap of grain, so called, because every or at least some of the individuals are grain, if otherwise, an heap it may be, but not an heap of grain: Just so perhaps these Articles may make up an heap of Felonies, Oppressions, Errours, Misdemeanors, and such like (and to the things themselves, I shall give an answer, when under that name they shall be charged against me) but they can no wayes confer to the making up of Treason, unless some, at the least, be Treason in the Individual.

2. That the Testimonies brought against him were all of them single, not two one way, and therefore could not make faith in matter of debt, much less in matter of life and death: That it was against the Statute expressly, to impeach a man of High Treason under the Evidence of two famous Witnesses, much less to adjudge and convince him upon attestation of one.

3. To the Lord Treasurers testimony, he did with all his heart condescend unto it: but upon these grounds only, that there was a present necessity of money, that all the Council-board had so voiced with him, yea before himself, and he alwayes thought it presumption in a man not to follow the wiser and more Judicious: And that then there was a sentence of the Star-Chamber for the right of paying ship-money: for his part he would never be more prudent than his teachers, nor give judgement against the Judges: And therefore he thought it not far amiss to advise the King for collecting of that which by Law was his own, in such a present and urgent necessity, and although his opinion (and it was no more) had been amiss, he hoped, that though in case of Religion being attended with stubbornness and pertinacy, it might come home to Heresie, yet could it not reach so far as Treason; unless it be Treason

1641. for a man to speak his judgement freely, when he is upon his Oath to do the same.

4. For the words about fining, he had already acknowledged them in his General answer to be true, but with these qualifications, that it was his opinion only, that it was upon the refusal (as he conceived) of a just service, that he had spoken them by no means to prejudice the Citizens, but to make them the more quick and active in the Kings Service: That no ill consequence at all happened upon them: that they were words might have been spared indeed, but innocently though suddenly spoken, which he hoped might proceed from a man of such a hasty and incircumspect humour as himself (made so both by nature and his much infirmity of body) without any mind at all to Treason: And that if all Cholerick Expressions of that nature should be accounted Treasonable, there would be more suits of that kind fly up and down Westminster-hall than Common Law.

5. To these words attested by Alderman Garway, he positively denyed them, and hoped they should never rise up against him in Judgement, because the testimony was single and not positive, but only to his best remembrance, and that it was exceeding strange, that not any one man neither of the Council or the other Aldermen were so quick to observe them, but only Alderman Garway, which he thought sufficient to nullifie that single testimony, except he could demonstrate himself to have some rare singular faculty of hearing. In the close, he desired the Lords from his misfortunes to provide for their own Safety, and seriously to consider what a way was chalked out to ruine them, both in their lives and their estates, if for every opinion given in Council, or words suddenly or hastily spoken, they (who are born to wield the great affairs of the Kingdom) should be arraigned and sentenced as Traytors.

Then they went to the 26th Article, and charged thus.

That the Lord Strafford having by his wicked advices exhausted the Kings Treasury, did also counsel him,

1. To embase the coin by allay of copper money.

2. To seize upon all the Bullion in the Mint.

3. That in discourse with some of the Aldermen, about the business, he had said, the City was more ready to countenance and relieve the Rebels than the King: And that the King of France did manage such businesses not by Treaties or Request, but by sending forth his Commissaries to take account of mens Estates, accompanied with Troops of Horse.

The proofs were,

First, Sir Thomas Edmonds, who declared that in his discourse with the Lord Strafford, having remonstrated unto him, that Merchants goods were seized on beyond Seas because of the money taken out of the Mint, he told him, that if the Londoners suffered it, it was deservedly, because they had refused the King a small Loan of Money upon Security, and that he thought them more ready to help the Rebels than the King.

Secondly, Mr. Palmer declared, that he spake something about the King of France, but whether

with relation to England or no, he did not remember.

Thirdly, Sir William Parkise attested in the same words, and withal, that the Lord Cottington was then present, and could declare the whole business.

Fourthly, Sir Ralph Freeman declared, that in a discourse with the Lord Strafford, he had said, that the Servants in the Mint-house would refuse to work in Copper-money: And he replied, That then it were well to send those Servants to the House of Correction.

They closed the Charge, That by such undutiful Counsel and words he had given more than sufficient proof of his design and purpose to subdue this Kingdom and subvert the fundamental Laws and Priviledges of the same.

The Earl Replied,

That he expected some proofs to evidence the two first particulars, but heard of none: for the following words he confessed, probably they might proceed from the door of his lips: nor did he think it much amiss, considering the present posture, to call that faction Rebels: As for the last words objected against him in that Article, he said, that being in conference with some of the Londoners, there came to his hands at that instant a Letter from the Earl of Leicester, then at Paris, wherein were the Gazets inclosed, relating that the Cardinal had given order to levy Money by Souldiers: This he only told the Lord Cottington standing by, but made not the least application thereof to the English affairs: he said moreover, there was no great likelihood that he had committed real acts of Treason, when his adverse party was content to trifle away so much time about words, neither was there any Treason in them, though they had been fully verified, and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reserved a power for his Counsel to dispute in matter of Law.

The Earls answer to the 26th. Article.

They then went to the 27th Article, and charged thus, That immediately after his appointment to be Lieutenant General to the Army here in England, he shewed what principles of Arbitrary Government lurked within his bosome, for by his own immediate authority, without and against Law, he had laid Imposts upon many of the Kings Subjects; whereof they mentioned three particulars:

1. That he imposed 8 *d. per diem* for a Souldier upon the County of York, for entertaining the Trained bands there one whole moneth.

2. That he sent out Warrants for collecting the same, and threatened to imprison such as refused to pay.

3. That he said it was a crime nigh to the crime of High Treason not to pay the same.

4. They added in his general replies, he had brought two things for his defence: 1. That the money was freely and voluntarily offered by those in Yorkshire. 2. That the great Council of the Peers had notice of the same: but to both they had the following answers to make, viz.

To the first, That a Petition was indeed preferred by the Yorkshire-men to the King, and a moneths pay offered, but that the Lord Strafford had refused to present the same upon this exception only, because in the same they had petitioned for a Parliament, whereby he evidently declared

1641. red what little inclination he had to that way. To the second, they appealed to all the Lords whether any such order did pass before the Council of the Peers at York.

The Proofs were :

1. A Warrant issued by Colonel Pennyman, for this money, and another by Sir Edward Osbourn.

2. Mr. John Burrows, who declared that he was Clerk to the great Council, but did remember of no order, and withal added, that it might have passed at that time when he was at Rippon.

3. Mr. Dunstan, who declared, that he had known that money to be levied by some Muskettiers.

4. By Sir William Ingram, who declared that he heard the Earl say, that to refuse the same came nigh to the crime of High-Treason.

They concluded the Charge, that by these particulars, it was more than evident what unhappy purposes and trayterous designs he had to subdue this Kingdom, and subvert the fundamental Laws and Priviledges.

The Earl replied :

1. To the Petition, That it was true, a Petition was drawn up by the York-shire Gentlemen, and as true, that he had refused to present the same, because of that Clause about the Parliament : but the matter was thus : At his Majesties coming to York, it was thought necessary for the defence of that County to keep the Trained Bands on foot, because the Enemy was upon the Borders ; and therefore the King directed him to write to all the Free-holders in York-shire to see what they would do for their own defence. The time and place were designed by the King, but the night before the meeting a small number convented, and in a private and factious way did draw up that Petition, upon the morrow at their appointed Diet, in presence of the whole number, the Petition was presented to him, where he did advise them to leave out that Clause, and that because he knew the King out of his own gracious disposition had intended to call a Parliament, which he desired should rather be freely done, than upon the constraint and importunity of Petitions : Moreover, it would seem a mercenary thing in them at one and the same time to offer a benevolence, and withal to Petition for his favour. Upon this Remonstrance they were all willing to recall the Petition, and directed him by word of mouth to offer unto the King the moneths pay in their names, which he did accordingly, in the presence of them, to their no small advantage.

This he proved by Sir William Pennyman, Sir Paul Neal, Sir George Wentworth, Sir William Savil, Sir Thomas Danby, who all of them declared as much in ample terms, and withal added, That nothing was done upon better grounds of necessity and obedience, than the offer of that money, and that they never had heard any man grudge against it to this time.

For the second about the Council of Peers, he alledged, That he never made mention of any Order of theirs ; but he remembered very well it was twice propounded before them, that the King had approved it at that time as a just and necessary act, and none of the Council contradicted it, which he conceived as a tacite

approbation and an Order in equivalence.

But though that had not been, there was nothing done in the business but at the special desires of the Gentlemen themselves, and for their necessary defence and protection : And though he had done it by himself alone, yet he conceived he had so much power by his Commission, causing the Commission to that effect to be read : That albeit he should mistake his Commission and do some inferiour act beyond it (because military proceedings are not alwayes warranted by the Common Law) yet it should not be imputed as an Act of Treason to him. And to this effect read a Statute of 7 Hen. 2.

To the proof :

1. Colonel Pennymans Warrant, or Sir Robert Osbornes nothing concerned him, and he doubted not but those worthy Gentlemen could justify their own acts, and that he had enough to do to answer his own misdemeanors.

2. Sir John Burrows, he was at Rippon, when that Proposition was made.

3. That asnot the Warrant, so neither the Execution troubled him at all.

4. For Sir William Ingram, he was but a single testimony, and that such an one as he could produce an evidence to testify, he had mistaken himself in his testimony upon Oath, if it were not to disadvantage the Gentleman.

He concluded, that he had done nothing in that business, but upon the Petition of that County, the Kings especial command, the connivence at least of the Great Council, and upon a present necessity for the defence and safety of the County.

And so much for Wednesday.

Upon Thursday, the Committee for the Charge declared, That they had done with all the Articles, and were content to wave the last for reasons best known to themselves ; only Sir Walter Earl added, That he had some Observations to bring forth upon the 22th. Article, which he conceived might do much to prove the Lord Straffords design for landing the Irish forces in England.

And they were :

1. That in his Commission he had power to land them in Wales, or in any part of England or Scotland, which were altogether superfluous, unless there had been some purpose for the same.

2. That within two days before the date of the Commission, Letters were sent to the Lords Bridgewater, and Pembroke, from Sir Francis Windebank to assist the Earl of Worcester, in levying Forces for the Kings service, and these might be supposed to have intended a joyning with the Irish.

3. That the Lord Ranelagh at the raising of the Irish Army did fear such a design as this.

4. That the Town of Ayre in Scotland, where the Lord Strafford pretended he would land those Forces, was fortified with a Bulwark, a Garrison, and Block-house, which would prohibit landing there : that the Earl of Argyles bounds were divided thence by the Sea, and that the Birk or entry into the Town was very dangerous and shallow.

The proofs were only the reading of the Commission granted to the Lord Strafford.

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The Earls answer to the 11th. Article.

1641.
The Earls
reply to Sir
Walter Earls
observations
on the 22th
Article.

The Earls Reply.

1. That his Commission was the same Verbatim with Northumberland for England, and that it was drawn up by the Council-board here, and sent over unto him: so no more design in him than in the Gentlemen of the English Army, nor no larger than that was put upon him.

2. That this was the first time that he heard of any such Letters, neither did they concern him more than any of the house.

3. That he was not bound to purge the Lord Ranelagh from all his fears; and that he had his own fears too, which God forbid should be evidence of Treason against any man whatsoever.

4. That it seemed the Gentlemen had better information from that Kingdom than himself, yet he would be confident to say, at Ayre there was never such a thing as Block-house or Garrison: But to remove all scruples (for indeed the Road or Landing-place is not there safe) he declared, that it was his intention to have landed some miles above Ayre, and made only his Magazine at that Town.

To the Earl of Argyles bounds, he hoped the Gentleman knew they came not on foot out of Ireland, but had Ships to waft and transport themselves, and that one of his prime Houses (Rosneth) was within some few miles of the same.

The Lord Digby finding Sir Walter Earls a little puzzell'd, endeavoured to bring him off, and told the Lords in such a business as the plotting of Treason they must be content sometimes with dark probabilities.

The Earl having thus answered the Charge against him, it was moved by one of the Prosecutors, that if he have any thing to say further in his defence, he should do it presently; but he desired time till the next morning, which was (not without difficulty) granted.

The next morning the Lords met, but the Lieutenant of the Tower appeared without his Prisoner, certifying that the Earl was taken with a great fit of the stone that night, and continued so ill as he could not go abroad without danger of his life. The Commons thought this an excuse to gain time, but the Lords believed the relation: Mr. Glyn moved, that if he did not appear upon Saturday morning, he should lose the Priviledge to speak in his own defence afterwards, and they permitted to proceed: But the Lord Steward said, That the Lords had appointed some of their number to go to the Tower, and learn the just cause of his stay, and if by any means he were able, he should be obliged to come; but if not, humanity and common equity would excuse him. These Lords that went to the Tower found the Earl much eased of his pain by the application of some remedies, which the Physicians had administered unto him: so that the next day he appeared before them, and one of the Prosecutors proffered new proofs concerning the two and twentieth Article, upon which the Earl craved the freedom for himself concerning some testimonies not yet exhibited on his behalf, whence ensued a hot contest betwixt the two Houses, which took up two days debate, but at last the

reasons of the Lords prevailed, who declared, that in the common dispensation of equity, the accused should have equal allowance to superinduct new proofs as well as the Accusers, and it was agreed that all further testimony should be waved on both sides:

Upon Tuesday the Earl appeared, and the Lord Steward told him, that the Lords had ordered, that both their testimonies should be waved, and if he had any thing to say further in his own defence, he should proceed, so that that day might put an end to what concerned the matter of fact. The Earl replied; That in all humility and obedience he would submit himself to that or any other their Decrees whatsoever, though it should reach as far home unto him as his own life; but withal humbly begged, That if hereafter he should be troubled (for they were to speak last) with new matter, or with supplemental proof, he might have leave to speak something in his defence.

The Lord Steward answered, it is all the reason in the world:

Whereupon the Earl made a summary repetition of the several particulars of the former defence, which ended, he continued his Speech thus;

My Lords,

There remains another kind of Treason, that I should be guilty of, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land; That this should be Treason together, that is not Treason in one part; a Treason accumulative, that when it will not do it alone, being weaved up with others, it should do it, seems very strange. Under favour, my Lords, I conceive there is neither Statute nor Common Law which doth declare this endeavoring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land to be High Treason, for I have been diligent in the inquiry, as you know it deeply concerns me, and could never discover it: It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law that cannot be shewn: for it is a rule in Sir Edward Coke: De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem est ratio. Jesu! Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundred of years without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a Law; To be punished by a Law subsequent to the fact is extreme hard: What can be safe, if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set, by which we should know this offence; no admonition by which we should avoid it: If a man pass the Thames in a Boat, and split himself upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be floating to discover it, he who oweth the Anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a Buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril: Now where is this mark, where the token upon this Crime to declare it to be High Treason? My Lords be pleased to give that regard to the Peerage of England, as never to expose yourselves to such moot-points, such constructive interpretations of Law. If there must be a trial of Wits, let the subject-matter be of some-
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1641.
The Earl of
Strafford's
Speech.

1641.

what else than the lives and honours of Peers. It will be wisdom for your selves, for your Posterity, and for the whole Kingdom to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious Volumes of constructive and arbitrary Treason, as the Primitive Christians did their books of curious Arts, and betake your selves to the plain letter of the Law and Statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not Treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the Art of killing than our Fore-fathers: It is now full 240 years since any man was touched for this alledged Crime to the height before my self; Let us not awaken these sleeping Lions to our destructions, by raking up a few musty Records that have lain by the Walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; for my sins be-slave me, not for Treason; let not a President be desired from me, so disadvantageous as this will be in the consequence to the whole Kingdom; Do not through me wound the interest of the Common-wealth: And howsoever these Gentlemen say, they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconveniences and mischiefs which will fall upon it; for as it is said in the Statute of the First of Hen. 4. No man will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties: Do not, my Lords, put such difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of Wisdom, of Honour, of Fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the publick; if you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the publick affairs of the Kingdom will lye waste; no man will meddle with them who hath anything to lose. My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not an interest of those dear pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me. [At this he stop'd a while, offering up some tears to her ashes] What I forfeit my self is nothing, but that my destruction should extend to my Posterity, it woundeth me to the very soul: you will pardon my infirmity, something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass: And now, my Lords, for my self, I have been by the blessing of Almighty God taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the Eternal weight of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter: And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit my self to your Judgement: and whether that Judgement be of life or death,

—TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

As soon as the Earl had ended, Mr. Glyn and Mr. Pym spent some time in repetition of the Charge, wherein they proceeded Article by Article, endeavouring by Rhetorical declamations to render his offences as odious as they could.

The Earl allowed to plead by his Counsel.

Matters of fact being thus transacted, the Earl moved that he might be allowed to plead by his Counsel as to matter of Law: to which the Lords agreed, but the Commons would not till after three days Conference assent thereunto; and on Wednesday when they met in their house, they

considered and debated much in what manner to proceed further against the Earl of Strafford.

1641.

By the modesty of his behaviour he had much insinuated into the good opinion of the Lords, and many of the Commons, and by the clearness of his answers to the several parts of his charge, his Crimes appeared not to be specifically comprehended under the Letter of any Statute Declaratory of Treason: but the Prosecutors perceiving hereby that the Judgement of the Lords upon the whole matter might not answer their Expectation, urged, that though he were not guilty of Treason, or any of those offences enumerated in the Statute of 25 Ed. 3. yet so great were his Crimes, that according to a branch of that Statute, they ought to be declared Treason. For it is therein mentioned, that if any other case supposed to be Treason, which is not in that Statute specified, should happen, no judgement should be given till the cause be shewed, and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason, or other Felony. This branch (they said) gave the Parliament power to declare Treason, and in the enumeration of his offences, they argued, That his intentions to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, was Treason at Common Law before the making of the fore-named Statute: and such Treasons were not thereby taken away, but by the words before recited, might be declared as often as occasion should require; but because many doubts arose concerning such Treasons, the wisdom of those times thought it not fit to submit the Judgement thereof to any less authority than the Parliament: These Debates produced a resolution in the house to declare him guilty of Treason: but because they had no President since the first of Hen. the 4th. of any fact declared Treason in Parliament, that was not expressed in the letter of some Statute, they doubted a little of the way of Declaring Treason, but at last concluded to do it by bill of Attainder.

This was much oppos'd by Selden, Bridgeman, and Holburne, three Eminent Lawyers, at that time Members of the Commons House, who made it manifest, that the Salvo of the Statute of the 15th. Edw. 3. was repeal'd, and that no man could be convict of Treason but by the letter of that Statute; nevertheless, being put to a question, the Majority of Voices carried it for a Bill, and a Committee was appointed to prepare it.

The Commons pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford.

The Arguments by those and others then us'd against it, shall not be here inserted, because most of them were alledged by the Counsel for the Earl, and when those come to be mentioned, they will be related. There had been three Conferences betwixt the two Houses of these matters.

The Lords at the first, of the two last of the three Conferences (for the first was not a free Conference) told the Commons that they had resolv'd to give full audience to the Earl of Strafford's Counsel in matter of Law, and that they as competent Judges would by themselves give Judgement in the cause, as that which was most suitable to the Practice, Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, the safety of the Nobility, and to Common Justice; to which those of the Commons reply'd, that their House was resolv'd to go on with the

The Lords resolve to hear the Earls Counsel in matter of Law.

1641. the Bill of Attainder, and if the same should be rejected by the Lords, they fear'd a rupture and division might ensue to the ruine and desolation of the Kingdom, for no content would be given to the Subject, unless the man who had so much intruded upon their right, might be punish'd as a Traytor: and for the practice and Laws of the Kingdom, they said no man had ever found such a favourable hearing; and that the Proceſs against the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, were all of them closed on one day.

On the next day they met at another Conference, where the Lords told those of the Commons that they should expect nothing from their house, but what should tend to the Peace and Preservation of the Kingdom, nor was there a more forceable argument for that, than to preserve the Laws and Customes thereof, lest innovation so much complained of by them, might unhappily be found among themselves, that the Subjects should have all that Justice could afford, but that an act of Injustice would never give satisfaction to the world nor safety to themselves, the eyes of all foreign States being fixed upon the business in agitation, and the wisdom of our Nation either to be much advanced or depressed by their Judgements in this case; That the Proceſs against *Norfolk*, and *Essex*, (for *Somerset* was convicted only of Felony, and had not so much animadversion to save himself by his Book) were for direct and formal Treason comprised in one or two individual Acts, but this against the Lord *Strafford* only Arbitrary and accumulative, to be pick'd out of the Articles. And therefore that it was impossible to have a full examination of them all, to give sentence against him; And those Noble-men were charg'd with some breach of Statutes formerly made, but here a new Statute was to be made, or else he to be found guiltless: They concluded, that they had given Order for his appearance on Saturday, and that in the great Hall at *Westminster*, where the House of Commons might, if they pleased, be present.

The Commons Con-
ferrers refuse
to be there.

After some deliberation with their House, the Commons Conſerrers answered, that since the Lords had so resolved, they should deny to be there, and to hear what his Counsel could say for him, for to reply any more in publick, they neither could nor would, because of the Bill already read, only if their Lordships should take any scruple in the matter of Law, they would be ready to give them satisfaction in a private Conference, and to give publick satisfaction also therein.

The next day the Lords and Commons convened in the great Hall, but they that were of the Committee for the prosecution did not stand at the Barr as before, but sat promiscuously with the rest of their fellows; so that a mouth was not opened for the House of Commons all that day: After they were set, the Lord Steward told the Earl, That the Lords had resolved to give him a fair hearing in the matter of Law, and therefore desired that the Counsel in urging thereof might keep that distance, moderation, and respect to the Judicatory, that was fitting, and not at all to meddle with the matter of fact.

The Earl replied, That in all humility he acknowledged that favour from the Lords, and that it was such an one too, as he could not but

expect from such honourable Peers, and just persons, in whose integrity and goodness (under that which he had placed above) he had reposed his chiefest confidence: for his Counsel they knew much better than himself, what concerned the point of discretion and Reverence, and that he doubted not but that they would give all satisfaction and obedience therein.

Then his Counsel were called to the Barr, which were Mr. Lane the Princes Attorney, Mr. Gardiner the Recorder of London, and two others.

The Earls
Counsel
called to the
Barr.

Mr. Lane spake first to this purpose.

My Lords, I shall not at all touch the matter of Law farther than to clear your Judgements in one Statute only, viz. 25 Edw. 3. because when the same was alledged by the Lord *Strafford*, in his own defence, that not being convicted of the Letter thereof, he could not be convicted of Treason: I remember the Salvo of the Statute was much insisted upon by those from the House of Commons, as much conducing to their ends. My Lords, I will first speak of the Statute it self, and then of its Salvo or provision: The Statute is, That if any man shall intend the death of the King, his Queen, their Children; Kill the Chancellor, or Judge upon the Bench, imbase the Kings Coyn, or counterfeit the Broad Seal, &c. he shall be convicted and punished as a Traytor. That the Lord *Strafford* comes not within the Letter of this Statute, is not so much as once alledged, nor indeed it cannot be with any reason; all that can be said is, that by relation or by argument, a minore ad majus, he may be drawn into it, yet that this cannot be, I humbly offer these considerations.

Mr. Lanes
Speech to the
Lords in his
behalf.

First, This is a declarative Law, and such are not to be taken by way of consequence, equity or construction, but by the Letter only, otherwise they should imply a contradiction to themselves, and be no more declarative Laws, but Laws of construction or constitutive.

2. This is a penal Law, and such (if our grounds hitherto unquestioned hold good) can admit of no constructions or inferences, for penalties are to perswade the keeping of known Laws, not of Laws conjectural, ambiguous, and by consequence, which perhaps the most learned may not in their disputes question, much less the Subject (who is not obliged to interpret the Statute) doubt of in the point of obedience, yea, rather without any doubt, he is rather to obey the Letter of the Statute, and conceive (and that truly) that he is not liable to the penalty.

3. We have a notable Law, 13 Eliz. cap. 2. whereby it is declared, that the bringing in of Bulls from Rome, to stir up the Subject to mutiny and Rebellion, shall be punished as Treason: Now if by interpretation or by consequence this sence might have been thrust upon the preceeding Statutes, the making of this had been superfluous; yea, the persons then charged with that Crime, might have been impeached of Treason, even before the making of this Act.

Anno 21 Edw. 3. We have a Statute, declaring

1641. claring, that for a Servant to kill his Master is an Act of Treason; and in the 23 year of the same King, a Process of Treason was framed against a man for killing his Father, grounded upon the same argument a minori ad majus: But it was found (and the sentence is yet in the Records that although in the 21 year of Edw. 3. that Argument might have been admitted, yet in the 27 it could not, by reason of the declarative Law, intervening in the 25 year; and this Case comes very home to the point in Law.

My Lords, I will not demand what kind of offence it may be for a man to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Crime doubtless is unnatural and monstrous, and the punishment must keep the same proportion, only I presume to offer these few things to your Lordships consideration:

1. That one or more Acts of Injustice whether maliciously or ignorantly done, can in no sense of Law be called the subversion of the Fundamental Laws; if so, as many Judges (perhaps) so many Traytors; it is very incident to mans nature to err, nor doth the Lord Strafford plead his innocency in oversights, but in Treason.

2. I do remember the Case of John de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, this man in the 28 of Hen. 6. was charged by the House of Commons with Articles of Treason, and those too very like to these against my Lord Strafford.

1. That he had given the King bad advices.
2. That he had embased his Coin.
3. That he had sessed men of War.
4. That he had given out summary Decrees.
5. That he had imposed Taxes.
6. That he had corrupted the Fountains of Justice.
7. That he had perswaded the King to unnecessary War, and the giving over of Anjou in France.

And for all these, though he was charged with High Treason for wronging the right of the Subject, and subverting the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, yet after a long agitation, the matter was found by the Lords of Parliament not to imply Treason, but only Felony. Add to this another, who in the 23 of Hen. 8. was charged for subverting the English Laws, and yet no Treason charg'd upon him. Add to both, the charge of Richard Larks pleaded at the Common Pleas, who was charged with Treason for subverting the Law, but convicted only of Felony. by which you may see, my Lords, what to this time hath been subverting the Laws.

3. It is very considerable, that the Lord Strafford is not charged to have subverted, but only to have intended to subvert the fundamental Laws, and this I conceive, if there were no more, might keep him free from that Statute of the 25 of Edw. 3. For although as touching the King, his Queen and Children, intention is treasonable: yet in all other things there mentioned, there must be action beside intention; for it is not said, if a man do intend to kill a Chancellour, it shall be Treason, but if he doth kill him; and if he doth actually counterfeit the Broad Seal: and although a

man should prepare a furnace, make ready his stamp melt his Bullion, yet if he gives not the Kings impression upon the Coin, all his intentions, yea, his preparations will not serve to make up a Treason.

Ye see therefore, my Lords, that the body of the Statute cannot stick against the Lord Strafford, neither in Letter nor consequence, this is not, that must not be; all that can be said is, that the fact may be Treason by the Common Law. For my part I profess my ignorance, who ever thought the Common Law might declare, but never make a Treason; it might be presupposed that there is a Statute whereupon to build a declaration, and therefore to say there is no Statute for it, it is to say, it is no Treason at all; the Statute ever makes the Treason: and to be declared Treason either by Common Law, or by Parliament, are but two different wayes of proceedings, and must both resolve into one Principle, nay, and which comes home to the point, In the 21 of Edw. 3. To kill a man employed in the Kings War was Treason, and the 23. to kill the Kings Messenger was Treason by declaration of the Common Law, but alwayes by reason of the Statute, yet none of these are Treasons, but Felonies only, because of the intervening Statute of the 25 of Edw. 3. such hath ever been thought the force of its Letter and Declaration: and so I will leave it and a word or two of the Salvo, which is this, that because all particulars could not be enumerated, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treasonable in time to come, should be punished as a Treason.

And according to this reservative, in the 8th year of King Richard 2. one charged before the Kings Bench, was afterward referred to the Parliament; and there though the fact was not contained in the body of the Statute, yet because of the Proviso aforementioned, it was adjudged Treason.

In the 11 year of the same King, the Duke of Ireland, and Nevil Archbishop of York were impeached of High Treason by Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, and notwithstanding the Statute were convicted thereof by the Salvo; but in 21 of the same Rich. 2. the tide turned, and the King had such a hand with the Parliament, that the Sentence was recalled, and those three Noblemen themselves were adjudged Traytors. Again, in 1 Hen. 4. his Successor, that Revocation of the 21 Rich. 2. was repealed, and the Sentence of the 11th of his Reign established; such were the tossings to and fro of Treason, and all because of that uncertain Proviso.

Therefore it was that in the same Parliament 1 Hen. 4. A Petition was preferred by the Nobility, to have Treason limited within some Statute.

Because they knew not what to speak or what to do for fear thereof: And in Cap. 10. an Act was made upon this Petition, that the Salvo should be holden repealed in all times to come, and nothing esteemed Treason but what was literally contained in 25 Edw. 3. and therefore it is said in the Records, That there was great joy at the making of this Act, in that the drawn sword hanging over every mans head by this slender thred of a consequence or illation, was removed by that Act.

1641. *Ad.* Add to this, that in the 1 of Qu. Mary, Cap. 1. the same is repeated, That no man shall be punished in life or estate as a Traytor, but for the Crime contained in the Statute of the 25 Edw. 3. without the least mention of the pretended Salvo.

The Earl of Northumberland's Case comes nigh to the point, he was charged with Treason, the 5 of Hen. 4. and if the Statute of the 1 of H. 4. Chap. 10. whereby this Proviso is repealed, had not interven'd, no doubt he had been condemned of Treason, but he was only convicted of Felony, and that because he could not be drawn within the Letter of the Statute of the 25 of Edward 3. And I dare confidently say it, that since that Act was made the 1 of Henry 4. Chap. 10. whereby the Proviso is repealed, no man hath ever been declared a Traytor either by King or Parliament, except it were upon that, or some other Statute literally and declaratively taken. These two things I do offer to your Lordships considerations: That the Lord Strafford cannot be impeached of Treason by the Statute of the 25 Edw. 3. and that the Salvo contained in the same, stands repealed almost two hundred years ago. And this is all I conceive to be necessary for that Statute which was alledged by the Lord Strafford in his defence for matter of Law.

The Recorder said, he could add nothing to what the former Counsel had spoken for matter of Law; but if their Lordships would state unto him any further questions, he was ready to give his resolution according to his best ability.

No answer was made to this motion, but the Lords and Commons adjourned to their respective Houses, without appointing any time for the next meeting.

The Commons were resolv'd to proceed upon the Bill of Attainder, which was so extraordinary a thing, that it did not pass without great debate. The Lord Digby then a Member of the Commons House, and one of the most active Prosecutors of him, was so satisfied with his Answers at his Tryal, that he could not but shew a dislike to the passage of it, upon every occasion that occur'd in the reading or debating thereof, which made Pym and some others that were resolv'd on the business, to do what they could to blast his credit in the House, but yet when the last reading of the Bill was in the Commons House, he gave so generous a testimony against it, That it may not be unfit to record what he then said, in this History:

Mr. Speaker,

We are now upon the point of giving (as much as in us lies) the final Sentence unto death or life, on a great Minister of State, and Peer of this Kingdom, Thomas Earl of Strafford, a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment.

I have had the honour to be employed by the House in this great business, from the first hour that it was taken into consideration: it was a matter of great trust, (and I will say it with confidence) that I have not only served the House in it with industry, according to my ability, but with most exact faithfulness and secrecy.

1641. And as I have hitherto discharged my duty to this House, and to my Countrey in the progress of this great cause, so I trust I shall do now in the last period of it to God, and to a good Conscience.

I do wish the peace of that unto my self, and the blessings of Almighty God to me and my Posterity, according as my judgement on the life of this man shall be consonant with my heart, and the best of my understanding in all integrity.

I know well, Master Speaker, that by some things I have said of late, whilst this Bill was in agitation, I have raised some prejudices upon me in this cause.

Yea, some (I thank them for their plain-dealing) have been so free as to tell me, that I suffered much by the backwardness I have shewn in this Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford, against whom I have been formerly so keen, so active.

Mr. Speaker, I desire of you and the rest of this House a suspension of Judgement concerning me, till I have opened my heart unto you freely and clearly in this business.

Truly Sir, I am still the same in my opinions and affections as unto the Earl of Strafford, I confidently believe him the most dangerous Minister, the most insupportable to free Subjects, that can be charactered.

I believe his practises in themselves as high, as tyrannical as any Subject ever ventur'd on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the Devil the application. In a word, I believe him still that grand Apostate to the Common-wealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatch'd to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch, I protest as my Conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off.

Let me unfold unto you the Myserie, Mr. Speaker.

I will not dwell much upon justifying unto you my seeming variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between Prosecutors and Judges.

How mis-becoming that fervour would be in a Judge, which perhaps was commendable in a Prosecutor. Judges we are now, and must put on another personage.

It is honest and noble to be earnest in order to the discovery of truth, but when that hath been brought as far as it can to light, our judgement thereupon ought to be calm and cautious.

In prosecution upon probable grounds, we are accountable only for our industry or remissness, but in Judgement we are deeply responsible to God Almighty, for its rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life, the Judge is God's Steward of the parties blood, and must give a strict account for every drop.

But as I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not insist long upon this ground of difference in me now, from what I was formerly.

The truth on't is, Sir, the same ground whereupon I wish the rest of the five to whom you first

1641.

first committed the consideration of my Lord of Strafford) brought down our opinion that it was fit he should be accused of Treason, upon the same ground I was engaged with earnestness in his prosecution; and had the same ground remained in that force of belief with me, which till very lately it did, I should not have been tender in his condemnation. But truly Sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our accusation, that spur to our prosecution, and that which should be in the basis of my judgement of the Earl of Strafford as unto Treason, is to my understanding quite vanished away.

This it was Mr. Speaker:

His advising the King to employ the Army of Ireland to reduce England.

This I was assured would be proved, before I gave my consent to his Accusation. I was confirmed in the same belief during the prosecution, and fortified in it most of all since Sir Henry Vanes preparatory examinations, by the assurances which that worthy Member Master Pym gave me, that his Testimony would be made convincing, by some Notes of what passed at the Juncto concurrent with it, which I ever understanding to be of some other Counsellour, you see now prove but a Copy of the same Secretaries Notes, discover'd and produced in the manner you have heard, and those, dis-joynted fragments of the venomous part of discourses, no results; no Conclusions of Counsels, which are the only things that Secretaries should register; there being no use at all of the other, but to accuse and to bring men into danger.

But Sir, this is not that which overthrows the evidence with me, concerning the Army of Ireland, nor yet that all the Juncto upon their Oaths remember nothing of it.

But this Sir, which I shall tell you, is that which works with me, under favour, to an utter overthrow of this evidence, as unto that of the Army of Ireland; Before whilst I was a Prosecutor, and under eye of secrecy, I might not discover any weakness of the cause, which now as a Judge I must. Master Secretary was examined thrice upon Oath at the preparatory Committee.

The first time he was questioned to all the Interrogatories, and to that part of the seventh which concerns the Army of Ireland, he said positively in these words, I cannot charge him with that. But for the rest, he desired time to recollect himself, which was granted him.

Some dayes after he was examined a second time, and then deposed these words, concerning the Kings being absolved from Rules of Government, and so forth, very clearly, but being prest to that part, concerning the Irish Army, again, said he could say nothing to that.

Here we thought we had done with him, till divers weeks after my Lord of Northumberland and all others of the Juncto, denying to have heard any thing concerning those words of reducing England by the Irish Army, it was thought fit to examine the Secretary once more, and then he deposes these words to have been said by the Earl of Strafford to his Majesty:

You have an Army which you may imploy here to reduce (or some word to that sense) this Kingdom.

Mr. Speaker, these are the circumstances, which I confess with my conscience, thrust quite out of doors that grand Article of our Charge, concerning his desperate advice to the King, of employing the Irish Army here.

Let not this I beseech you, be driven to an aspersiō upon Master Secretary, as if he should have sworn otherwise than he knew or believ'd, he is too worthy to do that; only let thus much be inferred from it, that he who twice upon Oath with time of recollection, could not remember any thing of such a business, might well a third time mis-remember somewhat: and in this business the difference of one letter; here for there, or that for this, quite alters the case, the latter also being the more probable, since it is confest of all hands, that the debate then was concerning a War with Scotland, and you may remember at the Bar he once said to imploy there. And thus, Mr. Speaker, I have faithfully given you an account what it is that hath blunted the edge of the Hatchet or Bill with me towards my Lord of Strafford.

This was that whereupon I accused him with a free heart, prosecuted him with earnestness, and had it to my understanding been proved, should have condemned him with innocence; Whereas now I cannot satisfy my conscience to do it.

I profess I can have no notion of any bodies intents to subvert the Laws treasonably, or by force, and this design of force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount so high with me.

I can find a more easie and more natural spring, from whence to derive all his other Crimes, than from an intent to bring in Tyranny, and to make his own Posterity as well as us slaves; as from Revenge, from Pride, from Avarice, from Passion, and Insolence of Nature.

But had this of the Irish Army been proved, it would have diffused a complexion of Treason over all, it would have been a Withe indeed, to bind all those other scattered and lesser branches, as it were into a Faggot of Treason.

I do not say but the rest may represent him a man as worthy to dye, and perhaps worthier than many a Traytor. I do not say, but they may justly direct us to Enact that they shall be Treason for the future.

But God keep me from giving Judgement of death on any Man, and of ruine to his innocent Posterity, upon a Law made à posteriori.

Let the Mark be set on the door where the Plague is, and then let him that will enter, dye.

I know, Master Speaker, there is in Parliament a double power of life and death by Bill, a Judicial power, and a Legislative: the measure of the one is what's legally just, and the other, what is prudentially and politickly fit for the good and preservation of the whole. But those two, under favour, are not to be confound-

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1641.

ded in Judgement. We must not piece up want of Legality with matter of Convenience, nor the defaultance of prudential fitness, with a pretence of legal Justice.

To condemn my Lord of Strafford Judicially as for Treason, my conscience is not assured that the matter will bear it.

And to do it by the Legislative power, my reason consultively cannot agree to that, since I am perswaded neither the Lords nor the King will pass the Bill, and consequently, that our passing it will be a cause of great divisions and combustions in the State.

And therefore my humble advice is, that laying aside this Bill of Attainder, we may think of another, saving only life, such as may secure the State from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it as much by division concerning his punishment, as he hath endangered it by his practices.

If this may not be hearkened unto, let me conclude in saying that unto you all, which I have thoroughly inculcated to mine own conscience upon this occasion. Let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and sadly consider what we are going to do, with a breath, either Justice or Murder; Justice on the one side, or murder heightened and aggravated to its supreamest extent: For as the Casuists say, that he who lies with his Sister, commits Incest, but he that marries his Sister, sins higher, by applying Gods Ordinance to his Crime: So doubtless, he that commits murder with the Sword of Justice, heightens that Crime to the utmost.

The danger being so great, and the case so doubtful, that I see the best Lawyers in diametrical opposition concerning it, Let every man wipe his heart, as he does his eyes, when he would judge of a nice and subtil object. The eye if it be prelincted with any colour, is vitiated in its discerning. Let us take heed of a blood-shotten eye of Judgement.

Let every man purge his heart clear of all passions (I know this great and wise Body Politick can have none, but I speak to individuals, from the weakness which I find in my self.) Away with personal animosities, away with all flutteries to the people, in being the sharper against him, because he is odious to them; away with all fears, lest by the sparing of his blood they may be incensed; away with all such considerations, as that it is not fit for a Parliament, that one accused by it of Treason should escape with life.

Let not former vehemence of any against him, nor fear from thence, that he cannot be safe while that man lives, be an ingredient in the sentence of any one of us.

Of all these corruptives of Judgement, Mr. Speaker, I do before God discharge my self to the uttermost of my power.

And do with a clear Conscience wash my hands of this mans Blood, by this solemn Protestation, That my Vote goes not to the taking off the Earl of Straffords life.

The Earls
enemies
greatly
offended
at
this Speech.

At this Speech those were much offended who designed the death of this Earl, and they were so factious in the pursuit of it, that they took the Names of all the dissenters upon a division of the

House when the Bill pass'd, and caus'd them to be dispersed among their party in the City, who came in great tumults to Westminster to clamour for Justice, and in the Old Palace-Yard in Westminster those dissenters were posted up, to be exposed to the fury of the ungoverned multitude, made at this time so mad and violent, that some of them were heard to say, If they could not have the Earl of Straffords life, they would have the Kings; and in their Paper they called the moderate part of the House of Commons *Straffordians*. The Names of whom were these; Lord Digby, Lord Compton, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Hatton, Sir Thomas Fanshaw, Sir Edward Alford, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Sir Thomas Danby, Sir George Wentworth, Sir Peter Wentworth, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Sir William Carnaby, Sir Richard Winn, Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir William Witherington, Sir William Pennyman, Sir Patrick Curwent, Sir Richard Lee, Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir William Portman, Mr. Gervase Hollis, Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Mr. Cook, Mr. Coventry, Mr. Ben. Weston, Mr. Will. Weston, Mr. Selden, Mr. Alford, Mr. Floyd, Mr. Herbert, Captain Digby, Sergeant Hide, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Scowen, Mr. Bridgeman, Mr. Fettiplace, Dr. Turner, Captain Charles Price, Dr. Parry, Civilian, Mr. Arundel, Mr. Newport, Mr. Holburn, Mr. Noel, Mr. Kirton, Mr. Pollard, Mr. Price, Mr. Travannian, Mr. Jane, Mr. Edgcombe, Mr. Chilckly, Mr. Mallery, Mr. Porter, Mr. White Secretary to the Earl of Dorset, and Mr. Warwick.

The same afternoon this Bill of Attainder was carried up to the Lords House, where it rested many dayes, and had probably never passed, had not many of the Peers been terrified from coming to the House by the tumultuous multitude, in whom such fears and jealousies were infused by the artifices of some of the Members of both Houses, that when any debate was like to be carried against them in either House, they would send for great numbers of them with swords and clubs, who would menace, reproach, and assault such Members as disliked them; But notwithstanding all this violence of prosecution, the Lords were much unsatisfied, and so many scruples were started by them, that a conference was desired with the Commons to resolve them, and it was agreed that *Oliver St. John* the Kings Solicitor should on the 29th of this Moneth give their Lordships an account in publick in Westminster-Hall of the reasons impelling the House of Commons to proceed by Bill, ordering also that the Earl of Strafford should then be present. Whilest these things were in agitation, many consultations were had about raising money for the paying and disbanding the *English* and *Scotch* Armies in the North, and other matters relating thereunto.

The Commons had Voted to give three hundred thousand pounds to the *Scots* as a fit proportion for recompense of their losses and necessities occasion'd by this War, notwithstanding the great Levies made by them for their subsistence in the Northern Counties; but those that invited them hither, for their own purposes were effected, cared not into what extremity the Kingdom was brought,

1641.

Of the
History of
Charles
pag. 238.

The Names
of those that
refused to
pass the Bill
of Attainder.

Artifices
used to make
the Bill pass
in the Lords
House.

The Com-
mons Vote
300000 lib.
to the Scots.

1641. brought, and therefore they gave many delays to the Scotch Treaty, and to the disbanding the Armies, and the raising money for these ends: and one of them said, *They could not yet spare them, that the sons of Zerviah were too strong for them:* but upon a debate of these matters in the House of Commons, when many discourses were made of the necessities of the Northern parts, occasioned by the Scotch Army, and one Mr. Gervase Holles a Burgess for Newborne upon Trent said, *That the best way of paying them, was by Arms to expel them forth of the Kingdom:* They took such offence at his speech, that they speedily call'd him to the Bar, and being not satisfied with what he said there, they expelled him from the House.

Mr. Stroud's
Exact Col-
lection, pag.
521.

Mr. Gervase
Holles expelled
the House
for a Speech
concerning
the Scotch
Army.

These transactions were carried on with great heat by a clamorous pretended necessity of Reformation in Church and State, and the people were perswaded to believe their Religion and Liberties had been lost if the Scots had not interposed at this time; wherefore that the time of the Armies stay may be prolonged till such alterations in Church and State were made as they designed, all things were urged that might heighten the jealousies of the people, and at this time many apprehensions were raised of danger by the exercise of Popery and their access to the Court, as also of the continuance of the Army in Ireland: So that a Petition was presented to the King, for three things touching those matters:

A Petition
presented to
the King.

1. For removing of all Papists from Court:
2. For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.
3. For disbanding the Irish Army.

To all which the King the 28th delivered answer contrarily thus:

The Kings
Answer to
the Petition.

For the first, They all knew what legal trust the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say anything to give them assurance that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.

For the second, He is content it shall be done according to Law.

For the last, He had entred into consultation about it, and found many difficulties therein, and he doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he doth conjure them speedily, and heartily to joyn with him in disbanding those two in England.

The day after the King had given his answer, the Earl of Strafford in pursuance of what was before resolved, was brought into Westminster-Hall before a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, where Mr. St. John did endeavour to satisfy the Lords in the reasonableness of the Bill of Attainder to induce them to pass it; for though their Proofs at the Tryal were insufficient, and nothing but legal evidence could prevail in Judicature, by this way both Lords and Commons might proceed by the light of their own Consciences without any further proof whatsoever: And so it was expressly affirmed by Mr. St. John in the speech he then made, wherein he said:

Mr. St. J. has
Reasons to
the Lords
for the Bill
of Attainder.

That although single testimony might be sufficient to satisfy private Consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill private satisfaction to each mans Conscience is sufficient, although no evidence had been given at all.

And towards the conclusion of what he said after many aggravations of the Earls offences tending (as he said) to subvert our Laws; he told them, *He that would not have had others to have Law, should not have any himself. It is true (said he) we give Law to Hares and Deer, because they be Beasts of Chase. It was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be Beasts of prey: the Warrener sets Traps for Powlcats and other Vermin, for preservation of the Warren.*

1641.

Upon the Close of this Speech the Lords and Commons rose, nor was there a word spoken but by Mr. St. John, only the Earl by a kind of dumb eloquence, often holding up his hands towards Heaven, all along the Speech made his reply with a deep silence; and the next day, he petitioned the Lords to be heard again, alleadging that his Lawyers had not fully spoken at their last meeting; but this was denyed him, and many of the Lords shewed greater propensity towards the Earls condemnation than before; whereof the King being inform'd, he came the next day to the House of Peers, and having sent for the House of Commons, he spoke to them to this purpose:

The Earls
Petition for
a second
hearing denyed.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I had no intention to have spoken to you of this business to day, which is the great business of the Earl of Strafford, because I would do nothing which might hinder your occasions. But Judgement being ready to be past on him, I think it most necessary to declare my conscience therein.

The Kings
Speech concerning
the
Earl of
Strafford.

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great Cause, from one end to the other: and I must tell you that in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this business, I am sure you will not expect it, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince, yet must I tell you three truths, which I am sure no man can tell so well as my self.

1. *That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish Army into England, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.*

2. *That there was never any debate before me, either in publick Council, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.*

3. *That I was never Counsell'd by any to alter the least of any of the Laws of England, much less to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it; For if they had, I should have made them such an Example, and put such a mark upon them, that all Posterity should know my intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.*

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell you in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet cannot I clear him of Misdemeanors; therefore I hope you may find out a way to satisfy Justice, and your own fears, and not oppress my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender Conscience is, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfy my People I would do great matters, but in this of Conscience, neither fear, nor any

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other

1641. other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.

Certainly I have not deserved so ill of this Parliament at this time, that they should press me in this tender point, therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. Nay, I must confess for Mis-demeanors; I am so clear in them, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you that I think my Lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve Me, or the Common-Wealth in any Place of Trust, no not so much as a Constable. Therefore I leave it to you my Lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of this strait, and keep your selves and the Kingdom from such inconveniencies.

The Solemnization of the Marriage of the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, eldest Daughter to the King. Tumults at Westminster.

This coming of the King, and the Speech then made, relisht so ill with the two Houses, that few of them attended on the Solemnities of the next day, May 2. being Sunday, on which the Kings eldest Daughter married to the Prince of Orange, and the next day five or six thousand of Prentices and other tumultuous Citizens came down to Westminster, most of them arm'd with swords, and demanded of the Lords as they went to the House, Justice and Execution against the Earl of Strafford, and many of them they likewise affronted in their passage.

The same day intimation was given to the House of Commons of practices upon the English Army, to bring them up to London to awe the Parliament; which was an artifice used by some leading men, to add to those distractions already raised to fill the minds of the people with fears and jealousies, when in truth all that appeared in reference thereunto amounted only to this:

A Petition from the Army presented to the Parliament.

Observation being made of the great tumults about Westminster, which seem'd to threaten the safety of such of the Members of both Houses as were known not to agree with the designs of some passionate men, who countenanc'd the delivering of Petitions attended and subscrib'd by the hands of many thousands against the Laws and establish'd Government of the Kingdom, (which yet seem'd to receive some countenance, and to carry some authority, as instances of the affections of so many persons:) it fell into the thoughts of some Officers of the Army of known, and publick affections to their Countrey, that a Petition of a modest and a dutiful nature from the whole Army, For the composing and settling all Grievances in the Church and State by Law, might for the reason of it prevail with the whole House, and coming from such a Body might confirm those, who might be shaken with any fears of power or force by the Tumults: but even this in the debate of it had so many intervening difficulties, that it was laid aside two months before any discovery, yet nevertheless this Alarm gave occasion to the Commons immediately to frame a Protestation, which the same day it was made, was imposed upon all the Members before they were permitted to go out of the House, and was taken by all of them, except the Lord Digby and an Uncle of his, and shortly after, it was sent to the Lords, and by them taken also, and afterwards by an order of the House of Commons, all the Subjects of England were injoyn'd to take it, under pain of being thought unfit of bearing any office either in Church or Common-

wealth, to which the Lords would not consent. The Protestation was in these words;

1641.

I A. B. do in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realm contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royal Person, Honour and Estate; as also the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every Person that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawfull pursuance of the same. And to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good wayes and means, endeavour to bring to condign Punishment all such as shall either by Force, Practice, Plots, Counsels and Conspiracies, or otherwise do any thing, to the contrary of any thing in this present Protestation contained. And further, That I shall in all just and honourable wayes, endeavour to preserve the union and Peace between the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland: And neither for fear, nor other respect shall relinquish this Promise, Vow and Protestation.

The Protestation taken by both Houses, and the Subjects of Eng. and.

How this Protestation was observ'd by most of them that took it, will be discovered hereafter.

On the fifth of May, ground was taken from the great apprehensions of the House of Commons, that the Parliament might be dissolv'd before Justice should be done upon Delinquents, publick Grievances redrest, a firm Peace betwixt England and Scotland concluded, and before Provision should be made for the re-payment of such moneys as should be taken up upon Credit to answer the immediate emergencies that were at that time in the State, to debate of the necessity of a Bill for the continuance of this Parliament not to be prorogu'd or adjourn'd, but by Act of Parliament, in which there was such haste made, that within two dayes after the first mention of it, it was pass'd in the House of Commons, and carried up to the Lords, where it staid not long, for the temptation was too great to let a Bill of this Nature be laid aside, and in a few dayes after it came before them, (viz.) On Saturday the eighth of May, both that, and the Bill of Attainder were pass'd; The Bill of Attainder had a hard passage, of forty five present, there were nineteen against it, there were many of the Earls friends that absent-ed themselves for fear of the tumults, otherwise the suffrages for him, had more than counterpois'd the Votes for his death: the same day they sent to the King, to desire access to him, which was granted, and about four a clock they attend-ed in the Banqueting house at Whitehall, where after some stay, these two Bills were presented to him, with a signification, that the present danger of the Kingdom could not admit of delay, and therefore they humbly besought him, to give his Royal assent thereunto; The King told them they should expect his answer on Monday, and so they parted from each other.

A Bill for the continuance of the Parliament passed by both Houses. The Lords also pass the Bill of Attainder.

They present both to the King, requesting his Royal assent.

On the next day which was Sunday, the King sends

1641. sends for the Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, whom he desired as *Casuits* to advise him, whether in Justice he ought to pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl? all but the Bishop of *Lincoln*, were very tender in this affair, the matters of fact they say he could himself best judge of, having been present at the Tryal; and for the matter of Law, what was Treason, and what not, he was to rest in the Opinion of the Judges, whose office it was to declare the Law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his Subjects, that the King might shew mercy to him, and pardon his offence, without any scruple of conscience, they said no man doubted, if other reasons of State did not hinder, of which the major part desired neither to be Judges nor Advisers; but the Bishop of *Lincoln* went a little farther, he urged the opinion of the Judges, and the Judgement of the Parliament thereupon, representing the terrible consequences of an enraged multitude, and that no other expedient could be found out to appease the people: It is not said the King was convinced by any thing said to him at this Conference, but the motive superiour to all, was a Letter he received from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded.

The King consults with the Bishops about the Case of the Earl as to matter of Conscience.

SIR,

The Earls Letter to the King for the freeing of his Conscience.

(To set Your Majesties Conscience at liberty,) I do most humbly beseech You, for the preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by Your refusal, to pass the Bill. By this means to remove praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but I confess this unfortunate thing forth of the way, towards that blessed agreement which God (I trust) shall forever establish betwixt You and Your Subjects. Sir, My consent herein shall more acquit You to God, than all the World can do besides: To a willing man there is no injury done. And as by Gods Grace I forgive all the World, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging Soul; So Sir, I can give up the life of this World with all cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgement of Your exceeding Favours, and only beg that in Your Goodness, You would vouchsafe to cast Your gracious regard upon my poor Son, and his three Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or less guilty of this death. God preserve Your Majesty.

Your Majesties Most Humble and Faithful Subject, and Servant,

STRAFFORD.

The King signs a Commission to pass the two Bills.

On the next day in the morning he signed a Commission to the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal the Earl of *Pembroke*, and others, for the passing of the two Bills, the one for the continuation of the Parliament, the other the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*, than which Concession never any thing passed from him with greater Reluctancy at the present, or which he bewailed afterward with greater remorse of conscience; for those themselves that framed it, knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be hereafter to the lives and fortunes of the

Subjects to let such a president remain in force; a clause was added to the Bill, that it should not be drawn into example for the time to come: which because it may seem strange to them that know it not, we shall here insert so much of the enacting part thereof as concerns this point, (for the Preamble is only a recital of the heads of the Accusation.)

1641.

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; That the said Earl of *Strafford* for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforesaid; stand and be adjudged and attainted of High Treason, and shall suffer such pain of death, and incur such forfeiture of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, of any Estate of Free-hold or Inheritance in the said Kingdoms of England and Ireland, which the said Earl or any other to his use, or in trust for him, have, or had the first day of the sitting of this present Parliament, or at any time since. Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been made.

Thus have we Treason and no Treason in the self-same action; that being judged Treason in this one man. which never was to be judged Treason in any other.

What inducements the King had to pass this Act, and with what regret he did it, we have heard, but * who drew him to the other may be now inquired, some attribute it to the Lord Say then Master of the Wards, and one of his Majesties Privy Council, who as it is reported when the King asked him if a continuance for seven years might not serve the turn, made answer, that he hoped they would dispatch all businesses in so many Moneths, and that if his Majesty passed the Bill, it should be so far from the making the Parliament Perpetual, that he was confident they would desire to be dissolved before three years end; but most lay the blame on the Marquess of *Hamilton*, who by cutting out so much work for the King in *England*, doubted not to carry on his designs in *Scotland* without interruption, for it is credibly said, that he did brag much of this service when he was in that Kingdom, affirming frequently, that he had got a perpetual Parliament for the *English*, and would procure the like for the *Scots* before he had done: Although the King signed the Commission for passing of these Acts, yet the Royal assent was not given to them till the tenth of *May*, and on the next day, the King wrote to the Lords by the Prince of *Wales*, in these words.

* The Act for continuance of the Parliament.

My Lords,

I did yesterday satisfy the Justice of the Kingdom by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*. But Mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King as Justice, I desire in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in some close imprisonment, yet so, that if

The King gives his Royal assent to the two Acts.

The King's Letter to the Lords in behalf of the Earl of *Strafford*.

1641. if he ever make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick business, especially with me, either by Message or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further process. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to me.

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, who is of all your House most dear unto me: So I desire that by Conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment; likewise assuring you, that the exercise of Mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law in so important a Case.

I will not say that your complying with me in this my intended Mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances. But if no less than his life can satisfy my People, I must say, Fiat Justitia. Thus again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,

Your unalterable and affectionate friend
Charles R.

If he must dye, it were Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

The Lords
send to satisfy
the King about
this matter.

This Letter was twice read in the House of Peers, who after consideration thereof, sent 12 of their number to the King, to signify to him, that neither of the two intentions expressed in the Letter, could with duty in them, or without danger to his Consort the Queen, be possibly admitted. Which being accomplished, and more expressions offered, the King suffered no more words to come from them, but said, that what he intended by his Letter, was with an If, if it may be done without discontentment to his people. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, Fiat Justitia.

My other intention proceeding out of Charity, for a few dayes respite, was upon certain information that his estate was so distracted that it necessarily required some few dayes for the settlement thereof.

Whereunto the Lords answered, their purpose was to be suiters to his Majesty for favour to be shewed to his innocent Children, and if himself had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well pleasing to his Majesty, who hereupon departed from the Lords. At his Majesties departure they offered up into his hands the Letter itself which he had sent. But he pleased to say, What I have written to you, I shall be content it be registred by you in your House. In it you see my mind, I hope you will use it to mine Honour.

Upon Wednesday the 12 of May, the Earl was summoned to his period: He was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained Bands. Before him went the Marshalls men, next the Sheriffs Officers with Halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earls Gentleman-Usher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himself accompanied with the Primate of Armagh and others. Upon his first coming forth, being to pass near the Archbishops lodging (who stood at the window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his eyes, and espying the Arch-bishop, bestowed a low obeysance towards him, saying,

My Lord, your Prayers, and your Blessing: the Arch-bishop lifted up his hands, and bestowed both; but overcome with grief fell to the ground in *animi deliquio*. The Earl proceeding a little farther, he bowed the second time, saying, Farewel my Lord, God protect your innocence.

Being brought to the Scaffold, he addresseth his Speech to the Lord Primate to this effect:

My Lord Primate of Ireland,

It is my very great comfort that I have your Lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you this many years, and I do thank God and your Lordship for it that you are here. I am come hither by the good will and pleasure of the Almighty to pay that last debt I owe to sin, and to submit to that judgement which hath passed against me. I do it with a very contented and quiet mind; I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world. I thank God, I can say it, and truly too, my Conscience bearing me witness, that in all my employment since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual prosperity of King and People, although it hath been my ill fortune to be misconstrued.

There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did alwayes think the Parliaments of England, were the most happy Constitutions that any Kingdom or Nation lived under, and the best means under God to make the King and people happy.

For my death I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purposes of my heart, I am not made guilty of what I die for. And it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so heavy a punishment as this.

I wish this Kingdom all prosperity and happiness, and desire every one who hears me, to consider seriously, whether the Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood. Let me never be so unhappy as that the least drop of my Blood should rise up in Judgement against any of you, but I fear you are in the wrong way.

I Profess that I dye a true and obedient Son of the Church of England wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

This said, he desired all present to assist him in his Prayers, wherein he continued near a quarter of an hour, then rising up he bade all his friends farewell, especially by name his Brother Sir George Wentworth, by whom he sent his love to his wife, and blessing to his Children, willing him to charge his Son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church.

Then he addresseth himself to the Block, and having prayed a while, he gave the Executioner the token of his preparedness, whereat the Heads-man doing his office, severed his head from his Body, at the first stroke. Thus dyed this unfortunate Earl. A Gentleman he was of excellent indowments, of a happy fluency in Speech, and of a searching and sound Judgement in Counsel, and alwayes faithful to his Master therein. The Scots designing some alterations in that Kingdom pre-

1641.

The Earl of
Strafford's
Speech on
the Scaffold
directed to
the Lord
Primate of
Ireland.

He is be-
headed.

His Chara-
cter.

1641. prejudicial to the Kings Government there both in Church and State, were opposed therein by him, which made him formidable to them, and they therefore became his mortal Enemies, so that some said, he suffered not so much a sacrifice to the Scots revenge, as to their fear: his Character is expressed by the King his Master, who said, He looked upon the Earl of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to imploy him in the greatest affairs of State.

EIKON BASILIKH. Chap. 2.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors and many enemies: whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a Sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a Popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity.

The Earls Children restored to their Honour and Estates.

His Children were restored to their Honour and Estates on the Petition of the Lords and Commons; and the Commons were seemingly most favoured therein, to make some recompence to them, or to give proof to the Nobility (lest they should be scared by the example) that not so much the estate as the man was aimed at; but when the Kingdom had need of that head for its service, they could not restore it; for at this time our want of his great abilities makes them better understood than our fruition of them, so dark is our humane understanding in preserving that, which is useful and vertuous amongst us.

The King sent Sir Thomas Roe to the Diet at Ratisbone to assist his Nephew.

Though we were enter'd into great distempers at this time, yet the King was mindful of the restitution of his Nephew the Elector Palatine, who was to attend the Emperour at a Diet to be held at *Ratisbone*, and Sir *Thomas Roe* was appointed Embassadour from hence, to assist him there, and to add to the reputation of the Embassie, the Parliament joyned with the King in a Manifesto on the Electors behalf, but no success ensued.

The Parliament now in good security and power, began to think themselves concerned to disband both the Armies.

The Scots by the first cessation, were limited but for a Moneth, but they having resolved not to part with them, till they had procured the passage of several Laws in agitation, their stay was from time to time enlarged, till there was almost nothing left for the King to grant, as by several of the Acts hereafter mentioned may appear.

The Earls of Hartford, Essex, Bedford, Warwick, Lord Say with some others made Privy Counsellors.

The Triennial Parliament before spoken of was a great concession, for thereby the power of calling Parliaments, in case of neglect or refusal, was put into the hands of Sheriffs, and Constables, which every one thought a great foundation of confidence betwixt the King and his People: but because many of the peoples Grievances were conceived to proceed from the great Liberty of the Council-Board, or from some Orders and directions from them, the King admitted to his Privy-Council, the Earls of *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, and some others, all of them eminently in esteem with the people for their reputation of Honour and Justice, that no irregularities might be there committed: and divers of the Kings most eminent Offi-

cers surrendered their Offices to the King, to enable him the better to gratifie most of them.

The Bishop of *London*'s Office of Treasurer, was put into the hands of five Commissioners; the Earl of *Hartford* was sworn Governour of the Prince in the room of the Earl of *Newcastle*; and the Earl of *Essex* Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household in the place of the Earl of *Pembroke*; the Office of Master of the Wards was resign'd by the Lord *Cottingham*, and conferr'd on the Lord *Say*; and the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*: having thus begun, the King was resolved to proportion remedies to all the visible known Diseases of the State, by the advice and Counsel of both Houses of Parliament, making hitherto no rule to his concession but their asking: Thus they gain'd from him the abolition of the Star-Chamber, a Court formerly erected by Act of Parliament.

1641.

The Lord Treasurer and other great Officers resign up their Place.

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much strictness, having so far out-grown the power of Law that it would not be limited and guided by it, and therefore that Branch of the Statute by which it was erected was repealed.

The Star-Chamber abolished.

The High Commission Court put down.

The Writs for Ship-mony, and all the proceedings in that business were by the Kings consent adjudged void, and the Judgments, Enrolments, and Entries thereupon vacated and cancell'd, though all the Judges had subscrib'd unanimously to the lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared to be the Judge; and moreover, being brought to a publick Tryal, after it had been argued by Counsel on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, there passed a definitive Sentence for it: but this abrogation of Ship-mony, by a Law was not enough, for *Bramston*, *Trevor*, *Weston*, *Davenport*, and *Crawly* five of the Judges that gave their Opinions for it, were Impeached of high Misdemeanors for so doing, and *Barkly* another of the Judges accused of Treason, but no further prosecution was made therein.

Ship-mony relinquish'd by the King.

Five of the Judges for Ship-mony Impeached of high Misdemeanors, and Barkly Accused of Treason.

Under colour of executing the Forest Laws many had been vexed by presentments, fines, and imprisonments; for remedy whereof, the King passed a Law, for the certainty of the Metes, Limits, and Bounds of all the Forests in *England*, with great provision for the ease of the Subject in that behalf, likewise he passed a Law against divers incroachments and oppressions in the Stannary Courts, and in an Act for granting the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage to him, in the Preamble thereof he parted with his Title of Imposing; a power adjudged good, and exercised by former Kings, and though disputed, never resolved against by Judgement in Parliament. And by an Act for regulating the Office for Clerk of the Market, because the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of the people; he consented that no Clerk of the Market of his House, should hereafter execute his Office in any part of the Kingdom, but only within the Verge of the Court, and granted the execution of that Office, to the Mayors and Bailiffs of Towns Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises; and in an Act obtained from him for prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood, he absolutely parted with and discharg'd a right and duty as unquestionably due

Several Laws passed by the King for regulating abuses and disorders in Privileges.

1641.

due to him by the law as any service he could challenge; He parted also with his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, and consented to an Act, for disclaiming of his Power in pressing Soldiers, enjoyed by all his Predecessors for defence of his Person and the Realm: but that which chiefly protracted the disbanding of the Armies, was a Bill tender'd to the House of Commons, for the abolishing of Bishops root and branch, but that took no effect. And now the Treaty between the two Kingdoms being finished, and an Act pass'd for confirmation thereof, the Armies were suddenly to be disbanded, and for that purpose the Earl of *Holland* was made General of the *English* Army, and for the payment of them and other debts of the Kingdom, a Pole-Bill was passed, wherein the whole Kingdom was assessed, every Duke at 100 l. a Marquess at 80 l. Earls 60 l. Viscounts and Barons at 40 l. Knights of the Bath 30 l. Knights Batchelors at 20 l. Esquires 10 l. and every Gentleman disbanding 100 l. per annum, 15 l. and all others of ability, a competent proportion; the meanest through the whole Kingdom was not excused under six pence; As for the 300000 l. voted to be paid to the *Scots* towards a supply of their losses, it was agreed that 100000 l. thereof should be paid at *Midsummer* come twelve-moneth, and the other 200000 l. two years after; which was secured to them by Act of Parliament.

The Treaty between the two Kingdoms confirmed.

Earl of *Holland* made General of the *English* Army. A Pole Bill rais'd for the payment of the Armies.

Both the Armies disbanded. The King takes a journey into *Scotland*.

The King confers honour upon many persons during his abode in *Scotland*.

And on the sixth of *August* both Armies were disbanded, and four dayes after the King began his Journey to *Scotland*, to settle the affairs of that Nation, and on the same day both Houses of Parliament adjourn'd themselves to the 20th of *October*, and a Committee of the House of Commons consisting of fifty Members, was appointed to sit during the recess.

The King at his coming into *Scotland*, was received there with great demonstrations of affection by the people, and to oblige them to him, he confirmed not only the Articles of the Treaty betwixt the two Nations by Act of Parliament, but all his former concessions also, and all such things as had been acted by them in their general assemblies; And likewise the better to please them, he conferr'd Titles of Honour and Dignity on some, and great places of power, trust and profit on others: amongst these the Marquess of *Hamilton* was made Duke of *Hamilton*, General *Lesly* was created Earl of *Leven*, who was so transported with a sense of the Kings favour and bounty to him, that he often protested, and once at *Perth* upon his knees in the House of the Earl of *Kenoul*, that he would never bear Arms against the King.

A while after the King being at *Edenburgh*, some information was given to the Marquesses of *Hamilton* and *Argile*, that there was some design upon their persons, which made them for some few dayes withdraw themselves from the Parliament out of *Edenburgh*, but their persons were of such quality and estimation in *Scotland*, that great care was taken to discover the ground thereof, and after full examination by the Parliament, upon the whole, they themselves, and that great Council were satisfied, that the information first given to them, could not be made good to the proof of any design to the danger of

their persons; but the King who was a little reflected on in the first information, could not conceal his resentment of this carriage in *Hamilton*, and when he delivered to him his Patent of Duke in Parliament (according to the manner of that Nation,) he told him he had not deserved to be mistrusted by him, for he knew well when he was accus'd to him of High Treason, he permitted him even then to lye in his Bed-Chamber: This reproof had no great impression on the new Duke, though he seem'd outwardly much troubled for having given the King so just a cause of displeasure, yet upon the first report of this business at *London* (without staying to hear the opinion of the Parliament of *Scotland*, who had fully examin'd it,) strange interpretations were made upon the matter as highly and nearly concerning the peace of *England*, and a sudden resolution was taken first by the Committee during the recess, and after by the Parliament, to have a guard for the defence of *London*, *Westminster*, and both Houses of Parliament, which troubled the minds of the people with the apprehension of new danger, when they were so lately freed from the fears of two Armies.

About the end of *October* this year, a Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was carried so close, that no certain notice was given of the conspiracy till the very evening before it was to be put in Execution.

A Bloody Rebellion breaks out in *Ireland*.

The innocent Protestants were upon a sudden disseized of their Estates, and the persons of above 200000 men, women and children, murdered, within the space of one Moneth, and many of them with exquisite and unheard of tortures. That which increas'd the wonder of most men was, the consideration that the ancient hatred which the *Irish*, (a thing incident to conquered Nations) had born to the *English*, did now seem to be forgotten; forty years of peace had compacted those two Nations into one body, and cemented them together by all conjunctures of alliance, by intermarriages, and consanguinity, which was in outward appearance strengthened by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of friendly neighbourhood.

This design was to be put in execution on the 23 of *October*, upon which day, not only the Castle of *Dublin*, the Kingdoms chief Magazine, a Storehouse of 10000 arms at that time, but all other Forts and Magazines in that Kingdom, were to be surpriz'd, and all the *English* and Protestants that joyned not with them to be murdered.

The seizure of *Dublin* Castle was prevented by timely discovery of the Plot to the two Lords Justices, by one *Owen O Conally* of *Irish* Extract, but a Protestant, which discovery was but the very night before that fatal day, and the occasion of it very accidental, by one *Hugh Mac Mahon*, Grandson to the great *Tyrone*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, in the County of *Monagan*, and one that had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the King of *Spains* Service, who trusted this *Owen* with some relations concerning it at a Tavern.

O Conally by discovery of the Plot, prevents the seizure of *Dublin* Castle.

Upon which discovery, *Mac Mahon* and the Lord *Mac Guire* were presently apprehended by the Lords Justices, and many Conspirators of great note escaped that night out of *Dublin*; so was *Dublin* saved, that all *Ireland* might not be lost

Mac Mahon and the Lord *Mac-Guire* apprehended.

1641. lost in one day. But the horrid design was past prevention, as to the general; for the Conspirators were up at the day fix'd in all Counties round about; and poor English Protestants arrived at *Dublin* every day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, relating how their Houses were seized, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel outrages committed.

The Earl of Leicester chosen Deputy for Ireland.

The Irish Rebellion occasioned by the Insurrection in Scotland.

The Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Burlace taking those Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could to defend themselves, dispatched Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earl of Leicester, then chosen Deputy, but staying in *England*.

It was generally said, the late insurrection (we must not call it Rebellion) in *Scotland* gave the first encouragement to this in *Ireland*, and the pretences were in many of them the same, namely, for Liberty of Conscience, not to have the English Bishops and Liturgie imposed upon them, and these, as those in *Scotland*, being mighty zealous in their Religion, when once they were possessed with a possibility of compassing their designs, executed whatever the impetuous dictates of Superstition or wicked exhortation of Priests could infuse into them, in this exceeding the actions of the Scots, whose Religion founded on more pious Principles, instructed them not to such bloody wayes of propagation of it.

The King receives intelligence of what hapned in Ireland, and sends Sir James Stuart with instructions thither. He moves the Parliament of Scotland for Aid, which they excuse.

O Conally, the discoverer of the Plot rewarded.

The Lords Justices sent Sir Henry Spotswood to *Scotland* to the King, with intelligence of all that hapned, and thereupon he sent Sir James Stuart to the Lords of the Privy-Council in *Ireland*, to acquaint them with his knowledge and instructions, and to carry all that money that his present stores could supply; He moved also the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being nearest) to a speedy help, but they excused their aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*, but they said, if the State of *England* would use any of their men for that service, they would make propositions in order to it; at the same time likewise he sends Post to the Parliament of *England*, and a while after Owen O Conally the first discoverer of the Plot, brought Letters to *London* to the Earl of Leicester with an account of it, wherein the Lords Justices desired some reward might be given to him; upon the receipt of which the Parliament Voted him a gift of five hundred pounds, and an annuity of 200 lib. a year, and at a Conference of both Houses they resolved to consider of the relief of *Ireland*, and passed several Votes to that end; but little was done for their relief till the King returned to *London*, which was about the end of November.

The Irish pretend the Kings Commission for what they did, thereby to dishearten the English.

The Irish to dishearten the English from any resistance, bragg'd that the Queen was with their Army; that the King would come amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; that they did but maintain his cause against the Puritans; that they had the Kings Commission for what they did (shewing indeed a Patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an old Broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham* Abby by one Plunket, in the presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many.) That the Scots were in Confederacy with them, to beget a faith of which, they abstained for some

time from the Lives and Fortunes of those of that Nation among them.

On the other side to encourage the Natives of their own party, they produced fictitious Letters wherein they were informed from *England*, that the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the Irish should be compelled to the Protestant worship; and the refusers for the first offence should forfeit all their Goods, for the second their Estates, and for the third their Lives. Besides, they presented them with the hopes of Liberty; that the English yoke should be shaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation; and that the Goods and Estates of the English should be divided among the Natives.

And feigned Letters, that the Parliament would compel them to Protestantism.

With these hopes of Spoil and Liberty in the Irish, the Rebellion increased. The Rebels in *Ulster* under the conduct of Sir Phelim O'neal, assisted by Turbeck O'neal his Brother, Rory MacGuire Brother to the Lord MacGuire, Philip O'Rely, Mulvere O'Rely, Sir Canno MacGenness, called MacRuian, and others had possessed themselves of all the strong places in *Ulster*, (*Londonderry*, *Colerain*, and the Town and Castle of *Eniskillen* excepted) many places which the English defended, and they could not either surprize by Treachery, or take by plain force, they had surrendered to them upon composition and Articles, which they afterwards most perfidiously broke, butchering and massacring the poor English without pity or compassion to Age or Sex, though they still spared the Scottish Plantations in *Ulster*, because of their numbers; and likewise for fear of the Scottish Army so easily to be transported into the North parts of *Ireland*, till such time as their General Sir Phelim O'neal (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl of Tyrone, of English Education, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inn*, and a professed Protestant till some time before, having gathered together a numerous Rabble of the Natives, who daily flocked in to him, fell upon their Quarters; where though he exercised not that cruelty upon their persons which he did upon the English, yet he deprived them both of their Goods and Livings, enforcing many of them to fly away naked to the Scottish shore; from thence he marched into the English Pale, and in the beginning of November he took *Dundalk*, and soon after he encamped at *Arde* within seven miles of *Tredagh*.

The Rebels possessed themselves of all strong places in Ulster.

They contrary to Articles of surrender Massacre the poor English but spare the Scots.

The King finding his stay in *Scotland* to be somewhat longer than he expected, that the business of *Ireland* might not suffer thereby, referr'd the whole business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, who had undertaken the Charge and management of the War, wherewith the Earl of Leicester acquainted the Lords Justices, letting them know further, that they had declared a speedy and vigorous assistance, and had designed for their present Supply the sum of 50000 lib. which would be raised with all convenient speed.

The Parliament designs Money for Ireland.

By this time the Lords of the Council of *Ireland* had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of several Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the most part) of Gallant men, as their actions afterwards testified to the World; Sir Charles Coote an active, and valiant man (who was also

made

1641. made Governour of Dublin) with great speed made up his Regiment out of the poor robbed and stripped English which had fled to Dublin; Sir Henry Tichbourn a worthy Commander was dispatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep Tredagh from the approaching Rebels; the Lord Lambert, and Sir Thomas Lucas, Captain Armstrong, Captain Yarnier, with others raised many Companies of Souldiers there.

The Earl of Ormond made Lieutenant General of the Forces there.

This was done about the middle of November; at which time also the Earl of Ormond with his well armed Troop of Horse came to Dublin; wherewith in few days after, he was by a Commission sent from the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (as likewise by the Kings approbation from Scotland signified in a Letter) made Lieutenant General of all the Forces there, who being a person of great estate, credit and reputation in that Kingdom, and a Protestant, did very eminent Service against the Rebels.

The Parliament in prosecution of their great promises, sent over twenty thousand pounds in money, which arrived seasonably at this time, their treasure being much exhausted, by paying the new Companies they had raised, but with this small relief they were much encouraged, and very successful service was performed in divers places against the Irish, but no levies of men were made in England, till the King had disclaimed his power of pressing Souldiers, and thereby laid himself open to those Arms that were afterward raised against him: the first Souldiers they sent was a Regiment under Sir Simon Hartcourt, who arrived in Ireland on the last of December.

A Regiment sent to Ireland under Sir Simon Hartcourt.

The King returns out of Scotland.

Whil' st that Kingdom was thus distressed, the King returned out of Scotland into England about the end of November, and was by the City of London entertained, feasted and conducted to his Palace at White-Hall with as pompous solemnity, and costly expressions of love and duty as ever any King of England was, and the chief of them afterward were feasted by him at Hampton-Court, where several of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon them: but this little prospect of happiness was quickly clouded by a Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom presented to him at Hampton-Court a few days after his arrival there, from the House of Commons, which they prepared for him against his coming to London, wherein all the mistakes and misfortunes which had happened from the Kings first coming to the Crown and before, to that very hour were with great asperity recited.

The Parliament present a Remonstrance to him at Hampton-Court.

Most moderate men wondered at this carriage towards the King, since he had from the first sitting of the Parliament, denied nothing to them they reasonably asked, and when he went to Scotland it was voiced to all, that he parted a gracious King, from a contented people: and in Scotland he gave so much satisfaction to that people (though afterwards as appeared by their unfaithfulness they were perverted) that they caused an Act (then in force) to be published and revived, That it should be detestable and damnable Treason in the highest degree that could be, for any of the Scots Nation conjunctly or singly to levy Arms, or any Military Forces upon any pretence whatsoever, without the Kings Commission.

An Act published in Scotland against levying Arms without the Kings Commission.

Those in the Parliament of England that were ill disposed to the Kings Person and Government (as too many were) were much displeased at these methods of his to gain the affections of his people, and therefore they used all the endeavours they could, to blast him, and this remonstrance as an engine for that work was prepared and brought into the House, where the greatest industry and skill imaginable was used by private solicitations, threats and promises to procure it to pass; the Debate lasted from ten in the morning till three of the Clock the next morning, so that at last they carried it by eleven Voices, when many of the more aged, and persons of best fortunes not accustomed to such watchings were wearied out, and many others not daring to provoke the prevailing faction, left the House: the consent of the Lords was not asked, for of that they despaired, though some of them were too apt to be seduced: this they presented to the King at Hampton-Court, with a Petition before it as sharp as the Remonstrance it self, wherein they desired him;

1641.

A Petition presented with the Remonstrance.

1. To concur with the People for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament, (for which there was yet no Bill passed.)

2. To imploy such people about him as the Parliament might confide: and,

3. Not to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in England, which should accrue to the Crown by reason of the Rebellion, and thereupon they promised to undergo the hazard and expences of the War, and to apply themselves to such Counsels and courses, as may support the Royal Estate with honour and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad.

This Petition and strange Remonstrance, was graciously received by the King, from the hands of the presenters, who were Members of the Commons House; and he promised to answer to them, but in the mean time desired, that the Remonstrance might not be printed and published to the People: the thing it self, and the printing any thing of the like nature, being never heard of, by the direction of the House of Commons till this Parliament, it being the first appeal to the people, and of fatal consequence, both to the King, and many of the busie Actors in this transaction.

The King receives the Petition.

And desires them not to publish the Remonstrance.

But without giving the King leisure to answer, special direction was given for printing the Remonstrance, and equal care taken for the publishing it in all places and parts of the Kingdom: but this did not hinder the King from performing his promise, to answer their Petition, and vindicate himself from those aspersions that were published in the Remonstrance, to lessen or blemish his Reputation with the people.

They contrariwise order it to be published in all parts of the Kingdom.

The King answers the Petition, and vindicates himself from the aspersions of the Remonstrance.

That part of the Petition, that he would not alienate the forfeited and escheated Lands in Ireland, he did not dislike, he said, it might be a resolution very fit for him to take (though he doubted whether it were seasonable to take resolutions of that nature, before the events of the War were seen) and to all the other parts, he gave such modest and gracious replies, (but yet not without some resentment of their dealing towards him) that many of the prime Actors were much discontented, to find their practices so fully discovered, so that they had recourse to their former perillous remedy, the tumults of the multitude to bring about their next design.

For

1641.

The Commons pass a Bill for disabling all Persons in Holy Orders to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction.

The Tumult upon the Lords fighting the Bill, comes to their House, and clamour against the Bishops.

The Commons justify those Tumults.

The Lords direct a Writ to the Sheriffs and Justices to suppress those Tumults.

Whereupon the Constables and Justices are sent for by the Commons.

The Bishops Protestation against the Actions of the Parliament.

For the Commons having passed a Bill for disabling all persons in holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority (wherein the Votes of the Bishops in the House of Peers were taken away) when it came to the Lords House it met with a very cold reception; but the tumultuous Rabble were so insolent, that they assaulted and evil intreated some of the Peers even at the doors of their House, crying out against Bishops, and bending most of their Malice against them, whereby they were deterred from doing their duty; and afterwards they went to *White-Hall*, and made a stand before the Gate in a great body, saying, They would have no more Porters-Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased: and when the Lords at a Conference with the House of Commons, desired they would joyn with them in a Declaration for the suppressing such Tumults, several Speeches were made in justification of them, Mr. *Pym* saying, God forbid that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way.

The Lords having in vain tried this way, appointed by advice of the Judges a Writ to be directed to the Sheriffs and Justices upon divers Statutes to suppress all tumultuous resort, in Obedience to which the Justices appointed the Constables and others to attend about *Westminster*, to hinder that unlawful confux of people, which was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, and the setting forth a Watch was Voted to be a breach of Privilege, and before any conference with the Lords, by whose direction that Legal Writ issued out, the Watch were discharged, and one of the Justices for doing his Duty according to that Writ was sent to the Tower.

These licentious and unpunished Tumults, gave occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without danger of their lives) to frame their Petition and Protestation to the King and Peers, which was to this purpose;

They protested themselves to abominate all actions or opinions tending to Popery, or any malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their Duties in Parliament: But whereas coming to perform that Duty and Service, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in fear of their Lives by multitudes of people, and can find no redress or protection upon complaint made; They therefore humbly protest before his Majesty and the Noble Peers, that saving to themselves all their Rights and Interests of Sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not Sit and Vote in the House of Peers, until his Majesty shall further secure them. And because their fears are not in vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do in all Duty and Humility therefore protest before his Majesty and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence since the 27th of this instant December, 1641. have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass, during this their enforced absence from the said House. Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to Record.

The Lords were so much displeased at this Protestation, that immediately at a Conference with the Commons, they declared it was of dangerous consequence, and deeply intrenching upon the fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliament, at which the Commons took so great a heat, that after a little debate, they passed a resolution by Vote to accuse them of High Treason, and sent Mr. *Glyn* to the Lords House to impeach them thereof, which caused their Commitment to the Tower, where they continued about four Months.

The King thinking himself at this time unsafe at *White-Hall* without a Guard, accepted of the offer of some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a Guard to him, by which means the insolency of the Rabble was in some degree checkt, but they instructed by their heads laboured to make it more unsafe to the King, by seeking on this occasion to raise the rage and jealousy of the whole City against him. For at midnight there were cries made in the Streets of *London*, that all people should arise to their defence, for the King with his Papists were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats in their beds; than which though nothing were more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the people by such Alarms being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness.

The King upon this sent a message to the Common-Council of *London*; complaining of tumultuous assemblies of the people from the City daily resorting to *Westminster*, to the disturbance of that Place and his Palace at *White-Hall*; but the House of Commons to obviate this, petitioned him for a Guard for security of their Persons, alledging, that there was a malignant party; bitterly envenomed against them, who did daily gather strength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldness, as to give out insolent and menacing Speeches against the Parliament itself. It was therefore their humble desires, that they might have a Guard out of the City, Commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household, of whose fidelity to the King and Common-Wealth no question was ever made.

This Petition was denied by the King; but with a solemn engagement of himself by the word of a King, that the security of all, and every one of them from violence was, and ever should be as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his Children; and if this general Assurance would not suffice to remove those apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

The King at such time as he was in *Scotland*, had expostulated with some of the Chiefs among them, touching their coming into *England* in a Hostile manner, and found, that some who were now leading Men in the Houses of Parliament, had invited them to it. And having furnish'd himself with sufficient proofs thereof, he commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against some of them; That is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton* a Member of the House of Peers, *Denzill Hollis* Esq; Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Strode*,

1641.

They are Charged with Treason and Committed to the Tower.

The Parliament petition the King for a Guard.

The King denies the Petition.

1641.
Kimbolton
with five
Members of
the House of
Commons
Charged
with High-
Treason by
the King.

all Members of the House of Commons, appointing him likewise to inform the House of Peers therewith, and with the general matters of the Charge; and at the same time he sent a Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons, to acquaint them that he did accuse, and intend to prosecute the five Members of that House for High Treason and did require that their Persons might be secured in Custody.

The Articles of their Accusation were, to this purpose.

1. That they had endeavoured to subvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legal Power, and to place on Subjects an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power.

2. That they had endeavoured by foul aspersions upon his Majesties Government, to alienate the affections of his People from him.

3. That they endeavoured to draw his late Army from his Obedience, to side with them in trayterous Designs.

4. That they trayterously invited and encouraged a forrain Power to Invade his Majesties Kingdom of England.

5. That they trayterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliament.

6. That they have endeavoured by force and terrour, to compel the Parliament to joyn with them in their trayterous Designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced Tumults against the King and Parliament.

7. That they have trayterously conspired to levy, and actually have levied War against the King.

The Commons
justify the
Accused
Members.

The House of Commons did nothing herein, to comply with the Kings intimation to them concerning the accused Members, but when a Serjeant at Arms was sent to arrest their Persons, there came a countermand from them, by which the Serjeant was deterr'd from doing his Office; for they had Voted, if any person came to attach them without order from that House, they might stand upon their defence, and make resistance.

The King seeing this obstruction of Justice, and that opposition was like to be made if he proceeded in the ordinary way of Justice resolved to go himself to the House of Commons, and by a clear discovery of his intentions, prevent all seeming inconveniences, and in this he was so secret (as he thought) that he discovered it not till the very minute of his going.

The King
comes to the
House of
Commons to
demand the
delivery of
the five
Members.

He therefore took with him the Palsegrave, (his Nephew) and about 100 Lords and Gentlemen, and their followers, and went to the House of Commons, where commanding his Attendance to move no further than the Stairs, to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to any, although provok'd; He himself, with the Palsegrave only, entered the House, and demanded that the accused Persons may be delivered into his hands, with whom he promises to deal no otherwise than according to Law; but they whom he sought, being before inform'd, as it is reported, of the Kings coming, by the secret intelligence of the Countess of Carlisle, had forsok the place, and withdrawn themselves into the City, wherefore the King having renewed his Charge, without injury to any, immediately departed.

This Act of the Kings was Voted by the Commons a breach of Priviledge, and strange Reports and Scandals were raised against him in the City of London, by the friends of the accused Members, as that he had offered violence to the House of Commons, and came thither with force to murder several Members, and used threatening speeches against the Parliament, with which the City was so possess'd, that unusual Watches were set, and Guards placed in several places thereof, as if some desperate attempt or assault were to be made upon it; and as if all men were now absolved from the rules of Obedience; Publick direction is given, for drawing down the Train-bands of the City to Westminster on a day appointed, to guard and bring in triumph the Persons accused of High Treason, as such worthy Patriots, that the Commonwealth it self could not subsist, but with reference to them.

This coming to the knowledge of the King, although many gallant and faithful Servants proffered their Service, to curb any insolencies that should be attempted on him, yet was he resolved to withdraw himself, with the Queen and their Children to Hampton-Court, to give time for their jealousies and rumors to waste and perish. And though the King was not conscious to himself of any error in his first proceeding against these Members, remembering that in a Petition from both Houses of Parliament in the beginning of his Reign, in the Case of the Earl of Arundel it was asserted, that in case of Treason, Felony, and breach of Peace, Priviledge of Parliament doth not extend; yet neither his desisting from the Prosecution of that Impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction.

The King
removes to
Hampton
Court.

But that nothing might be omitted in him to manifest the clearness of his intentions, he sent a Message to the Parliament of the twentieth of January, wherein in gracious expressions he proposed; That since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would comprise and digest them into one entire Body, that so both he and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgement of them; And that it should then appear, by what he would do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too great fears and jealousies of some Persons, seemed to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.

The Kings
Message to
the Parlia-
ment.

This Message was received by the Parliament with thanks, and most people expected very good effects of it, but the accused Members and their faction, fearing this good disposition of the King might put an end to their Empire, cast about all wayes how they might obstruct the settlement of affairs, and in a Petition to the King on pretence the better to enable them to discharge their duties in those matters, they desired him to raise up to them a sure ground of confidence by putting the Tower of London into their hands, together with the Command of the Royal Navy, as also all the Forts, Castles, and Train-Bands of the Kingdom, all which they comprehended under the Name of the Militia: This Petition was ill relish'd

The Com-
mons Peti-
on the King
to have the
Militia put
into their
hands.

1641.

The Queen accompanies the Princess Mary into Holland.

relish'd by him, but he concealed his resentment for some time, and about the midst of February he and the Queen went to Canterbury with the Princess Mary, and from thence to Dover, and there she imbarqued her self with her Daughter, and accompanied her to Holland: The Kings stay at Canterbury and Dover was not long, nor the place so remote, but that some business passed, of which the greatest was, The Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament; from Canterbury the King came to Greenwich, and from thence he sent for the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York to come to him, to accompany him to York, whither he forthwith went, as to a place of safety, where he might better find a way to compose those differences which now began to imbroyl the Kingdom.

The King removes to York.

The Parliament send after him in his journey to York two Petitions for the Militia, one came to him at Theobalds, and the other at Huntingdon, to both of which he gave a denial; but since they could not have it by his consent, they took it without it, and both Houses passed it by an Ordinance, and settled it in divers Counties in the hands of such as they reposed confidence.

The King issues out Commissions of Array.

1642.

The King and Parliament differ about who shall be chief Commander at Sea.

The King looked upon this as the beginning of a War against him, and therefore that he might not be surprized, he issued out several Commissions of Array to persons of the most eminent quality, to muster, train and array the Subjects for defence of himself and the Kingdom; and because of the indisposition of the Earl of Northumberland to command the Fleet, the King appointed Sir John Pennington in his place; but the Parliament by a Message of the 28th of March, disliked of that choice, and recommended the Earl of Warwick to the King; but this the King would not admit of; nevertheless they authorized him to command the Fleet without the Kings consent, and within a few moneths they used such arts, that he became possessed of the whole Navy: At Hull the King had a Magazine of Arms, and ammunition provided for the late intended War against the Scots, which was laid up there, when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own Preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was denied Entrance by Sir John Hotham, who by the appointment of the House of Commons, had newly taken Charge of that place.

Sir John Hotham denies the King entrance into Hull.

He thereupon is proclaimed Traytor. The Parliament justifie Sir John Hotham.

The King thereupon proclaimed him Traytor, and by letters to the Parliament complained to them of the indignity, and required satisfaction, but they justified him therein, and sent a Committee of the Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing of the Garrison to them, and they gave the Governour power to raise the Train-bands for his defence. The King was forced for the time to indure this indignity, but being very intent on subduing the Rebellion of Ireland, he sent a Message to the Parliament to declare his intention to go thither in Person, and acquainted them with his purpose in order thereunto, to raise two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse in the Counties near Chester for a Guard to his Person, which was so grateful news

to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, that they very much rejoiced thereat; but the Parliament were so jealous of any thing that tended to the Kings security, that they resolved to oppose it, but in regard it was a popular action, they were forced to use art in it; They shewed many inconveniences in the undertaking such a journey, both in the hazard of the Kings Person, and interruption of the proceedings of Parliament; but the chief matter was an apprehension, that hereby the King might have a good occasion of raising Souldiers for his defence against the designs and contrivances against him; wherefore in the conclusion of their answer to the Kings Message, They declare, That they cannot consent to any levies but such as they shall advise and direct, and if any be otherwise raised, they must declare against them.

1642. The Parliament oppose the Kings intention to go in person into Ireland.

The King did hereupon decline the levying of Guards and his Journey to Ireland, but reflecting now upon the affront of Sir John Hotham to him, and hearing that the Parliament against his consent had raised Guards to themselves, He summoned the Gentry of York-shire to a meeting, and acquainted them, That his Magazine at Hull was going to be taken from him against his will, the Militia against the Law, and his consent, put in Execution, and Sir John Hotham's Treason countenanced; so that upon these considerations, he was resolved to have a Guard to secure his Person, in which he desired their assistance, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Protestant Religion from violation, or injury.

The King summons the Gentry of York-shire to his assistance.

The Kings desires herein were with great affection complied with, but the Parliament, upon notice thereof, declared, That it is against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof, should be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleasure, and that whosoever, upon pretence of his Majesties command, shall take up Arms in a War-like manner, shall be esteemed disturbers of the Peace, and to be proceeded against accordingly; but this did not terrifie the people of York-shire from doing their duty to the King.

The Parliament's Declaration.

The breach now began to grow very wide, and many Members of both Houses repaired to the King to York, insomuch that in a very short space, there were more of the Peers at York, than sitting with the Parliament at Westminster.

Many Members of both Houses repair to the King to York.

The Commons, that they might not seem dejected at this time, sent up an impeachment to the House of Lords against nine of those Peers that deserted, that is to say, The Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Dover, the Earl of Monmouth, the Lord Howard of Charleton, and the Lord Rich for high Crimes and Misdemeanors; the substance whereof was, For that contrary to their duty, they had deserted their attendance on the House, absenting themselves, after a Vote passed in both Houses, That the King seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War against the Parliament, and that whosoever served or assisted him in that War, was adjudged a Traytor.

The Commons impeach nine of the Peers.

Upon

1642
The nine
Lords cen-
sured.

Upon the impeachment, the House of Peers entered into debate thereof, and the nine Lords were censured :

1. Never to sit more as Members of that House.
2. That they should be utterly incapable of any benefits or Priviledges of Parliament, and that they should suffer imprisonment during their pleasure.

The Lord
Littleton
flies to York
with the
Great Seal.

Not long after this, the Lord Keeper Littleton sent away the great Seal to the King, by one Mr. Eliot who was sent to him for it, and the next day he himself followed it, and came safe to the King at York; but this departure of the Seal, put the Parliament to a great plunge, and they sent (in vain) to intercept it in its passage.

The King found himself in very good esteem in the Northern parts, but he was rather willing to prevent the effusion of Blood, by any reasonable accommodation, than ingage the Nation in a Civil War; and during his abode at York many Messages and Replies to that purpose passed between him and the Parliament, and at last, that they might not seem altogether averse from Peace, about the beginning of June they sent a Petition to the King with nineteen Propositions.

The Propositions were :

The Parlia-
ments Pro-
positions to
the King.

1. That all the Kings Privy Council, great Officers, and Ministers of State may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve, and to assign them an Oath.
2. That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such matters as are transferred by them to the Privy Council, and to be concluded by the Major part of the Nobility under their hands: the full number not to exceed 25, nor under 15; and if any place fall void in the interval of Parliament, then the major part of the Council to choose one to be confirmed at the next Session of Parliament.
3. That all the Great Officers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with approbation of Parliament, &c. as before said.
4. The Government and Education of the King's Children by Parliament, &c. ut supra.
5. Their Marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament, &c.
6. The Laws against Papists, Priests, and others be executed without Toleration or Dispensation, except by Parliament.
7. No Popish Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, and their Children to be educated in the Protestant Faith.
8. To reform Church-Government as the Parliament shall advise.
9. To settle the Militia as the Parliament have ordered, and for the King to recall all his Declarations published against their Ordinances therein.
10. All Privy Counsellors and Judges to take Oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which shall be made this Parliament.
11. All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places quam diu bene se gesserint.

12. All Members of Parliament put out during this time to be restored again.

13. The Justice of Parliament to pass upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their censure.

14. The General Pardon to pass with Exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise.

15. All Forts and Castles of the Kingdom to be disposed of by Parliament, ut supra.

16. The King to discharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raise any other, but in case of actual Rebellion.

17. The King to enter into a strict alliance with all Reformed States, for their assistance to recover the Rights of his Royal Sister and her Princely Issue to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.

18. To clear the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members by Act of Parliament.

19. No Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament without their consent.

And these Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage to make him a happy Prince.

The King shewed great dislike at these Propositions, for indeed they seemed rather calculated to gratifie the ambition of some of those that framed them, than for any other purpose, and the answer he gave was more smart than usually his answers were.

The King
rejects the
Propositi-
ons.

Amongst other things, he told them, That they had contrary to Law pressed their Ordinances on the people, wrested from him the Command of the Militia, countenanced the Treason of Hotham, and had directed to the People Invektives against his Government, asperst him with the favouring of Papists; and with an utter dislike of the Propositions, he protested, that if he were vanquishd and a Prisoner, in worse condition than any the most unfortunate of his Predecessors had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so low, as to grant those demands, and to make himself of a King of England, a Duke of Venice.

And now both sides prepared for War, and on the 10th of June an Order was made by both Houses of Parliament, for bringing in of Money and Plate to Guild-Hall for their Service, wherein it was exprest, that whosoever should bring any Money or Plate, or furnish any with Horse and Arms, should have their moneys repaid with Interest, according to eight in the hundred, for which both Houses of Parliament did ingage the Publick Faith.

Both sides
make prepa-
ration for
War.

The King was not wanting to his own Preservation in the mean time, and to do whatsoever might give encouragement to the business he had in hand; and first he assembled all the Peers then at York to attend him, and made to them a short Declaration, wherein he expressed himself to them in these words :

We do declare, that we will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known laws, as We expect that you shall not yield to any Commands not Legally grounded, or imposed by any other. We will defend you all, and all such as shall refuse any such Commands, whether they proceed from any Votes and Orders of both Houses, or any other way, from all danger whatsoever. We will

The Kings
Declaration
to the Peers
at York.

1642. will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and the just Priviledges of all the three Estates of Parliament; and shall require no farther Obedience from you, than as we accordingly shall perform the same. And we will not (as is falsely pretended) engage you in any War against the Parliament, except it be for our necessary defence against such as do insolently Invade, or attempt against us and our Adherents.

Upon this Declaration of the King those Lords and others of his Council made a Promise to him, and subscribed it with their hands as followeth.

The Peers Engagement to the King.

We do engage our selves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our selves to Defend your Majesties Person, Crown, and Dignity, with your just and legal Prerogative, against all Persons and Power whatsoever. We will Defend the true Protestant Religion Established by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and the just Priviledges of your Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament. Lastly, We engage our selves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatsoever, concerning the Militia, that hath not the Royal assent.

Subscribed by

Lord Keeper, D. of Richmond, Marquess of Hertford, E. of Lindsey, E. of Cumberland, E. of Huntington, E. of Bathe, E. of South-hampton, E. of Dorset, E. of Salisbury, E. of North-hampton, E. of Devonshire, E. of Bristol, E. of Westmerland, E. of Barkshire, E. of Monmouth, Earl of Rivers, E. of Newcastle, E. of Dover, E. of Carnarvan, E. of Newport, L. Mowbray and Matrevers, L. Willoughby of Eresby, L. Rich, L. Charles Howard of Charleton, L. Newark, L. Paget, L. Chandoy, L. Falconbridge, L. Paulet, L. Lovelace, L. Coventry, L. Savile, L. Mokun, L. Dunsmore, L. Seymore, L. Gray of Ruthen, L. Faulkland, the Controller, Secretary Nicholas, Sr. John Culpepper, Lord Chief Justice Banks.

The King forbids the Lord Mayor of London to raise Arms or Money.

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor of London, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs, forbidding by expresse Command any Contribution of Money or Plate towards the raising of any Arms whatsoever for the Parliament; and invited all his loving Subjects (to prevent their own danger and the danger of the Kingdom from a Malignant party,) to contribute Money or Plate to Him, and they shall be repayed with consideration of 8 in the Hundred, and immediately upon it, he made a Profession before those forementioned Lords and Counsellors about him; disavowing any preparations, or intentions to levy War against the Parliament; upon which the Lords and others then present at York, made this further Declaration and Profession, subscribed under their hands.

The Lords and others at York in a Declaration

We whose Names are under-written, in Obedience to his Majesties desire, and out of the Duty which we owe to his Majesties Honour, and to

truth, being here upon the place, & Witnesses of his Majesties frequent and earnest Declarations, and professions of his abhorring all Designs of making War upon the Parliament; and not seeing any colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such Design, do profess before God, and testifie to all the World, that we are fully perswaded that his Majesty hath no such intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion, and the just Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Law, Peace and Prosperity of this Kingdom.

1642.

acquit the King from any Designs of making War against the Parliament.

The King was strengthened with some Arms and Ammunition from Holland, from the endeavours of the Queen; but more strengthened by this Protestation in his behalf, concerning his intention of not making War against the Parliament, proceeded in his business with great circumspection and indefatigable industry, and from York he went to Newark, where he made a Speech to the Gentry of Nottinghamshire in a loving and winning way, commending their affections towards him: another Speech he made at Lincoln to the Gentry of that County full of Protestations concerning his good intentions not only to them but to the whole Kingdom, and the Laws and Liberties of it; so that within three weeks both in his own Person, and by his Messengers with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, he advanced his business in a wonderful manner. From Lincoln he removed to York, and from thence to Beverley, from whence he sent a Message to both Houses, and a Proclamation concerning his going to Hull, to take it in, requiring before his journey that it might be delivered to him: Which they answered with a Petition, praying him to disband all his Forces about Hull, to recal his Commission of Array, dismiss his Guards, and come to his Parliament; at which the King was much displeased, and the Parliament Voted, that an Army should be raised, whereof by the Vote of both Houses the Earl of Essex was chosen General, with whom they protested to live and dye in that cause; the King had about 3000 Foot, most of them Trainband-men, and 1000 Horse before Hull.

The King takes a journey into Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, to win those Places to his party.

The King resolves to reduce Hull.

The Parliament raise an Army under the Command of the Earl of Essex.

Hotham upon the Kings advance, having the advantage of a Spring-tide, drew up the Sluces and drowned all the Countrey about the Town.

The Parliament took all care imaginable to supply the Town, which they reinforced with 500 Souldiers, under the Command of Sir John Meldrum. The King finding so great a strength to oppose him, and considering the preciousness of that time which he consumed there without hope of success, resolved to march away: some about him, laid the fault of his not prevailing, upon the unskilfulness of the Countrey Captains, and the unexperienced rawness of the Souldiers, it was said, the King might have sped better, if Sir John Pennington could have brought part of the Navy to his assistance, to have straitned them by Sea, but that was seized by the Earl of Warwick.

The King leaves Hull.

The Earl of Warwick gets the Command of the Navy.

The Earl of Essex was very busie in raising his Army, the Earl of Bedford was made General of the

1642. the Horle, Sir John Merrick Major General of the Army; the Lord Roberts, the Lord St. John the Lord Rochford, the Lord Gray of Growby, Mr Denzil Hollis, Mr. Hambden, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Sir Samuel Luke, Sir Henry Cholmley, and Mr. Grantham, all Members of Parliament, had Commissions for Regiments.

The Earl of Essex and the rest of the Parliament Commanders proclaimed Rebels by the King.

The King in the meantime was not idle, he went to Leicester, where he summoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and by his great affability won many of them to an opinion of his Cause, and from thence by the first of August he returns to York, where he summoned the County, and acquainted them with the Parliaments preparations for War, and desired their advice and assistance, for the Parliament had now published a Declaration for the raising of all power and force by Train-bands or otherwise to lead against all Traytors and their Adherents that oppose the Parliament, and them to kill and slay, as enemies to the peace of the Kingdom, and in it they named most of the Kings Lord Lieutenants and Commissioners of Array in the several Counties. The King then recommended to them the completing of a Regiment for the Prince, and that he might not be behind hand with the Parliament, he publishes a Proclamation, wherein the Earl of Essex was proclaimed a Rebel and Traytor to the King and Crown, and all Colonels and Officers authorized by the Parliament that should not instantly lay down their Arms, were declared guilty of High Treason.

To obviate this, the Parliament had declared, That whosoever shall return from the King to the Parliaments Army within ten days after publication, should have reception and pardon, excepting Persons impeacht of Delinquency or Treason, or such as have been eminent Actors against them, and except the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Bristol, Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, and Carnarvon, the Viscounts Newark and Faulkland, Secretary Nicholas, Endymion Porter, and Mr. Edward Hyde.

The King hearing the Parliament intended to send an Army Westward, gave Commission under the Great Seal of England, to the Marquess of Hartford, to be his Lieutenant General within the Counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Southampton, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Carnarvon, Pembroke and Cardigan; and sent to encourage Colonel Goring, who kept Portsmouth at that time for him.

The King sets up his Standard at Nottingham, He sends to treat with the Parliament.

The preparations were very great on both sides, and on the 20th of August the King set up his Standard at Nottingham, from whence he sent up a Message to both Houses by the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, and Sir John Culpepper for a Treaty of Peace.

When they came to Westminster they were not permitted to sit in Parliament, whereof they were Members, nor could the Earl of Southampton (against whom there was least exception) be admitted to deliver it, but it was sent into the House of Peers by the Usher of the Black Rod.

In the Message the King signified, That observing that many mistakes had arisen

by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers, betwixt him and the two Houses of Parliament, which might be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference might be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted, he proposed that a certain number of persons might be sent, and enabled by the Parliament to a Treaty in some indifferent place, with the like number authorized by him.

1642.

The Parliament answered to this effect, That until he take down his Standard, and recal those Proclamations and Declarations whereby he declared the actions of both Houses to be treasonable, and their persons Traytors, and whereby he had put them and the whole Kingdom out of his protection, they cannot admit of any such Treaty.

The Parliaments answer to the Kings Message.

The King replied to this, That he never did declare both Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up his Standard against them, much less to put them and the Kingdom out of his protection; and to remove all scruples which might hinder a Treaty, he promised so that a day be appointed by them for the revoking their Declarations against all persons as Traytors, or otherwise for assisting him, he will upon the same day recal his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard.

The Kings reply.

To this the Parliament answered by Petition, insisting upon their former request, To recal his Proclamations, concluding, that they can never allow themselves to be ballanced with those persons about the King, whom they stiled persons of desperate dispositions and Counsels.

Thus did they contend for some time by Declarations and Proclamations, which proved all fruitless, for the Parliament having in their power all the Kings Revenue and his Navy, together with the strength and riches of the City of London, and great contributions from them and others of money and plate, thought the Kings forces so inconsiderable in respect of theirs, that they despised all the overtures he made for peace, or put such expressions into the answers they made to them, that he could not with honour and safety approve of them.

About the beginning of September Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, the second and third Sons of the late King of Bohemia, came to offer their service to the King their Uncle, whom presently he put into Command, Prince Rupert within a fortnight after his arrival commanded a small party of those Forces which the King had at that time gathered together; with which he marched into divers parts of Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire, his forces still encreasing as he marched,

Prince Rupert and Pr. Maurice put into command by the King.

And whilst the Prince was thus active with his party, the King moved on slowly with those forces which he had, through Darbyshire, Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire, and so on to Shrewsbury, where he intended to Quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvouze for those Troops and Companies he expected from Wales and other adjacent parts, for those of Denbigh and Flintshire,

The King takes up his Quarters at Shrewsbury.

1642. shire, and generally all Wales were very cordial to him and his Cause.

To Shrewsbury the King caused a Mint to be brought, and there coined all the Plate which he then had, or was then and soon after presented to him; for the University of Cambridge, and many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had sent their Plate to him, and many others had furnished him both with Men, Horses, and Arms; and within few dayes after his coming thither, his strength by his diligence and address was wonderfully increased, even beyond his own hope, for he had summoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and made to them a Speech so full of affectionate Expressions, as rendred him to their thoughts, an injured Prince, and moved compassionate affections towards him: the Speech it self was in these words;

Gentlemen,

His Speech to the Gentry.

It is some benefit to Me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of my people: I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hither; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robb'd and spoiled of all mine own, and such terrour used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) I must only live upon the aid and relief of my people. But be not afraid, I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that Army raised against me, (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) than you shall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders; I will do my best: And this I promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint, I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Land to Sale or Mortgage, that if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have summoned you hither to do that for me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a cause to be lost, for want of supplying me with that, which will be taken from you by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilst these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost industry to destroy the Commonwealth, be you no less liberal to preserve it. Assure your selves, if it please God to bless me with success, I shall remember the assistance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, that with some charge and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdom.

God had so blessed the just endeavours of the King, that before the middle of October, which was about three weeks after his first coming to Shrewsbury, with a small body of an Army, he was grown to a strength consisting of 6000 foot, three thousand brave horse, and two thousand

dragoons in one body, besides what he had in other parts, of which he gave the chief command, under himself, to the Earl of Lindsey, and the next to General Ruthen a Scotch Gentleman of great experience, and Prince Rupert was made General of the Horse, and the next in command to him was Commissary Wilmott.

Whilst the King and the Parliament were gathering their forces together, several parties were employed in divers parts of the Kingdom; Colonel Goring was besieged in Portsmouth by Sir John Meincles Regiment of Foot, and the County Trained-Bands, with one Troop of Horse, to which place a Squadron of the Fleet was also sent to straiten it the more, and the Garrison Soldiers were so practised on, the Governour had no confidence in them, so that though the Marquess of Hartford hastened to his relief with some Forces he had newly raised, yet he was necessitated to surrender the Town before he could help him, and had conditions to be transported in one of the Kings Ships to the Brill in Holland, whither he was conveyed accordingly; But the Marquess of Hartford, though he could not secure Portsmouth, yet he seized on Sherborne Castle in Dorsetshire, and passed by the Earl of Bedford, (who commanded in those parts a party of the Parliaments Troops) and marched over Severn into Wales to raise more Forces for the King, giving the Earl a little brush in his passage.

The Parliament Army raised under the Earl of Essex, was now grown to a considerable Bulk, consisting of about 16000 Horse and Foot united in one Army, besides parties abroad, their general Rendezvous was at Northampton, where the Lord Brooke, Lord Roberts, Colonel Hamden, and many others of the chief Commanders staid with them, expecting the presence of the General, and on the ninth of September, he set out of London with great solemnity; the Parliament sent a Petition to him at Northampton, to be by him presented to the King; the effect of which was, To entreat his Majesty to withdraw his presence from those wicked persons about him, (for so all the Kings party were called by them) and not to mix his danger with theirs, but that he would return to his Parliament without his Forces, and by their advice compose the present distempers.

The Earl of Essex after he had been at Northampton a while, had increased his Army to the number of 20000, from whence he marched to Coventry, and from thence to Warwick, and having left some Companies in both those Towns for their security, he march'd away towards Worcester, upon intelligence that the King himself intended to come thither with his Forces.

Sir John Byron had first entred Worcester for the King, whom Captain Fiennes had endeavour'd to dislodge, with some Troops of the Parliament and Countrey Volunteers which he had gotten together, with whom he assaulted the Town on the West side of Severn, supposing some of Essex his Troops were marching towards the Town on the other side, (as he was informed by a Spie,) but those proved to be a party of the Kings Horse under Prince Rupert, who march'd into the Town with 500 Horse, and made Fiennes draw off to a distance. The Prince had notice that Colonel Sandys with a Regiment of Parliament Horse, together

1642. The Earl of Lindsey chief Commander of the Kings Army.

Portsmouth surrendered up to the Parliament.

St. r. re Castle seized on by the Marquess of Hartford for the King.

The Earl of Essex marches out of London to his Army.

The Parliaments Petition to be presented to the King by the Earl of Essex.

Sir John Byron takes Worcester for the King.

1642. together with Captain *Hales*, Captain *Wingate*, Captain *Fiennes*, and Captain *Austin*, were drawn together to attack him, and thereupon he marched out of the City into a green Meadow near adjoining, and drew up his men into Battalia, the passage to the Meadow was through a lane where not above four could march a breast, of which the Prince took the advantage, and charged them first there, where the Rear could not come up to assist the Van, nor the Van retreat without great disorder, so that the Prince prevailed: *Douglas*, Colonel *Sandys* his Major was slain, and the Colonels own Corner, the Colonel himself was desperately wounded and many of his Souldiers killed, and some slaughter was also made of the Princes men.

Col. Sandys routed at Worcester by Prince Rupert.

Prince Rupert quits Worcester upon the approach of the E. of Essex.

Glocester and Bristol Garrisons for the Parliament.

The Kings party powerful in the North.

And in Cornwall.

The Prince after the fight drew into *Worcester*, but hearing *Essex* was marching thither with his whole Army, he went away to *Ludlow*, twenty miles from thence; nor was his intelligence ill, for immediately after the fight *Essex* came to *Worcester* with his Army, where he lay a Month, and from thence he sent the Earl of *Stamford* with a Party to *Hereford* to impede the Kings levies in *South-Wales*, and sent other Forces to possess *Glocester* and *Bristol*. The Parliament began now to apprehend the Kings strength; for many began to appear for him in several parts of the Kingdom; in *York-shire* and the Northern parts, the Marquess of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Francis Wortly*, and many others had raised many Souldiers, and were so powerful, that the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Son, Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son Capt. *Hotham*, who had gathered some men together for the Parliament, were not able to appear against them: In *Cornwall* a body was framing under Sir *Bevil Greenvil* and Sir *Nicholas Slanng*; and Sir *Ralph Hopton* a person of good conduct and courage was hastening to them to assist in their Levies, and many others in several parts of the Kingdom were arming on both sides.

Whilst the affairs of *England* were in this Military posture, *Ireland* was neglected, some few Regiments were sent over from *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicesters* Regiment under Colonel *Monk* from *England*, but in no proportion to the necessities of that Kingdom, nevertheless they made many impressions upon their Enemies into *Lemster* and *Ulster*, but *Munster* was but meanly supplied.

The Title of the Act.

The King had consented to an Act of Parliament before he left *London*, For the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in his Majesties Kingdom of *Ireland* to their due obedience; wherein several persons were invited as Adventurers to advance money for that service, who were to be repaid in Land for the same when the Rebels should be subdued, according to the proportions following, for each adventure of 200 lib. one thousand Acres in *Ulster*: for three hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Conaght*; for 450 lib. one thousand Acres in *Munster*; for six hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Lemster*; all according to the *English* measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable and profitable Pasture, the Bogs, Woods, and barren Mountains being to be cast in, over and above, and to be hol-

den in free and common Soccage of the King, as of his Castle of *Dublin*, and so for greater or lesser sums: and it is particularly enacted, That no part of that money which should be paid in according to the Act, shall be employed to any other purpose, than the reducing of those Rebels, until they shall be declared to be subdued. The Parliament nevertheless to enable them the better to set out their Army, had diverted 100000 l. of this Money, whereat the King was very much offended and relented it very sharply in one of his Messages to them; but they answered, That they did intend speedily to repay it, and to recapitulate, did charge the King with intercepting 9000 Suits of Cloathes, with a Chirurgeons chest, and some draught Horses going into *Ireland* for the Train of Artillery there; but the Parliament made yet bolder, and made use of the greatest part of a Brigade raised under my Lord *Wharton* and one Colonel *Horton*, deligned for *Munster*, against the King in a Battle which was this year fought, of which hereafter; but by this proceeding on both sides, it was evident they both thought the security of *England* more considerable to them than that of *Ireland*, which could not well subsist without this.

1642. The Parliament divert some of the money designed for the relief of Ireland, for setting out their own Army.

It was now about the middle of *October* when the King came from *Shrewsbury*, he marched along by *Coventry* and summoned the Town, but by the example of *Hull*, he was denied entrance.

The King denied entrance into Coventry.

Marching on, he came and lay at *Southam*, being but a small distance from *Essex* his Army, from whence he struck a terror into the City of *London* it self, for he was then nearer to *London* than *Essex* was, insomuch that both Houses began to apprehend his approach, and Ordered that the Train Bands should be speedily raised for a Guard, and some works for planting of Ordnance in special places about the City of *London* and Suburbs, and the Parliament sent twelve Companies to possess and guard *Windfor* Castle.

The Earl thought it his chief work to march as near to the King as he could; and on the 22th of *October* he lodged at *Keinton* within six miles of the King, who then lay at one Sir *William Chause*'s house near thereunto, and his Forces lodged at *Cropredy* and *Edgecor*.

The King the next morning drew his Army to *Edgehil*, and *Essex* intended to rest all Sunday in *Keinton*, to expect two Regiments of Foot, eleven Troops of Horse, and seven Pieces of Cannon who were a dayes march behind him, but when he heard the Kings Army was in the field, he drew his Army into Battalia, consisting of 12000 Foot in twelve Regiments, and 40 Troops of Horse and Dragoons; the Kings Army was esteemed about ten thousand Foot, and about 4000 Horse and Dragoons, but most of the Foot were very ill armed; at the bottom of *Edgehil*, there was a large Plain, called the *Vale of the Red Horse*, where *Essex* drew his Army into Battalia, about a half mile distant from the foot of *Edgehil*; the main Battel of the Kings Army was led on by the Earl of *Lindsey* on foot, with a Pike in his hand, Prince *Rupert* commanded the Kings right wing, wherein was the greatest strength of Horse, and General *Ruthen*, and Commissary *Wilmot* in the left; the right wing of the

The Battel at Edgehil.

1642. the Parliaments Horse was commanded by Sir Philip Stapleton, and the left which had the greatest force, by Sir James Ramsey then Commissary General; the General himself was in the Main Body, and Sir John Meldrum had the Van: the King perceiving the Hedges near the hill lined by some Muskettiers of Essex his Army, sent Major Bostock and Captain Hammond of Sir Lewis Dives his Regiment down the Hill to remove them, but in the mean time my Lord of Essex caused three pieces of Cannon to be fired upon the Kings Army, which was answered from the King with the like number, and then the Battel began, and was continued with such fury, that near six thousand were slain upon the place; and the Parliaments Army was in great danger to have been totally ruined that day, with so absolute a Victory on the Kings side, that in all probability this blow might have put a conclusion to the War; if it had not been for a Brigade of fresh Men, which was seasonably brought in under the Command of Hambden to their Relief. This succour gave Essex his broken Troops time to rally, and put them in a Condition of maintaining the dispute, which they did with so much resolution, that it was a long while doubtful what might be the event of the Battel: till in the end, Prince Rupert having wholly routed Essex his left Wing, fell in to the assistance of those Regiments that were over-powr'd, and secured the Victory to the Kings party, which was before dubious. Those of Quality that were lost of the Kings side, were, the Earl of Lindsey, the Lord Aubigny, and Sir Edward Verney: of the Parliaments side many were slain, but there being but few of equal note in that Service to those of the Kings, they are not remembred, only mention is made of the Lord St. John, Col. Charles Essex, and Lieutenant Col. Ramsey; the Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Colonel Vavasor, and Sir Edward Stradling of the Kings party were taken prisoners; the Kings Standard was taken, but regained by Captain Smith, who for that service was in the field knighted Banneret; each part pretended to the Victory, but it went clearly on the Kings side, who though he lost his General, yet he kept the field, and possess'd the dead bodies, and rifled all the Wagons and Carriages of the Enemy; and not so only, but he made his way open to London, which the Earl before endeavoured to hinder, and in his way in the very fight as it were of the Earl of Essex, he took Banbury Castle, where he had fifteen hundred Arms, and finally entred triumphantly into Oxford, with no fewer than an hundred and fifty Colours. Amongst the papers of the Earl of Essex, a Letter was found from one Blake that attended the King, and held correspondence with the Enemy, for which he was tried by a Court Martial, and condemned and executed betwixt Abington and Oxford.

Banbury Castle taken by the King.

The Earl after the Battel marched to Warwick, and left the Countrey clear to London to the King, and he after a very short stay at Oxford, Marched through Abington to Henley, where his Army was two or three dayes refreshed, and from thence he made a nearer approach towards London, and came to Colebrook; in the mean time the Earl of Essex had also marched with his

Army nearer to London, and on the seventh of November came himself to Westminster, where he was welcomed by both Houses of Parliament, and had a present of 5000 lib. given to him.

Whilst the King was at Colebrook, the Parliament sent a Petition to him by two Peers, and three Commoners, wherein in very humble terms, they desired his Majesty to stay at some convenient place not far from London, till such time as Committees of Parliament might attend him; with some Propositions for the removal of the present Distempers; the King liked well of this Petition, and sent back the Messengers with a very complying answer, signifying, that he would reside at his Castle at Windsor, or any other place if that should not be liked, till such time as Committees might be sent to him: but the same night that he had dispatcht these Messengers, news was brought that Essex had advanced with his Army, and the Artillery towards him, and that having possess'd himself of Windsor, Kingston, and Aton, if Brentford were likewise possess'd, the Kings Army would be so straitned, that it could neither well move nor subsist; whereupon a Council of War being called, it was resolved that part of the Army should advance, and dispossess the Enemy from Brentford, which was accordingly done, and there was for some time a very sharp fight, betwixt the Kings Forces and those of the Parliament that were there lodged, but the Kings party prevailed, killed the Commander in chief then present, and several others, and took 500 prisoners, and as many Arms, with 15 pieces of Ordnance, 11 Colours and store of Ammunition; and the King was resolved the next day to have marched to London, had not advice come, that both the remainder of that Army under Essex, & the Auxiliaries of London under the Earl of Warwick, were drawn upon Turnham-Green to oppose his marching further; whereupon he passed his Troops over Kingston-Bridge to Otlands, and from thence to Redding, where he left a good Garrison, and marched with his Forces to Oxford.

1642. The Earl of Essex comes to Westminster and is received with great honour. The Parliament present a Petition to the King at Colebrook.

The fight at Brentford, in which the Kings party prevailed.

The King marched to Oxford.

The City of London were very much instigated by some Incendiaries upon this action of the Kings, and were wrought on to Petition the Parliament to proceed no further in the business of accommodation, for which they had the thanks of both Houses; though the Parliament in a Message to the King, did confess, that they gave direction to the Earl of Essex to draw the Army out of London, and that part of it was quartered at Brentford, whilst the Committee was with the King, but they endeavoured to excuse it, by saying, that they sent a Messenger with a Letter to know whether his Majesty intended forbearance of Hostility, who found the parties in fight, and could not pass.

The Kings Forces in the North, became very considerable; the Earl of Newcastle, and the Earl of Cumberland being joyned, made up 8000 Horse and Foot, and their power daily increased, so that the Lord Fairfax and his Son Sir Thomas, Captain Hotham, Sir Hugh Cholmley, Sir Edward Loftus, Sir Mathew Bointon, Sir Henry Anderson and others, who commanded for the Parliament in these parts, were ill able to

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with-

1642.
Goring lands
with Men
and Ammu-
nition.

Several
Counties as-
sociate for
the Parlia-
ment.

General
King lands
with 6000
Arms.

The Queen
lands with
Arms and
Ammuni-
on.

Sir John Ho-
tham and his
Son sent up
Prisoners to
the Parlia-
ment.

* Governor
of Gloucester

Cirencester
taken for the
King by
Prince Ru-
pert.

The Treaty
at Oxford
proves inef-
fectual.

withstand them; and the Kings side received a good addition of strength in those parts, by the landing of Colonel *Goring* at *Newcastle* with two hundred Commanders from *Holland*, and other provisions of War, which made the Lord *Fairfax* and those with him implore aid from the Parliament, and they therefore form'd an association of the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, the *Isle of Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, whereof the Lord *Grey of Wark* was by Commission of the Earl of *Essex* made Commander in chief, with authority to raise Forces.

In *February* General *King* a Scotch Commander of great experience in Military affairs, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcastle*, joyned himself with the Earl of *Newcastle*, and passed to *York* with 6000 Arms. In the same Moneth also the Queen landed from *Holland* at *Burlington Bay*, with great Provision of Arms and Ammunition, and many Commanders of note in her Retinue, and was conveyed by the Earl of *Newcastle* to the City of *York*, to which place, the Earl of *Montross*, and the Lord *Ogilby* came to her out of *Scotland* with 120 Horse; and Sir *Hugh Cholmely*, who had the Government of *Scarborough* for the Parliament, declar'd for the King, and presented himself at *York* with 300 men to the Q. for his Service: Sir *John Hotham* also and his Son, were at the same time inclin'd to desert the Parliaments cause, but their intentions were discovered, and they were both seized upon at *Hull*, & sent up to *London*, where they long remained Prisoners in the *Tower*, before the time of their Tryal and Execution.

The Parliament having fortified *Gloucester* with a good Garrison, thought of enlarging their quarters towards *Oxford*, and had in order thereunto, drawn a great strength into *Cirencester*, the King was not well pleased with this neighbourhood, but ordered Prince *Rupert* with 4000 horse and foot, to take the Town, who marching by as if he intended to attempt *Sudeley Castle*, (which had been lately before taken by * *Massey*.) when they expected him not, turn'd his whole force upon them, and after about an hours resistance made himself Master of the place, where he took eleven hundred Prisoners, and three Thousand Arms.

The King was not so exalted by these successes to be well pleased with a War, that brought so much calamity to his people, and therefore he proposed a Treaty to the Parliament, to which after many delays they consented, and about the beginning of *March*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *William Ermine*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Bulstrode Whitlock* attended him at *Oxford* with Propositions of Peace; but they were such as rather did beseech a conquering than a losing side, yet the King was resolv'd to treat upon them; howsoever, he found the Commissioners so straitned in time, and so tyed to such particular instructions as the Houses had given them, that nothing could be yielded to which might conduce to the composing of the present distempers, so that after many Messages betwixt *London* and *Oxford*, the Parliament sent to their Commissioners to return to *London* upon the 17th of *April*; upon which the Earl of *Essex* immediately advanc'd with his Army to be-

siege *Redding* then a Garrison for the King.

The King upon the first notice sent a supply of 700 Musketeers to the Town, and some store of Ammunition, but all could not avail to the holding out of the Town against so great an Army, continually supply'd from *London* with fresh Men, Provisions and Ammunition.

The King therefore after a while sent a good body of Horse and Foot to relieve the Town, who assaulted a quarter of the Parliaments Army at *Causum Bridge* within a mile of it, where many of the Kings Forces were slain, and forced to retreat, but those in the Garrison were thought to have failed in performance of their Duty, in not drawing out a sufficient party to have made a diversion at the same time, but the failure herein was imputed to Colonel *Fielding* then Lieutenant Governor for Sir *Arthur Aston* the Governor, who was disabled from service by a bruise or wound he had received in the siege, so that within 16 days of *Essex* his first sitting down before the Town, it was render'd to him upon Terms, but honourable enough, viz. All the Forces to march out in war-like manner with 50 Carts for carriage, free passage to *Oxford*, the Town to be sav'd from plunder, and that whosoever would, might have liberty to leave it within six weeks after.

The Town of *Redding* was infected with a Pestilential Feaver when *Essex* enter'd it, which caused a great sickness and mortality amongst his Souldiers, besides which, they were much discontented for want of Pay, so that when he removed to *Causum House* to avoid the Infection, many of his Souldiers unanimously disbanded and went away; but though he gain'd nothing by this Town, the murmur at *Oxford* was great for the losing of it, and Colonel *Fielding* was accused of Treachery therein, and being found guilty by a Court Martial, was sentenced to be shot to death, but by the Kings clemency he was pardoned.

About this time scarce any County of *England* was free from the War, and in most places the Kings parties were Victorious; in *Warwickshire*, *Northamptonshire*, and *Staffordshire*, many encounters passed betwixt the Kings Forces under Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton* of the Kings side, and the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Breerton* for the Parliament, by one of which the Earl of *Northampton* lost his life, and the Lord *Brooke* was slain before the Town of *Litchfield*, which was afterward taken by his Souldiers, and again retaken by Prince *Rupert*.

In *Yorkshire* and those more Northern parts the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son did take some Towns, and do more than could be expected from so little force, but after a while, the whole Country was subdued by the Kings Arms, and they were forced into *Hull*.

The greatest part of *Wales* was for the King; but to prevent the increase of his good fortune, the Earl of *Stamford* was sent with an Army into the West, where Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with some Forces of the Kings, lay before *Plymouth* then a Garrison for the Parliament, but upon the Earls advance, he drew from thence, and fought and defeated a great part of the Earls Forces; after this a Truce was made betwixt the Earl and Sir

Ralph

1643.

Redding sur-
rendered to
Essex by Col
Fielding de-
puty Gover-
nor.

The Earl of
Northampton
routing the
Parliaments
Forces is
himself slain.
Litchfield
taken by
Prince Ru-
pert.

Yorkshire
subdued by
the Kings
Arms.

The Earl of
Stamford
Forces de-
feated by
Sir *Ralph*
Hopton.

1643. *Ralph Hopton* for twenty dayes, and in the mean time *Sir George Chudleigh* who had been very active and successful for the Parliament in *Devonshire*, began to reflect upon his past actions, and by considering the pretences of both parties, resolved with himself not to hazard his life and reputation, but upon what he thought a most just cause, and hereupon he quitted his side, and joyned with the Kings Forces; but to satisfie his friends with the Reason of his so doing, he publish'd a short declaration to this effect.

Sir George Chudleigh's Declaration, shewing the reason of his deserting the Parliament.

That Petitions of Right are commendable, and Remonstrances may be lawful, but Arms, though defensive, are very doubtful. My Lot (saith he) fell to be cast on the Parliaments side, by a strong opinion of the goodness of their Cause, which to my Judgement then appeared to be so; Religion and the Subjects Liberty seemed to me to be in danger, but the destruction of Kingdoms cannot be the way to save it, nor can the losse of Christian Subjects, nor the Subjects losse of their Estates by Plunder or Assessment concur with Piety, nor yet with propriety: as for Religion, which is the chief, his Majesty (whom God long preserve) hath given us unquestionable Security, I have cast my self at my Sovereigns feet, and implored his gracious pardon. I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my Resolution with the undisputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and Countrymen, that they may understand my change to proceed from no compulsion.

The Earl of Stamford overthrown at Stratton in Cornwall.

This addition of strength was very advantageous to the King; for shortly after in a Battel fought at *Stratton* in *Cornwal*, the Earl of *Stamford* was overthrown, and inforced to betake himself to the City of *Exeter*, whither *Sir Ralph* and *Sir George Chudleigh* with the *Devonshire* and *Cornish* Forces followed him, and with part of their Troops so straitened it, that they had opportunity to imploy the main body of their Army in other Service, which with the conjunction of the Marquess of *Hartford* who had raised many Regiments, the greatest part of the West was reduced to the Kings obedience. *Bristol* was designed to be seized on for the King about the beginning of *May*, by one *Mr. Robert Yeomans*, late Sheriff of the City, and *William Yeomans* his Brother, with *Mr. George Bouchier*, and *Mr. Edward Dacres*, and some others of their friends, who had Commission from the King to lift Forces, and possess themselves of the Town; and for the better enabling them thereunto, *Prince Rupert* hover'd thereabouts with a party of 5000 men, but the raising and lifting of Souldiers made the matter so communicative, that it was discovered to the Governor, who caused the four above-mentioned to be seized on, and tryed by a Court-Martial, who condemn'd them all, and *Robert Yeomans* and *Bouchier* were on the 30th of *May* executed; and the like fate hapned to some worthy Gentlemen and other Eminent Citizens of *London*, who intended to have contrived a mean to have put a period to the present War, by stopping the issues of it in the Fountain, by securing the City of *London*, and seizing several Members of Parliament. It was detected by one *Roe* a Servant to *Mr. Tomkins*, on the last day of *May*; The chief

Yeomans and Bouchier executed at Bristol, for endeavouring to seize the Town for the King. The like happened to several Gentlemen and Citizens of London, for a Design said to seize it.

Actors were, *Mr. Edmond Waller* a Member of the House of Commons, *Mr. Tomkins*, *Mr. Chaloner*, *Mr. Hasell*, *Mr. White*, and *Mr. Blinkorne*, who were to be strengthened in their endeavours by the Kings Commission of Array brought to *London* privately by the Lady *Aubigny*; but upon this detection, all was blasted, and the persons before named, were all tried by a Court-Martial at *Guild-Hall*, and condemned, whereof *Mr. Tomkins* and *Mr. Chaloner* were on the 5th of *July* executed; *Mr. Waller* after a years Imprisonment in the Tower, paid a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was for ten years banished into *France*.

1643.

Sir William Waller about the time of *Edge-Hill* Fight, had received a Commission to be Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, and had gained a great Reputation with the Parliament & the City of *London*, for some service he did that Winter with Colonel *Urrey*, Colonel *Brown*, and some others in the taking of *Chichester*, and hindring Levies for the King in *Sussex*, so that he was furnished with an Army this Spring, with which he did many acceptable Services to his party in *Wiltshire*, *Glocester-shire*, *Monmouth* and *Hereford-shire*, wherein he took many Towns possessed by the Kings Souldiers, and was very successful; but whilest he was active in those parts the Parliament pressed the Earl of *Essex* to march towards *Oxford* to straiten that Garrison, and take some order by the conjunction of the Forces of the associates, to hinder *Prince Ruperts* joyning with the Queen; In prosecution whereof, he march'd with his Army to those parts of *Buckingham-shire* which were nearest to *Oxford*, and settled his head quarters at *Thame*; upon his coming thither, the weather was very unseasonable and great rains fell, so that his Souldiers became very weak and sickly, and much mortality ensued, but to put a good face upon his condition, he frequently sent out parties upon several occasions, though little or no service was at any time performed by them, but about the sixteenth of *June*, intelligence came to *Oxford*, that a great party of Parliamenteers was then quartered at *Postcombe* and *Chimer* in *Oxford-shire* towards *Thame*, and *Prince Rupert* drew out a good party to attack them in their quarters, which he did, and took many prisoners, but upon the Alarm, Colonel *Hambden*, with *Sheffield* and others of *Essex* his Army, drew into *Chalgrove-Field*, with design to fight the Prince, where he drew towards them, and after a brisk charge or two, he routed them, and took many Prisoners, and Horses and Arms, and kill'd many, *Major Gunter* was shot dead upon the place, and Colonel *Sheffield*, and *Mr. Hambden* were both very much wounded, of which the last died three or four dayes after, it being observed, That he received his wounds in that field where he first executed the Parliaments Commission for the *Militia*, against the Kings Authority; upon this affront *Essex* draws his Army off to *Bristol*, with a purpose to recruit his Regiments with some Forces from the neighbouring Counties, but they were too much busied to spare any assistance. About this time (or a little before) the Parliament resolved upon a very extraordinary action, which was the making of a new great Seal, it had some opposition in the debate, but by a Majority of Voices in both

Essex marches towards Oxford.

Hambden & Sheffield routed by Prince Rupert.

A new great Seal voted by the Parliament.

Houses,

1643. Houses it was voted to be done; yet to put some colour on the enterprize, they passed an Order, That if the Lord Leeper *Littleton* upon summons did not return with the Great Seal within fourteen days, he should lose his place, and whatever should be sealed therewith by him after that time, should be null and void in Law. But this menacing Vote did not bring the Great Seal from *Oxford*; so that their new Great Seal was made, and some few months after the use of it authorized by Ordinance of both Houses.

The Queen marcheth with her Forces towards the King.

The Parliamentarians beaten at *Dunnington* in *Lincolnshire* by Col. *Cavendish*.

The Queen was now marching with six or seven thousand Horse and Foot, towards the King, but in the way she was so careful of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*, that she left twenty Troops of Horse and two thousand Foot with Arms for five hundred more, under the Command of Colonel *Charles Cavendish*, who did eminent service before and after in those Counties. About the 13th of *June* she came to *Newark*, and was there welcomed with a Victory obtained three days before over some of the Parliaments Forces, by the same Colonel *Cavendish* at *Dunnington* in *Lincolnshire*: after some stay at *Newark*, her Army marched to *Burton upon Trent*, which was taken by the Lord *Ferme* Commander in Chief of her Army, and from thence she went by easie marches to *Stratford upon Avon*, where Prince *Rupert* came to her with many Troops from *Oxford*; she had with her when he met her three thousand good Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse and Dragoons, with six pieces of Ordnance, two Mortar-pieces, and a hundred and fifty Waggon, which with those of the Prince made up a better Army than *Essex* could make to oppose them; for his men were wasted by sickness to a very considerable number, and he drew them to *Kingston* and other places near *London*, to lie there till he could recruit. In the mean time the rent bewixt the King and Parliament became wider than ever, for now they proceeded to that height to draw up Articles of High Treason against the Queen; some of them were:

Articles of High Treason against the Queen.

1. That she had pawned the Crown Jewels in *Holland*.
2. That she had favoured the Rebellion in *Ireland*.
3. That she had endeavoured to raise a party in *Scotland* against the Parliament; and that she had gone in the Head of a Popish Army in *England*, for so they termed the Forces with her (though few or none of that Religion were amongst them) Divers other Articles were framed against her; upon which Mr. *Pym* carried up an Impeachment to the Lords: they were (or seemed to be) at first surprized at so extraordinary a matter, but after some time they agreed to the Charge.

The successes of Sir *William Waller* gave so great a reputation to his Army, that the King sent for his Western Forces towards *Oxford*, to hinder the progress of his fortune; for it was feared at *Oxford*, if he had not some check he might make himself master of *Ludlow* and *Worcester*, and so bring a great tract of Land and many considerable Garrisons into the power of the Parliament: Sir *Ralph Hopton* in pursuance of his Orders was

1643. marched into *Somersetshire*, and Prince *Maurice* with the Earl of *Carnarvan* and a good strength of Horse, were sent from *Oxford* to joyn with him. Sir *William Waller* was come to *Bath* with his Army, with whom Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Horner*, and Mr. *Strode* were joyned, and they marched towards Sir *Ralph Hopton*; and came so near him, that on the third and fourth of *July* some skirmishes had passed betwixt some parties of each side, and prisoners were taken of both parties, but on *Wednesday* the 5th of *July* the two Armies engaged, at a place called *Langdown*, about eight miles from *Bristol*, and the fight was maintained betwixt them from two in the afternoon till one the next morning, at which time the Parliamentarians left the field, and the Kings party had gained a great Victory, if by accident their Ammunition had not blown up, whereby two Captains were slain, & above twenty wounded, whereof Sir *Ralph Hopton* himself was one, & in the battel Sir *Bevil Greenville* a person of great renown & integrity to the Kings Cause was slain, together with M. *Leak* a hopeful young Gentleman, Son to the Earl of *Scarsdale*, who was found dead in the field with the Colours of the Enemy about his arm, as also one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, and 2 Captains; what Officers fell on the Parliaments side was not known, because the publishers of such actions were unwilling to be very particular in their relations, that they might not too much discourage their party.

Langdown Fight.

Waller being advertised of what had happened, having got some fresh men from *Bristol* marched after *Hopton*, hoping to ingage him before he could get Ammunition to defend himself, so that he was forced to retire to the *Devizes* a Town in *Wiltshire*, and there he was by *Waller* blockt up, and after a while he became so distressed, that he began to treat about the surrender of it, (for Prince *Maurice* was with the Horse retired towards *Oxford*) but immediately the fortune of War changed, for the King having notice of *Hopton*'s condition, sent Commissary *Wilmot* with the Earl of *Carnarvan* and *Crawfords* Regiment of Horse and others to the number of fifteen hundred to relieve him; upon whose approach near to Sir *William Waller*, he drew off to a place called *Roundway-down*, where the Horse began the fight, but after a while both Horse and foot encountered each other, and *Waller*'s Army was totally vanquished; and four brass Guns, and all the Ammunition and Baggage were taken, with nine Cornets of Horse, and eight and twenty Colours of Foot; Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* was wounded; and many other Officers, and a great number of Souldiers killed; and this Victory was obtained on the 13th of *July*, on the same day whereon the King and the Queen met at the foot of *Edgekil*, where the first Battel betwixt him and the Earl of *Essex* had been fought, as was before mentioned; their meeting after so long absence and on so sad an occasion was very joyful to each other; they went that night to Sir *Thomas Popes* house at *Wroxon*, where they lay all night, and the next morning they came with the Prince, the Duke of *Tork*, and their Army with the Carriages and Ammunition to *Woodstock*, and from thence to *Oxford*, where her coming was rather to a Triumph than a War.

Waller defeated at *Roundway-down*.

The King and Queen meet at *Edgekil*.

M^r's Abridgment fol 100.

The

1643.

The King being willing to profit himself of this good success to his Forces, ordered Prince Rupert to joyn himself with his Brother and the whole body of his strength in those parts, and to march immediately to Bristol. Before which place he came on the four and twentieth of July, and summoned it to be surrendered to him: Col. Nathanael Fines Son to the Lord Say and Seal was then Governour of the City, who made a shew of great resistance, but yet after three days it was surrendered upon the ensuing Articles:

Bristol delivered up to Prince Rupert.

1. That none of the Citizens should be molested in their persons or goods.
2. That every Officer should march forth with his Arms.
3. That every Trooper should ride out with his Horse and his Sword.
4. That every Souldier should march away with his Sword, Bag, and Baggage.
5. That a safe Convoy should be allowed for twenty miles.

A few dayes after the taking of this City, the King marched thither to see it and settle the Affairs of those parts, where presently after his arrival he received news of the surrender of Dorchester to the Earl of Carnarvon, and a day or two after Portland, Weymouth, and Melcombe submitted to his Forces, so that about this time the King was possessed of all the Western Counties, from the farthest part of Cornwall except some few Garrisons that were blocked up; and now or a little time after the Lord Fairfax and all his Forces were defeated at Adderton Moor, and he and they driven into Hull by the Earl of Newcastle: and from thence Northward even to the borders of Scotland, there was no Army in the field to hinder the King and his Forces from marching whither they pleased: London was then altogether unsatisfied, & many in it favoured the Kings cause, and most of the chief Gentry of the associated Counties were ready upon any appearance for the King to have secured those Counties to him, wherefore it was expected that in this conjuncture of affairs the King would have marched with his Army to London, and the Earl of Newcastle with his into the associated Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, whereby a sudden end would undoubtedly have been put to this Civil War, which was not only the opinion of those in the Kings Quarters, but many at London and in the Parliament were of the same mind, and some of them deserted the Party and submitted to the King, and others were on the point of quitting the Kingdom. But in the midst of these hopes, the King against his own judgement was at a Council of War over-ruled to go to besiege Gloucester; and a few days after the Earl of Newcastle fate down before Hull; To this fatal City of Gloucester the King in person with his Army marched in the beginning of August, and about the 10th. he fate down before it, and by two Heralds summoned the City to be surrendered to him; to which summons within 2 hours an answer was drawn and consented unto both by the Citizens and Souldiers, which was presented to the King by Major

Several places in the West submitted to the King.

The L. Fairfax defeated at Adderton Moor by the Earl of Newcastle.

Hull besieged by the Earl of Newcastle, and Gloucester besieged by the King.

Pudsey and one Toby Jordan a Citizen of the place, in these words;

1643.

We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Souldiers within this Garrison of Gloucester, unto his Majesties gracious Message return this humble answer, That we do keep this City according to Our Oaths and Allegiance to and for the use of his Majesty and his Royal posterity. And do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

The King received this Answer without any expression of choler or indignation, seeming only to wonder at their confidence, for in all appearance they could have no hope of relief, the whole number of Souldiers, Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, together with the Train-Bands, and those Horse and Dragoons, which they on a sudden got from Berkely Castle, amounted to few more than fifteen hundred, forty barrels of powder was all their store, with a very mean and slender Artillery for such a service, & the works were of a great compass and little more than half perfected: so that it was generally believed, the King would rather presently have attempted the Town by a storm, whilst they were yet in some consternation, than wasted his time and Souldiers by a Siege: but by all the intelligence he could get, the Parliament was in no condition to send any Forces to disturb him, and his Council of War thought it better to save his Infantry by a little expence of time, than by exposing the hazard of so many of their lives in an assault. So that a close Siege was made on all sides, though the first had been the wiser Counsel.

The Parliament were very much troubled at the news of this Siege, and used all the endeavours possibly to recruit Essex his broken Army for the relief of it; the first thing they did was to cause 2000 men to be pressed to strengthen some weak Companies, and upon a conference with the Committee of the Militia of the City of London, by consent of the Lord Major and Aldermen, they procured from thence two Regiments of the Train-Bands, three Regiments of Auxiliaries and a Regiment of Horse; nor were they less mindful of the North, for the Army from Scotland which they had invited to their assistance could not be ready soon enough to secure these parts, wherefore they passed an Ordinance for the speedy pressing of 2000 men to be raised out of the six Associate Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hartford, and Huntingdon, to be put under the Command of the Earl of Manchester. In preparation whereunto Colonel Oliver Cromwel was very active, he had the year before the Command of a Troop of Horse, with which he secured the Town of Cambridge, and obstructed many Levies for the King in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; but sometime before this he had a Commission to be a Colonel, and by authority thereof he raised a Regiment of Horse consisting of a thousand, with which he was employed in several of the Northwest parts of England, where he joyned as occasion

1643. occasion offered with Sir William Brereton, Sir John Gell, the Lord Grey of Groby, and others, and did very considerable service to his party; his great Design was by this new Army to attempt to change the whole Discipline of the Parliaments Militia, for having observed that the Kings Horse, who were his greatest strength consisted of Gentlemen, or the servants of such, and that these led on by a sense of Honour, did in most encounters worst their enemies, he believed if the Parliament Horse could be framed of the most zealous of their party, such as were persuaded by the Preaching of the Ministers that the Cause was Gods Cause, and that all their religious Liberties were at stake in it, and those that died therein died in the favour of God, and in assurance of Salvation, they might set this sense of Conscience against the other sense of Honour, and be in better hopes of success than before; and this method he put in practice as far as he could in the new raised Forces before-mentioned, whereof most of the Officers were very great zealots, and the Souldiers by degrees became of the same leven, and those were they that effected afterwards what he hoped for from them.

On the 24th of August the Earl of Essex drew all his Army together to Hounslow, where almost all the Members of both Houses of Parliament were present, the remainder of his old Army was well recruited, and he had got some additional Regiments of Horse, besides the Horse and Foot he had from the City, which made a gallant appearance. That night he marched to Colbrook, where he staid a day for some more men that were to come to him, and then he marched to Beckonsfield, and so forward to Beerton, where he cloathed his Army, and marched on.

The King thought it scarce credible that an Army could have been so soon got together; but since it was so, he sent out parties to obstruct their march, but they marched so close, and in so good order, that little obstruction could be given to his progress; so that by the fifth of September he came to Presbury Hills, where he drew up his whole Army in view of the City, and discharged four pieces of great Ordnance to give them notice of his approach, which was at a time when the Kings Forces were prepared ready for a storm, the besieged in want, and their Ammunition consumed to three Barrels of Powder: but upon consultation had by the King with the General Officers, it was resolv'd the Army should draw off, which was done, and all their Huts were set on fire. Essex marched thence to Cheltenham, and stayed there two dayes, and from thence on the eighth of September he went with his whole Army to Gloucester, where he staid two nights till he had furnished the City with Ammunition, Money, and other necessaries, and from thence marched to Tewksbury, staying betwixt the Kings Forces and that Garrison four days, to give them more time the better to furnish themselves with Victuals: whilst he stayed there he had advice, that a body of the Kings Army were then in Cirencester Castle, and there had laid in great stores of Provision; upon which advertisement, want of Victuals and necessaries increasing upon his whole Army, he made a long march with the Van-guard of his Troops

to fall upon them, which he did about one of the Clock in the morning, sending in a party of Horse to seize upon the Centinels and Guards, whilst himself with the rest of the Horse begirt the Town, and a Forlorn-hope of Foot with his own Foot Regiment entred into it, and surpris'd two Regiments of Horse (belonging to Sir Nicholas Crispe and Colonel Spencer) here he found thirty load of Provision, which proved a great relief to his Army, then in extream distress for want thereof. Having proved successful in this encounter, he by short marches passed from thence to Cricklade, so to Swinden, intending to pass through Hungerford, but passing over Oburn Chace, Prince Rupert with the greatest part of the Kings Horse charged the whole Army by two commanded parties, one under the Lord Fermyn, and the other under Colonel Urry, who performed their duties so well, that many great Bodies of Essex his Horse and Foot were disordered, with little loss to the Kings Souldiers or Officers, save only to the Marquess de la Vieuville, a young French Nobleman, who was a very brave and Generous Cavalier, and unfortunately slain.

Essex from thence marched to Hungerford, and the Prince sent an Express to the King then at Wantage, desiring him to advance with all haste to Newberry, the better to hinder Essex's march to London, which was the thing he chiefly endeavoured. The King was glad of the advice, and in pursuance of it he marched away to Newberry, where he got before Essex; the next day the Parliament Army marched from Hungerford toward Newberry, but hearing the Kings Forces had possess'd the Town, they lay that night in the field, but the next morning by break of day Essex gave orders to march to a hill, called Biggs-hill near Newberry, which with some struggle he gained, but the Forlorn of the Kings Army by endeavouring to hinder him of so advantageous a place, did there begin the fight, which was very vigorously prosecuted on both sides till night came on, that both parties drew off. The next day Essex found his way open towards Reading, so that although the loss was equal to both Armies (saving that as the Quality of the Commanders were greater on the Kings side, more eminent Persons of that party were slain) yet the Victory was allowed to the Parliament Army, because they gained thereby their way to London, from which the King strove to hinder them. The number of the slain in this Battel is not recorded, Captain Massey, Captain Hunt, and divers other Officers of Essex his Army were killed, but not many of higher rank than Captains; three of the Nobility fell on the Kings side, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Sunderland, and the Lord Faulkland. After this Fight the King marched to Oxford, and the Earl of Essex drew his Army to Reading, and from thence to the Towns and Villages near London: but the King on the third of October finding Reading free, placed a good Garrison in it.

The Gentlemen of Norfolk hearing the great success of the Marquess of Newcastle in Yorkshire, did expect his march into that and the rest of the associated Counties, and in confidence thereof, they seiz'd on Lyn, and put a Garrison into

Essex musters his Army at Hounslow-heath.

Gloucester relieved by Essex.

Cirencester taken by Essex.

1643. Prince Rupert with the Kings Horse disorders Essex's whole Army.

The fight at Newberry.

1643. into it for the King, but whilst the Marquess of Newcastle vainly thought to take in Hull, before he left Yorkshire, the Earl of Manchester with Colonel Cromwel, and what Forces they could hastily get together, marched into Norfolk, and besieged Lyn, which in desperation of relief after a few daies was yielded to them, and to save the Town from plunder, the Earl impos'd a fine upon the Inhabitants of 10^s. a man to every private Souldier, and a Months pay to every Officer, which amounted to 30000^l. and a while after, namely on the eleventh of October, Sir John Meldrum march'd out of Hull, with two bodies of 1000 under the command of Colonel Lambert and Captain Rainsbrough, and fell upon the Marquess of Newcastle's quarters before the Town driving them from their Out-works and Trenches, where they kill'd fourscore of his Souldiers, and took 110 Prisoners, and 9 great pieces of Ordnance, and forced himself to retreat to Beverley, from whence afterward, all his Army march'd away and left the Town free: yet Sir Thomas Fairfax and those in the Town, were not in a condition to take the field, but Meldrum was dispatch'd to London to sollicite for Forces to be sent to Hull to make up an Army, but in the mean time, the Earl of Newcastle having received great quantities of Arms from Denmark, which were brought to Scarbrough, used diligence to augment his Army to be able not only to oppose the Scots, which were very near ready to march into England, but to strengthen Newark; and the King's other Garrisons in the Northern parts, whereof Lincoln and some others had been taken by the Earl of Manchester, whilst the Earl of Newcastle's Army lay before Hull, and others had been much distressed: But whilst these things were acted in the North, many considerable occurrences happened in other parts, which deserve to be mentioned.

Lyn seized on, and made a Garrison for the King by the Norfolk Gentlemen. But besieged and taken by Rainsbrough and Cromwel.

The Marquess of Newcastle beaten from Hull.

A Cessation of Arms agreed upon in Ireland.

Divers places in the West surrendred to the King.

The King being moved with compassion of the sad condition of his Protestant Subjects in Ireland, for want of relief and supply of money, Munition, Arms, Provisions, Cloaths, and all other necessaries: for the Parliament, who had undertaken the managery of that War, and raised great sums of Money for that end, employed the greatest part of it in the War in England against the King, so that many of the English Souldiers, unable to endure the insupportable necessity that lay upon them, did many times seize on Ships, and force the Mariners to transport them to England, which being represented to the King, He in July this year, sent a Commission to the Marquess of Ormond then Lieutenant General of the English Army, to treat with the Irish for a Cessation of Arms for one year, which after some time, upon the 15th of September was agreed to by both parties, and whilst this Cessation was making in Ireland, the King's Armies in the Western parts of England were very prosperous; insomuch, that about the same time, or a little before, Biddiford, Appleford, Barnstable and Exeter, were surrendred to the King by the Victorious Arms of Prince Maurice, who from Exeter marched to Dartmouth, which place was on the sixth of October surrendred likewise to him, so that though the King was unfortunately prevail'd with to lose the opportunity of ending the War, by besieging

Gloucester and Hull, yet was his condition at this time much better than the year before; for where as a twelve month past, he had in all the West but the County of Cornwall, and in Yorkshire no more than that City and Pomfret Castle, and except at Redding, Wallingford, and Abbingdon, not a Souldier quartered out of Oxford, not a Ship nor Port except Newcastle and Falmouth, and as the Parliament themselves published, not ten thousand men in Arms, he had now five Armies in being, and was possessed of all the Western Counties and Garrisons therein, except Plymouth, Lyn and Poole, and of all Yorkshire, Hull only excepted, and in Cheshire none but Namptwich stood out against him, and Wales was wholly His; and though the Parliament got from him Strafford, Warrington, Lyn, Lincoln, and some other considerable Garrisons, the King in lieu of those gained from them, Saltash, Cirencester, Birmingham, Leige, Lichfeild, Bradford, Hallifax, Wakefield, Dainton, Bristol, Bath, Dorchester, Weymouth, Biddiford, Barnstable, Appleford, Tenby, Haverford-west, Pembroke and Exeter, and as to Gloucester, great care was taken to hinder excursions from that Garrison; Sir William Vavasor was sent with a strong party of Horse to engarrison Hereford, with Commission to raise Forces, and to command in Chief in that County and Gloucestershire; Sudeley Castle was garrisoned by the Lord Chandos for the King, which stop'd Gloucester's intercourse with Warwick, the only way of Commerce with London; Berkley Castle was for the King maintained by a Scottish Captain. Sir John Winter was strongly scited in the Forrest of Deane, a Garrison was likewise put into Beverston Castle, and indeed Garrisons there were in every corner of the County, beside several parties of the King's Army which lay abroad in the Fields about it; so that Gloucester was almost as much distressed as if it had been besieged, they being inforced to fight or skirmish for whatever they got. In the mean time, an additional supply of one thousand Foot, and one hundred Horse, under the command of Sir William St. Leger and Colonel Min, landed out of Ireland to the King's aid, and were with eight pieces of Ordnance ordered to advance to Thornbury, the more to distress the City of Gloucester.

1643.

Many places Garrisoned for the King, by Sir William Vavasor and others.

More Forces sent the King from Ireland.

The French King sends an Ambassador to mediate between the King and the Parliament.

The French King and the Queen Regent of France, seem'd very sensible of the King's condition, and sent the Count de Harcourt (a Prince of the House of Lorraine, and a great Souldier,) heir Ambassador into England, to offer the mediation of France to compose the differences betwixt the King and the Parliament; He came first to London, and address'd himself to both Houses for a safe conduct to Oxford to the King, which they granted, and on the 18th of October he made his entry into that City, and three daies after, he had publick audience in the great Hall at Christ Church, where the King and Queen received him with great State and Magnificence; and whilst he staid at Oxford, he and his retinue were lodg'd in St. John's Colledge, but finding himself unable to effect any thing of his Embassy, after a few Months stay, he returned. Sir William Waller who had laid long in London to form an Army, had at last got together six thousand Horse and Foot, with which he was about this

C c c c

time

1643. time lain down before *Basing-House*, where he met with no better success than the King had at *Gloucester*, but whilst he was there, the City prest the Earl of *Essex* to besiege *Redding*, but he found himself not in a condition for such a service, but march'd to *Uxbridge*, and so to *St. Albans*, where he kept his head Quarters, and sent out parties to several places to oppose the King's Forces, which were very active in many places, though not alwaies fortunate; for about this time the Lord *Widdrington* with Colonel *Henderson*, and a good party of Horse and Foot, were met near *Horne Castle* in *Lincolnshire*, by the Parliaments Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, betwixt whom there was a sharp Fight, wherein Sir *Ingram Hopton* an Officer of the King's, had once unhorsed Colonel *Cromwell*, but he was again quickly mounted, and the King's party put to the worst, and Sir *Ingram Hopton* and some few others were slain. The King shortly after this misfortune, was recompenced with the good news of 4000 *English* Foot landed in *North-Wales*, out of *Ireland*, under Sir *Michael Erneley*, who immediately after their Landing, took in *Haverden Castle* near *Chester*, and might afterwards have proved more serviceable than they were to the King, had they not been divided as they were into several parts of his Armies, but been kept together under their old and known Commanders.

Lord Widdrington
wounded by
Manchester
in Lincoln-
shire.

The Scots
raise an Ar-
my for the
Assistance of
the Parlia-
ment.

The Scots promised to the Parliament (from whom Commissioners were sent to *Edinburgh* about that business.) that they would bring into *England* to their assistance, an Army consisting of one and twenty thousand Horse and Foot, towards the charge of raising whereof, the Parliament sent 100000^l. into *Scotland*, and great Levies of men were made for this Army, which was now near drawn together, but some at *Oxford* had so good an opinion of the Scots, that they would hardly be brought to believe they would invade *England*, till they saw them in the bowels of the Nation; for General *Lesley* with great imprecations upon himself, as hath been before exprest in this History, protested never to draw his sword against the King, but the ruling party in *Scotland* to facilitate the raising of this Army, had raised a report that the King was deserted by most of his Nobility.

The King reposing great trust in the Duke of *Hamilton*, had written to him to use all his power and interest to keep his Country-men at home, which had not been difficult for one of his credit in that Nation; but he by some secret Arts did more inflame them, and to cover his deceit, pretended to fly from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, where he came about the last of *December*, pretending to seek a shelter there for his Loyalty, but the King had so good information of his practices in *Scotland*, that as soon as he came thither, he and the Earl of *Lanerick* his Brother, were both forbidden the Court, whereupon *Lanerick* got privately out of *Oxford*, and went to *London*, where he was well received, which increased the King's ill opinion of his Brother, and he was sent prisoner to *Pendennis Castle*.

The Duke of
Hamilton
sent prisoner
to Pendennis
Castle.

The King had on the 22^d of *December* summoned the Members of both Houses, who had deserted those at *Westminster* to assemble at *Oxford*

on the 22^d of *January* following, where accordingly they met in the great Hall at *Christ's Church*, and after the King had made a short Speech to them, he dismissed them to their Seats. The Lords sat in the upper Schools, and the Commons in the Convocation House, and for their better welcome, he advanced Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Duke of *Cumberland*, and Earl of *Holderness*, and created *James* his second Son, Duke of *Tork*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might sit and vote amongst them. After they had sat awhile, by a letter they mov'd the Earl of *Essex* to endeavour Peace, and did also declare against the Invasion of the Scots by another letter sent to them, in which they acquainted them with the falseness of their reports concerning the King, and shewed how inconsiderable a number of Lords were with those that invited them in; the King himself writ also to them to put them in mind of their several engagements to be quiet, but before those Letters could come to *Scotland*, and indeed some daies before the Parliament had assembled at *Oxford*, the Scots Army was marched into *England*, but when the Letters came to the ruling party at *Edinburgh*, with a strange unheard of insolency, they commanded them to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman, but the dishonour of that Nation was in a great measure repaired by the gallantry and faithfulness of the Marquess of *Montrose*, who about the time of this their Invasion, was made General Governour of *Scotland*, and with an incredible Industry by small numbers of Men won many Battels, and overthrew well formed Armies, whereof some relation shall be made hereafter, and had he not been betrayed by those he trusted, he had forc'd that people to Justice and quietness. Upon the entry of the Scotch Army into *England*, a Letter was writ from *Berwick* in the name of the Committee of both Kingdoms, subscribed by the Marquess of *Argile* and Sir *William Armine*, to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, who then lay at *Anwick* with 16 Troops of Horse, two Regiments of Foot, eight Drakes, and twenty pieces of Ordnance, which was to be communicated to the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, wherein it was signified, That they came into *England* to prosecute the ends of the Covenant, namely, the Preservation and Reformation of Religion, the true Honour and Happiness of the King, and the publick Peace and Liberty of his Dominions, hoping that things of so great and considerable consequence would find with him and them such entertainment as might answer the weight and importance of them: Adding, That if misinformation, or any other unhappy grounds should so far prevail with him and the rest, as to reckon them in the number of their Enemies; and if instead of that concurrence with them which they wis'd and hoped to deserve, they found opposition and acts of Hostility, the Law of Nature and their own reason, might tell them what they were to expect. Sir *Thomas* returned an answer to this Letter, to this purpose.

1643.
The King
summons a
Parliament
at Oxford.

Prince Ru-
pert made
Duke of
Cumberland,
and James
the King's
second Son
Created
Duke of
Tork.

The Scotch
Army enters
England.

The Mar-
quess of
Montrose
made Gen-
eral Govern-
or of Scotland.

A Letter to
Sir Thomas
Glemham,
shewing the
reasons of
their Armies
march into
England.

That there being none with him but Officers, he could not return an answer so sud^{ly} only by their Trumpeter, but he said he would send to the Gentlemen of the County to give him a meeting, and thereupon they should receive an answer by a Trumpeter

Sir Thomas
Glemham's
Answer to
the Letter.

1643.

petter of his own, and by this means he gained time to draw his forces and Artillery to Newcastle, for *Anwick* was not tenible, and many of the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, especially such as were allied to my Lord *Grey of Wark*, either for fear of the *Scots*, or affection to their cause, were very backward in their opposition to them, but *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth Shields*, and such other places as were Garrisoned by the King's forces, did so obstruct their march, that they passed not *Tyne* till the second of *March*, and when they did, the Marquess of *Newcastle* and General *King* marched so near them, that they could not advance Southward, but got into *Sunderland*, where they lay, till the Lord *Fairfax* and the rest of the Parliament forces made a diversion able enough to give them opportunity to descend into *Yorkshire*, as hereafter will be shewn.

The Scotch Army descended as far as *Torval*.

Sir *John Meldrum*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, Sir *Will. Constable*, and Col. *Lambert*, had out of *Lincolnshire* and the associated Counties got many men together, and made such impressions upon the Marquess of *Newcastle's* Quarters, that they became very well able to keep a Body together in *Yorkshire*, and Sir *John Meldrum* marched into *Nottinghamshire*, where he joined with some Troops of the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Lord *Willoughby of Parham* to the number of 8000 horse and foot, with which they besieged *Newark*.

Newark besieged by *Meldrum*.

The King was much concerned at the news of this Siege, and was resolved at any hazard to relieve the Town, in order whereunto the King sent an Express to Prince *Rupert*, which came to him on the 12th of *March* to *Chester*, wherein he commanded him to draw what forces he could together to raise the Siege of *Newark*; upon this advice he made hast to *Shrewsbury*, speeding away Major *Legg* (General of the Ordnance) before to chuse out so many commanded Musqueteers of the *English* (of late come out of *Ireland*) as might be well spared out of that Garrison. These were a thousand Musqueteers of Colonel *Broughton's* and Colonel *Tillier's* Regiments, with a hundred and twenty of Colonel *Sir Fulk Huns*. All these sent down by the *Severn*, met the Prince at *Bridgenorth* on *Friday*. Of horse he took along his own Troop, and Regiment, with twenty of Major General *Urrey's*; with these Forces he drew along three field pieces. At *Wolverhampton* next day was his Army recruited by a hundred horse, and 200 foot of Colonel *Leveson's*. On Munday night he had notice at *Ashby de la Zouch*, of two thousand two hundred enemies under Sir *Edward Hartop*, sent out by *Meldrum* to the pass and Bridge over the *Sore*, a mile from *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*. Their purpose was either to intercept General Major *Porter*, or to prevent his joining with my Lord *Loughborough*: for thither with four Regiments of Horse, and a thousand commanded Musqueteers of my Lord of *Newcastle's* men, was *Porter* now come from about *Newark*, to hinder the farther inroads into *Leicestershire*. Daily slight Skirmishes here passed. For *Meldrum* not able to force the passage, and hearing of my Lord of *Loughborough's* drawing out, stole away. *Porter* thus disengaged, was the next day together with my Lord *Loughborough's* Forces conjoined to the Princes. That night they all quartered in a Close by *Bingham*, eight miles short of *Newark*,

An express sent by the King to Prince *Rupert* to raise the Siege.

About two of the Clock, the Moon then well up, the Drums bear, and all marched. *Hiderio* had the marches been so speedy, as fame it self was prevented; for by *Meldrum's* own Letter sent to the Lord *Fairfax*, which was intercepted the night before; they had no more but an uncredited Rumour of Prince *Rupert's* coming. On this daies march the Prince had notice by his espials, how the enemies were busied all that morning in sending away their Cannons; which proved no other, than their drawing them off their Batteries into their Chief work at the *Spittle*, or *Exter-House*, a little more than Musket-shot from the Town; for into that one Quarter had they this morning drawn all their Regiments and Ammunition. The Prince having intelligence of their amassing themselves thus into one body, which he supposed a preparation to march off suddenly; advanced his Van of Horse upon the spur to overtake them: the rest of his Horse had order to keep along with the Foot, Cannon and Ammunition. Coming near the *Bacon-hill*, a mile short of *Newark*, he perceived some Horse of the Enemies; who upon his approach, drew down the other side to their own Grose. The Prince thus easily gaining the hill, was earnest to pursue his good fortune, upon his apprehension of having many advantages upon a retreating Enemy: whereupon he gave order to charge them with all the Horse then with him, to engage them till the Reer and Foot should be marched up to him. Trooping thus to the Edge of the Hill, he perceived the most of the enemy in Battalia, (Horse and Foot) near the *Spittle*: all except four great Bodies of Horse, who expected him at the very descent of the Hill. The Prince thus ordered his own few Forces; first himself with his own Troop of Life-Guards undertook to attack that Body on the left hand, appointing my Lord *Loughborough's* Troop to second him, and Colonel *Charles Gerard's* Troop to be as a Reserve a little on my Lords right hand. The Princes Regiment was cast out into five Divisions, two Troops to each Division: in the first and very right-hand of all, were Captain *Gardiner*, and Captain *Richardson*; then Captain *Cobb*, and Captain *Martin*; then the Lord *Grandison* and Sir *Thomas Dallison*; next them the Troops of Sir *Lewis Dives*, and the Lord *Dillon*; Major *Legg's* and Lieutenant Colonel *O Neal's* Troops being next unto the Life-Guards; this Regiment was seconded by Major General *Porter's* Regiment: the Field-word, was, *King and Queen*; theirs *Religion*. The fight began about nine a Clock, and after a while it grew fierce, especially on the Princes his right wing, the other doubling their Files from three to six deep, and charged two utmost Troops upon the Flanks so hard, that Capt. *Martin* came timely in to help to beat them off; the Prince himself having pierced deep into the Enemies, and being observed and known, was dangerously at once assaulted by three sturdy Persons, whereof one fell by his own sword; a second being pistoll'd by Master *Mortaign* one of his own Gentlemen; the third now ready to lay hand on the Princes Collar, had it almost chopt off by Sir *Will. Neale*; he thus disengaged with a shot only in his Gauntlet, with Sir *Richard Crane* and his own Troop, charged quite thorow the Body, pursuing them in a Rout home to their

1643.

The fight at *Newark*.

1643. Works at the *Spittle*, presently after this, his Regiment with their seconds likewise routed the three other bodies, four of the Troops charging even into the Work, and bringing away a Captain prisoner; *Loughborow* also deported himself honourably, some of his shruak at the second Charge, but he himself rode back to rally and bring them up again: Colonel *Gerard* was shot in the arm in this encounter, and being by the fall of his Horse much bruised, was taken prisoner.

After a little pause both sides began to make ready for a second Charge; the Prince to make impression, and they to receive it: and though for a good while they disputed it roughly, yet by fine force were they and all the rest driven quite out of the field beyond their own work, Foot and Cannon at the *Spittle*; divers of them hastening by a Bridge of Boats over that branch of the *Trent* into the Island: four other Troops, with as many foot Companies, hastened up to *Muskam-bridge* upon the other side of the Island, and main stream of the River, about three quarters of a mile both from *Newark* and the *Spittle*: here they stayed till towards evening; when breaking the Bridge behind them, and throwing one piece of Cannon into the *Trent*, they hastened to *Nottingham*. In both these stiff bouts, the Prince took five Cornets, and ninety Prisoners, whereof three Captains, some Gentlemen, three Cornets, besides other Officers, and two Cannoniers. And now as if an universal Truce had been agreed upon, there was some half an hours silence, excepting that the enemies Cannon disturbed it. As for the Prince he now staid for his Foot and the Reer of his Horse, both left full two miles behind, when his Van began to double their march to overtake the enemy; anon came up his Foot, all that day commanded by Col. *Tillier*: these resting themselves a while upon the hill, the first division being part of those that came from *Shrewsbury*, were led on by the Colonel, these marched down in the face of the enemy, hooting at their Cannon, and flanked with some Horse, they were wheeled to the right into a Meadow; at their coming, the enemy drew all their Horse and Foot within their *Spittle-work*, and coming up against this place, both sides saluted one another at too far a distance with a short volley; but Col. *Tillier* was not to stay here, as being by his Orders to march up to the very Rivers side, to recover the Boat-bridge from the enemy; but this being too well guarded, he was glad to go off, making a stand without reach of Cannon. In this time were divers more bodies brought down into the field, who charged up to the enemies work, and killed many: *Loughborow's* men being left upon the Hill for a reserve. Thus was the valley bespread with the Princes Battalions: and in this posture stood the Army. Sir *Richard Byron* Governour of *Newark* likewise before this, had sent part of his Garrison both (Horse and Foot) into another ground on the South-East side of the Town. And by this time had the Prince notice given him by a Prisoner, and by one of theirs that came over to him, how they were so distressed for want of Victuals; that they were not able to live there two daies. Whereupon he began to resolve upon other

Prince Richard
beats
them out of
the field.

1643. Counsels, esteeming it cheaper to block up their trenches than to storm them. And blockt up they were already in a very narrow room, no more being free than the backside of the *Spittle* towards the River. Besides which they were on all sides surrounded by his forces. On the South-side by the Town; on the East by the Prince; and on the North by Colonel *Tillier*. Into the Island on the West, had the Prince sent five hundred Horse, besides 200 of the *Newark* Troopers. Thus the late blockers found themselves now besieged, and without much hope of sudden relief or safe means for sally: for so well had the Prince ordered them, that had they sallied forwards, he had then fallen on upon their first issuing out, both in front, and flanks with his Army, and the Town had charged them upon their Reer. Had they offered to escape over their Boat bridge, those in the Isle had disturbed their passing, and others entertained their coming over. By this time had the Prince commanded Sir *Richard Byron* with his own, and Sir *Gervase Eyres* Horse Regiment with 800 of Sir *John Digbys* foot, to advance so high into the Island, as to put in betwixt the enemies two Bridges. By which interposition was all intercourse cut off, betwixt their greater Body at the *Spittle*, and those at *Muskam-Bridge*: upon this those eight Colours at the Bridge retreated, as aforesaid. Under favour of these Town-forces too, was the Prince resolved to cast up a Redoubt that night betwixt the Bridges, but going to view the Ground, the enemy sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley. To make way for this, and the more to sweeten and oblige the Prince, had Sir *John Meldrum* some hours before sent home Colonel *Gerard*, yet upon the Parole of a Souldier and a Gentleman, to return himself a Prisoner when ever he should be called. They having sent out to Parley quit their Bridge, which the Prince presently possessed by 100 Musqueteers. For the Parley on the Prince his part was appointed Sir *Richard Crane*, Captain of his Life-Guards, with Sir *William Neale*, Scout-Master-General, the other sending Sir *Miles Hobard*, and Sir *John Palgrave* two Colonels of *Norfolk*, on their part. The Prince his Horse were so over-marcht, and the Foot so beaten off their Legs by long marches, that he found his men not very able to engage a new, and the enemy were more than was believed; so that he was willing to give them good conditions, and the rather, for that (as by intercepted Letters it appeared) the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, being commanded by the Council of State to march, other places might ere long have need of his presence, so that (at length) he condescended to these Articles.

1643.
The Prince
blocks up
their Trenches.

The Prince
grants them
these Articles.

1. That all Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other fire Arms belonging to the Artillery be delivered.

2. That all Souldiers march away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.

3. That all Officers march without molestation, with their Arms and Horses for themselves and Servants, and all Bag and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever doth truly belong to themselves.

4. That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses and Colours.

5. That

5. That His Highness send a Convoy to protect us from any injury two miles from the utmost of His Highness quarters.

Dated March 22. 1643.

The Parliamentarians quit their Garrisons in Lincolnshire.

1644. The Marquis of Newcastle receives a loss at Hilton.

Arundel Castle taken by Sir William Waller.

Waller defeats the Lord Hopton at Brandon Heath.

Winchester yielded to Sir William Waller.

Upon this Victory of the Prince, the Garrisons of Gainsbrow, Lincolne and Sleaford, were quitted by the Parliamentarians, and Sterne Castle in Staffordshire was surrendered to Sir Gilbert Gerard for the King; but four daies after the action at Newark, The King's Forces under the Marquess of Newcastle received a considerable loss at a place called Hilton, where for two or three daies several skirmishes were made betwixt the English and Scotch Armies, and on the 25th of March they came to a pretty close engagement, wherein the English Foot were much disordered and one Brigade of the Horse routed, and about two hundred Horse and men were taken, but not without great loss to the Scots, though their numbers were increased with 3000 English Seamen and others which came to them in Sunderland from Hull, and upon this disorder the Marquess enlarged his quarters Southward, but the Scots did not yet advance much farther.

Sir William Waller having taken Arundel Castle in Sussex, and procured a Commission from the Parliament less dependent on Essex than that he had before, marches into Hampshire against the Lord Hopton, who was then very fortunate there, having taken Warder Castle, and many other places. At Brandon Heath near Alesford, both parties met on the 30th of March, and there was a very hot dispute betwixt them, but Waller having the advantage of the ground, and a covert of Trees and Hedges to shelter his foot, did thereby great execution on the King's Party, who pressing too eagerly to gain a Victory, lost it; yet it was not an intire Conquest, for my Lord Hopton retreated to Winchester with all his Cannon, except two heavy pieces which were plunged, and could not easily be drawn off; but Sir John Smith and Col. Butler, and some other Officers, of less note, of his Army, were slain, and 200 common Souldiers, and many others wounded, amongst which the Lord Steward Brother to the Duke of Richmond was one, who died three or four daies after at Abington, of his wounds: He was a young Noble-man of great courage and generosity in all his actions, and very debonaire and affable in his behaviour towards all; on the Parliament side many Officers and Souldiers were killed and wounded, and of the wounded, Colonel Thomson who lost his leg, and Colonel Dalbie, were the most remarkable; after this Fight, the Town of Winchester was yielded to Sir William Waller, but the Castle continued long after a Garrison for the King. The news of the affront lately given to the Marquess of Newcastle's Army by General Lesley, animated Fairfax, and the Forces in Yorkshire, to draw what Troops they could together to endeavour to join with the Scots, who were now upon their march, and in pursuance of this design, the Lord Fairfax marched out of Hull with twenty Troops of Horse, and joined with his Son Sir Thomas and Colonel Lambert, who made up about Sixty Troops more, besides a good body of Foot under

Sir John Meldrum, making up in all to the number of seven thousand Horse and Foot, and with this little Army they made as if they intended to march to York, but on the 11th of April, when they came near Selby (where Colonel Bellasis lay with a good body of Men, as a reserve to the Marquess of Newcastle) they drew before the Town, and about eleven of the Clock they assaulted it in three places, and after two hours fight made themselves masters thereof, wherein they took Colonel Bellasis the Commander in Chief, Governour of York, with most of the rest of the Officers, and sixteen hundred common Souldiers, a Drake, and a Saker, seven barrels of Powder, sixteen bundles of Match, great store of Bullets, and two thousand Arms; immediately upon this success, the Marquess of Newcastle retreated to York, to re-inforce that Garrison, in case any attempt should be made upon it; and Fairfax marched to meet the Scots, and joined his Army with theirs at Wetherby, from whence they disposed them to quarters till a resolution should be taken for further action: In the mean time, the Queen being great with Child at Oxford and somewhat apprehensive of a siege there by the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller, which was the common intelligence of that time, to prevent the inconveniences thereof, set out from Oxford on the 17th of April towards Exeter, where she safely arrived some time after; and two daies after her departure from Oxford, the Parliamentary convention at Oxford were by the King prorogued to the eighth of October, and that prorogation was afterward enlarged to the ninth of November by Proclamation. Prince Rupert was very active in Shropshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Lancashire, to make an Army sufficient to relieve the Marquess of Newcastle, who was somewhat straitned in Yorkshire by the Parliament Forces, where he had done very good service in taking many Garrisons from the Enemy, as Longford House, and Tonge Castle in Shropshire, Stopford in Cheshire, and Bolton in Lancashire, besides the relief of Latham House, (which had been 18 weeks defended by the Countess of Derby against a close siege) and the defeat of many parties that encountered him or his Forces at several times, but we shall leave him for a while to speak of the King's condition at this time.

The Parliament having formed two Armies, whereof the Foot were far the most part made up of London Trained-Bands and Auxiliaries, one under the Earl of Essex, and the other under Sir William Waller; both Armies Rendezvouz'd on the 24th of May at Blewbury in Berkshire, and kept their head-quarters that night at Abington within five miles of Oxford, where they continued five or six daies, and Essex marched from thence to Islip, with purpose to distress Oxford on the North part, and left Sir William Waller at Abington on the South part.

The King perceiving the Parliaments intention to besiege Oxford, was resolved to endeavour to prevent it, by giving their Armies some distant diversion, or at least to remove his person from the incommodities of a siege: The place resolved to go to, was Worcester, which he kept so private, that scarce any knew of it but himself, and

1644.

Selby taken by the Lord Fairfax.

Fairfax joins his Army with the Scots.

The Queen upon apprehension of danger, removes from Oxford to Exeter. The Parliament at Oxford prorogued.

Latham House defended 18 weeks by the Countess of Derby, relieved by Prince Rupert.

The Parliament form two Armies under the Earl of Essex and Sir William Waller.

1644. to amuse the enemy, on the third of June, he sent a party of five or six hundred Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Cleveland*, to alarm *Abington*, who bravely entered the Turnpike and if he had had more forces, might have carried the Town, but having done his business, he retreated with his Party to *Oxford*, whilst *Waller* drew his Troops about *Abington*, expecting the King's march that way, but He that evening appointed his Rendezvouze at *Northly*, about eight miles from *Oxford* where he drew up his Army, consisting of about 7000 Horse and Foot, 12 Drakes and 60 Carriages, and having refreshed himself at one Mr. *Parrets* House there, from whence he marched to *Burton on the Water*, a Village between *Burford* and *Stow on the Wold*, and there lodged at Dr *Temples* the Parson there.

The King
removes
with his
Army from
Oxford to
Worcester.

From *Burton* the King went to *Parshore*, and from thence to *Worcester*.

Essex and *Waller* having notice of the King's march 18 hours after he was gone, pursued him two several waies; *Essex* was in some trouble to know what to do, considering that fighting would not so much waste his men, as tedious marches after the King's light Army, when his was incumbered with a heavy train of Artillery, so that he thought it more prudent to put *Waller* upon this service, and to stay for him at *Burford* to consult about the prosecution of it. At *Burford* it was resolved that *Essex* should march Westward, to bring those Counties into the obedience of the Parliament, whilst *Waller* should get what Forces he could together, to join with him in pursuit of the King, who was yet at *Worcester*, from whence on the 11th of June he sent a party out to relieve *Dudley* Castle that was besieged, and having intelligence that the Parliament Armies were now severed, and hearing that *Waller* came nearer by tedious and hungry marches, the King advanced to *Budely*, where he staid four daies, and *Waller* imagining his intention to be to march towards Prince *Rupert*, hastned into *Staffordshire* to get before him, but the King turns back with resolution to be furnished with more men and ammunition from *Oxford*, and in order thereunto on the 18th of June he came to *Witney*, where he staid till some forces came to increase his Army, and being as well provided as he could in so short a time; He marched towards the Parliaments associated Counties, and on the 22^d of June he came to *Buckingham*, where he received the joyful news of the Queens safe delivery of the Princess *Henrietta*.

The King
marches to
Buckingham,
where he
receives the
news of the
Birth of the
Princess
Henrietta at
Essex.

Waller to recruit his Army from the Garrisons of *Gloucester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, *Northampton* and *Kenelmworth* Castle, had on the 26th of June, a Rendezvouze in *Keinton* field, whereof the King having notice turned his march towards him, and quartered that night at *Brackley*; two daies after the King coming before *Banbury*, he found *Waller* drawn up in Battalia Westward from the Town on the side of *Crouch-hill*, taking advantage of the Hills, Bogs and Ditches, so that the King marched to *Daintry*, leaving a guard of Dragoons at *Cropledy-bridge*, to secure his pass over the River, and thereupon the Army marched over, and the Musqueteers that guarded the Bridge, were gone off, when *Waller* greedily apprehending to make some advantage upon the

King's Rear, puts over 2000 Horse, with a great body of Foot, and 14 pieces of Cannon, sufficient as he thought to disorder it; the King's Rear consisted of the Earl of *Cleveland*, and the Earl of *Northampton*'s Brigades of Horse, and Sir *Bernard Ashley*'s regiment of Foot: These faced about, and routed all the Enemy that had passed the Bridge; and the Earl of *Northampton* seeing some of *Waller*'s Horse endeavouring to ford the River, charged and repulsed them: In this fight 300 of *Waller*'s Souldiers were slain, and *Weems* their General of the Ordnance was taken prisoner, with two Lieutenant Colonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, four Cornets, with other Ensigns and Officers, 180 common Souldiers, five Gunners, and fourteen great Guns. There was slain on the King's part, Sir *William Butler*, and Sir *William Clark*, the Lord *Wilmot* General of the Horse, was twice Prisoner, but rescued once by Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, and the second time by Mr. *Robert Howard*, who was Knighted for the service of that day. Colonel *Nevil* was also hurt, and some other Officers and others were taken Prisoners, but there were not above twenty slain.

1644.

Sir William
Waller routed
by the
King's forces
at *Cropledy-bridge*.

The King marched to *Evesham* after this fight, from whence he sent a message to the Parliament to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, and from thence he went on to *Bath*; Sir *William Waller* was not in a condition to follow him, but after some time, he went to *London* to solicit recruits, whilst the King march'd after *Essex* into the west. In the beginning of this Month, Prince *Rupert* marched out of *Lancashire* with a considerable Army for the relief of *York*, wherein the Marquess of *Newcastle* had been besieged two months by three Armies, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Lesley*; they all upon approach of the Prince, drew off their Army, and thereupon the Prince and the Marquess of *Newcastle* marched after them to a plain called *Marston-Moor*, where on the third of July, a terrible Fight began, in which the Prince at first had much the better, taking their Ordnance, and many of them Prisoners, insomuch that General *Lesley* and the Lord *Fairfax* thinking all had been lost, fled many miles from the place where the Battel was fought, and never came to the remainder of their Army, till two daies after the Fight; but in conclusion, by a wonderful and an unexpected fatality the fortune of the day turned, and the Parliament Forces recovered their lost Ordnance, and took some of the Princes Baggage, and with it Sir *Charles Lucas*, Colonel *Porter*, and Colonel *Tilliard* Prisoners. In this Battel were slain on his Majesties part, the Lord *Cary*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Colonel *Eure*, Colonel *Towneley*, with some others of note, and about 1500 common Souldiers. On the Parliaments part were slain Sir *Charles Fairfax*, with many other of their Commanders, and at least 3000 Souldiers.

The King
sends a Mes-
sage to the
Parliament
about a
Treaty of
Peace.

York be-
sieged by
Manchester,
Fairfax and
Lesley, is re-
lieved by
Prince
Rupert.

*Marston-
Moor* Fight,
wherein the
King's Party
was at last
defeated.

After this Battel the Parliament Army fate down again before *York*, and Prince *Rupert* marched away with about 6000 Horse and Dragoons into *Lancashire*, and from thence to *Chester*, but the Marquess of *Newcastle*, and his two Sons, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord

1644. Lord Widdrington, Earl of Carnwarth, Bishop of London-Derry, Lord William Carnaby General Pay-master, Sir Edward Widdrington, Colonel Carnaby, Colonel Bassett, Colonel Mozen, Sir Wal. Vavasor, Sir Hugh Cholmley, Sir Fra. Mackworth, and Sir Charles Cavendish, did all take Shipping at Scarborough, and were from thence transported to Hamborough.

The sudden departure of the Marquels of Newcastle, and so many other considerable persons at this time, was thought to be occasioned by a general Dissatisfaction among the Officers, concerning the Abilities and Integrity of King; whose direction had a great Influence upon the Action of that day; but however it came to pass, so it was, that being a Scotch-Man he was very hardly spoken of among the Northern Commanders, as neither so great a Souldier as the World believed him, nor so zealous in the Cause, as perhaps he would have been, if it had not been against his own Country-men.

York surren-
dred to the
Parliament.

The Parliament Army had now lain twelve daies before York, since their last approach to it, and preparation was made for a Storm; but Sir Thomas Glemham the Governor sent a Trumpeter out late at night for a Parley, for his Provisions and Ammunition was much wasted, and he had not above 1000 Souldiers besides those that were sick and wounded, to defend the Town: So that upon the 16th of July the City was Surrendered upon very honourable Terms, amongst which the two or three first were, That all Officers and Souldiers should march out with their Horses and Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullets in Mouth, with Bag and Baggage, and a Convoy to Skipton, and that no Souldiers shall be plundered: But the Souldiers that were to guard them, in violation of these conditions plundered many of the Waggon, at which the Earl of Manchester and Cromwel were so much displeased, that many of them were censured at a Court Martial, but little restitution was made, and most of them that were accused, agreed in one excuse, viz. That they never heard it was any part of the agreement, that they should march away, and be protected with their Bag and Baggage, and that many of Sir Thomas Glemham's Souldiers set them on to plunder, discovering to them which were the Waggon of Papists, in rifling whereof they assisted and got their share.

Having endeavoured hitherto in the actions of this year, to apply them to the times whereon they were acted, we must now return to describe the motions of the Earl of Essex and the King in the Western parts, which for some weeks together administered the greatest matter for Story.

Whilst the King was at Bath, he received advice that Essex was about the 16th of July, march'd from Teverton in Devonshire towards Plymouth to raise the Siege, which Sir Richard Grenvil had at that time before Plymouth, and disperse his Forces, which was the result of a Council of War then had; when two other Questions were proposed, either to march back to meet the King's Forces, or to besiege Exeter, but neither of those were approved, and they were not very earnest to attempt Exeter, now they knew they had frighted the Queen from thence, who about the 15th or 16th of July safely ar-

rived at Brest in Britanny, where she was very well received, though she got not thither without much hazard, having 100 great shot made at her; and those few small Vessels of her Guard by a Squadron of the Parliament Ships that lay to intercept her.

As soon as the King heard of Essex's advance towards Plymouth, he march'd with his Army into Somersetshire, and at Kingsmore, he summoned the Gentry of the County, and recommended to them the Cure of that County in his absence, and not to suffer themselves to be drawn away from his service: and hearing that upon the March of Essex his Army towards Plymouth, Sir Richard Grenvil had raised his Siege thereof, and was march'd into Cornwall, with his own Regiment, and the Regiments of Colonel Fortescue, Colonel Carew, and Colonel Ackland, and that Essex was marching after him with his Army, he immediately advanced with all his Forces towards Cornwall, but before he could get thither, Essex had much distressed Grenvil, having almost inclosed him with three Regiments of Horse, and a Company of Dragoons under Colonel Bear.

On the first of August the King entred Cornwall, passing over the Tamar at Polton-bridge, and he marched directly to Lifcard, where for some time he settled his head-Quarters; the County was very cordial to him, in so much that not any of Essex's men could straggle from their Quarters without danger to be killed or taken Prisoners by the Country people, which made him (who then Quartered at Liffithiel about 8 miles from Lifcard) keep his Army very much together, and call back those he had sent to attempt on Sir Richard Grenvil; but all his care did not prevent the loss of some of his chief Officers; for Quarter-Master-General Dalbeir, Colonel Allured, Lieutenant Colonel Carleton, and Lieutenant Colonel Bartley, with some other Officers being at the Lord Mohun's House at Bucconock at Dinner, were all, except Dalbeir, surprized by a party of the King's Horse, and brought Prisoners to Lifcard on the 4th of August.

The King by the addition of Prince Maurice his Army was much increased in strength, and in all appearance likely to give himself (as it after happened) a conquest over Essex, but the tenderness he alwaies had towards his Subjects, made him try rather (according to his custom) first to seek Peace before he proceeded to the rigour of War, in order whereunto he writ from Lifcard a Letter to Essex, dated August the 6th which he sent to him by his Nephew, the Lord Beauchamp, but no return was made to it, and a day or two after another Letter was writ to him by the Officers of the Army, to which he sent a negative answer to the Earl of Forth, importing, That he had received a Letter from his Lordship, and some other Commanders, by which a Treaty was desired with him for a general Peace, which he could not admit of without breach of the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, having no power by his Commission to Treat in a matter of such Importance. During this conjuncture of affairs, an unhappy accident fell out in the King's Army, for in the consultation amongst the Officers of the Letter to be sent to Essex, a very earnest debate

was

1644.
The Queen
leaves Exe-
ter, and Ar-
rives at
Brest in
Britanny.

The King
marcheth
with his Ar-
my into
Somerset-
shire.

Sir Richard
Grenvil
distressed by
Essex.

The King
enters Corn-
wall and
marcheth by
Lifcard.

Many of Es-
sex's Offi-
cers surpris-
ed and
brought Pri-
soners to
Lifcard.

Prince Mau-
rice joyns
his Army
with the
Kings.

The King
sends a Let-
ter of grace
to Essex.

1644. was had of the manner of it, and the manner of the address, and some expressions uttered by the *L. Wilmot* therein, of making the Prince of *Wales* Mediator in the business, which by some disaffected to that Lord was improved to his prejudice, as if he intended to make a division in the Army; and thereupon the King was perswaded to secure him, and send him away with a Guard to *Oxford*; which caused a great Consternation in the Army, for he was very well beloved of the Souldiers, and if great care had not been used to temper the minds of many of them, great inconveniences might have ensued; but nevertheless the King lost hereby the counsel and conduct of one of his best Officers, who by all the actions of his Life before and after gave such evident marks of his Loyalty, that even his enemies were ashamed and sorry for their apprehensions of him: General *Goring* was at the instant of his remove put into his Command, and the King began to use all possible means to distress the Enemy by almost encompassing them with his Forces, he himself and Prince *Maurice* Quartered at *Boconnock*, *Greenvil* fastned himself at *Lanbetherock* three miles West of the King, and possessed himself of *Leprin*-Bridge a mile above *Lisfithiel*, to which place the tide flowed up from *Foy*, so that it was not fordable but at one pass between that and the Sea; the King's Army incamped between *Boconnock* and a Heath that parted his Quarters and the Enemy, and placed Guards on all places on the River leading from his Quarters at *Lisfithiel* to *Foy*, possessing a House of the Lord *Mokun's* over against the Town, and a Fort that commanded the mouth of the Haven; so that *Essex* had no place for relief by water but at a small Creek *Mimbilly*, and *St. Blasse* his Bay, but neither safe for ships, but they retained a large space of ground Westward, whereupon *Goring* was sent with most of the Horse, and *Sir Thomas Bassett* with 1500 Foot to those parts to stop all provisions coming in at *St. Blasse*, by which means *Essex* and his Army were reduced to such straits, that *Sir William Belfour* with five and twenty hundred of their Horse broke away before day in the morning on the 31 of *August*, between the Quarters of his Majesty and Prince *Maurice*, as they lay Encamped, and got to *Saltaish*, and the same night *Essex* himself and the Lord *Roberts* deserted the Army, and got away in a Boat to *Plymouth*.

The next day *Skippon* with the Foot endeavoured to march to *Foy*, but the King having notice of their motion marched soon after them, and that day took five of their Ordnance, falling into their Rear within two miles of *Lisfithiel*, the next morning they made a stand, and with their remaining Horse regained some fields from whence they had been forced before, whereupon the King sent Captain *Edward Breet* with the Queens Troop, who in his view forced them to retire, regained the lost ground, and got more, and returned in good order with the loss only of four of his men, and himself shot in the arm; for which good service the King immediately Knighted him. In the evening their men were so harassed, they could scarce be made to stand to their Arms, and in that their condition Lieutenant Colonel *Butler* came to desire a Parley of

the King, which was granted, and a Treaty followed, by which on the first of *December*, the following Articles were accorded betwixt Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Brainford* on the one part, and Major General *Philip Skippon* and Colonel *Christopher Whitcomb* on the other part.

1. That all the Officers and Souldiers Horse and Foot on this side the River *Foy*, shall to morrow being the 1. of *Septemb.* at 11. of the Clock deliver up their own Quarters, all their Cannon, Train of Artillery, Carriages, Arms Offensive and Defensive, both of Horse and Foot, Powder, Bullet, Match and Ammunition unto such Officers as the General of his Majesties Artillery shall appoint, except Swords and Pistols of all Officers above Corporals.

2. That all Officers and Souldiers, both Horse and Foot of the said Army shall march out of their Quarters to *Lisfithiel* with Colours, Trumpets, and Drums, and that all Officers above the degree of Serjeants, shall have their Servants, not exceeding the number of fifty.

3. That they shall march from *Lisfithiel* to *Pool* and *Wareham*, and not touch any Garrison by the way.

4. In case they march from *Pool*, that they shall not bear Arms, till they come to *Portsmouth* and *Southampton*.

5. That all sick and wounded shall lie at *Foy* till they be cured.

6. That they shall have in their march all the money they can procure from *Plymouth*, and all other accommodation they can obtain from thence.

7. That there shall be no inviting of Souldiers, but such as come voluntary to his Majesties Service.

And according to these Articles, the King had delivered up to him all the Train of Artillery, consisting of 49 Brass Pieces of Ordnance (with those taken before) two hundred and odd Barrels of Gun-powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, 700 Carriages, and betwixt eight and nine thousand Arms; and many of the Common Souldiers deserted their Officers, and voluntarily offered their Service to the King; but this Victory did not lessen the King's inclination to Peace, insomuch that on the 8th of *September* he sent a second Message to the Parliament from *Tavestock*, though this, as that before, had no answer; nor was any Treaty agreed on till *January* following, as will be hereafter mentioned. But in stead of this Message, if he had gone with his Army towards *London*, in all probability he might have made an end of the War, the Army of *Essex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchester* not returned from the Northern Service.

About this time the Marquess of *Montrose* was very victorious for the King in *Scotland*, having obtained a great victory over the Covenanters upon *Newbigging-Moor*, and taken *Perth*, and within fourteen daies after this he gained another victory near unto *Aberdeen*, and soon after took that City, and marched from thence into the Earl of *Argyles* Country, which he wasted with fire and sword, and did many great services, even to admiration, considering the smallness of his

1644.
A Treaty
betwixt
Prince *Mau-*
rice and Ma-
jor General
Skippon.

The King
sends a se-
cond Mes-
sage to the
Parliament
for Peace.

The success
of *Montrose*
in *Scotland*.

Lord *Wilmot*
secured at
Oxford.

General *Goring*
put into
his com-
mand.

Essex is
blockt up
by the King's
Forces in
General.

Essex forced
to desert his
Army.

Captain
Breet
Knighted
for his good
service.

1644. beginning, and the little assistance he had from England; but we shall leave a while the narrative of his fortune, to return to the Transactions in England, which were the remaining part of this year prosecuted in several places with various success: In the West after the great Victory over Essex his Army, *Ilford-Comb*, *Barnstable*, and *Salisbury* submitted to the Kings Arms, and *Basing-house* that had been eighteen weeks besieged, was relieved by a party from *Oxford* under Sir *Henry Gage*, and a little after he with the Earl of *Northampton* raised the siege of *Banbury-Castle*, which had been a Month beleaguer'd by Colonel *John Fines*, and slew and took many of his men, and one piece of Ordnance: but the good fortune of the Parliament in several parts ballanced this success with advantage, *Monmouth* was in September taken by Colonel *Massy*, and the Town and Castle of *New-Castle*, which had long endured the utmost force of the English and Scotch Armies, was taken by storm with great loss to the Assailants on the 27th of October, and a while after *Liverpool* in *Lancashire* was surrendered to Sir *John Meldrum*, but the great businesses that concluded this year were, the Battel of *Newberry*, and the Treaty at *Oxbridge*, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable Occurrences that then hapned.

The King has good success in the West.

The Parliaments success in divers parts.

The Battle at Newberry.

The Earls of *Essex* and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*, had drawn a great Army together, with a resolution to hinder the Kings March to *Oxford*, but he not believing that *Essex* could have so soon appeared at the head of an Army, sought or was willing not to decline engagement. *Essex* and *Manchester* on the 23th of October rendezvouz'd their Army in *Aldermaston Park*, and the next night came privately over the water at a Ford near *Padworth*, and next morning to *Bucklebury-heath* near *Newberry*, where the King then was, and about 12 of the Clock drew down their whole Army between *Thacham* and *Shaw*, and skirmished with the Kings Horse; On Saturday both Armies plied one another with their great Ordnance, but without much hurt done. Then some of *Manchesters* Troops and *London* Trained bands crossed the River *Kennet* between the hill and *Newberry*, and did some execution upon those that kept the Pass against them: But Sir *Bernard Ashley* coming to their rescue, forceth the other over the River. Again, in the afternoon 4000 of *Essex* and *Waller*s Horse and Dragoons with 500 Pikes, charged the Royal Army on the West side of *Newberry*, where were the Cornish foot, & the Duke of *Yorks* Regiment, with 5 field pieces, and Prince *Maurice*'s Brigade of Cornish Horse, all which having not unmanfully sustained the rough charge of the Parliamentarians, were yet forced to retreat back in some disorder, and here some of the Kings field-pieces were taken. The *Essexians* following their success, advanced with 500 Horse, and a sufficient strength of Musquetiers betwixt *Newberry* and *Spine* upon the Kings Life-Guards, and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*'s Brigade, whom they overpowered, and had much more endamaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stewart* had not come up to their assistance, and secured their Retreat on the East-side of *Spine*; the Parliamentarians having settled three bodies of foot

in certain inclosures, advanced over a ditch with a great body of Horse to break through the Kings Guards, but first they were obliged to fight with General *Coring* and the E. of *Cleavelands* Brigade (who charged stoutly and beat back the Enemy, but pursuing disorderly were repulsed with loss.)

Upon the North-East of *Newberry* stood the Lord *Ashley*, with Colonel *George Lisle*, against whom the Earl of *Manchesters* Horse and Foot, with the Trained Bands of *London* came down the Hill, and worsted Colonel *Lisles* Guards. But Sir *John Brown* Lieut. Colonel of the Prince of *Wales* his Regiment of Horse, charged the Foot, and stopp'd them, and then received a charge of 1000 Horse, and was forced to retreat.

Manchester in the next place forces his way to charge the Reserve commanded by Colonel *Thelwell*, and after a smart dispute beat them out of the field and gains their Colours, and two pieces of Cannon: In this Battel on the Kings part were slain, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Lieutenant Col. *Leak*, Lieutenant Col. *Topping*, and Capt. *Catlin*; the Earl of *Cleaveland*, and some few were taken; the Earl of *Brainford* and *Forth*, Sir *John Greenville*, Sir *Richard Campfield*, Major *Alford* and Captain *Walgrave* and others were wounded, many private Souldiers slain and taken prisoners. The fight endured till eight of the Clock at night, and was ended to the advantage of the Parliamentarians; for the King perceiving that most of his Brigades were shattered, and fearing a total overthrow if the Battel should be renewed, marched away secretly to *Dennington-Castle*, and there left behind him his great pieces of Ordnance, and so hastened to *Willingford*. General *Essex* lodged himself in *Newberry*, and having in vain summoned and assaulted *Dennington-Castle*, he marched away on the 29th of October, committing the care of that Siege to a party which he left behind him.

The King after this fight made what haste he could to recruit and refresh his Army, that he might relieve *Dennington-Castle*, which was not sufficiently provided, and bring from thence the Ordnance, Ammunition & Baggage which he left there, and that he might also succor *Basing-house*, which was again besieged, & therefore on the 6th of *Novemb* he had his *Rendezvouze* at *Bullington-Green* betwixt *Wallingford* and *Oxford*, and from thence, he marched two days after to *Dennington* but upon his approach to the Castle, the Enemy drew off their Forces, and he put into the Garrison a supply of such things as they wanted, and then drew off the Train of Artillery, and other Carriages which he had left there: and hearing Sir *William Waller* was with an Army about *Hungerford*, he marcht thither to ingage him, but they would not venture an encounter, and from thence Sir *Henry Gage* was sent with a Party to relieve *Basing-House*, but before he came, the besiegers drew off, and left the work very easie to him. After these performances the King returned to *Oxford*, and disposed his Army to Winter Quarters, and there he was attended by the Earl of *Denbigh*, and some of the House of Commons as Commissioners from the Parliament, with Propositions for a Peace, which produced an overture for a Message to be sent from him to the Parliament by the Duke of *Richmond*, and the

1644.

The Kings party worsted at Newberry.

The King returns to Oxford, and receives Propositions for a Peace

D d d

Earl

1644. Earl of Southampton, which was agreed to, and from thence a Treaty was had at Uxbridge, which began about the first of February after, of which we shall make further mention in its place.

About the end of this Month, Sir Alexander Carew who was Governor of St. Nicholas Island at Plymouth, was tryed by a Court Martial for endeavouring to deliver up the Island to the King, and sentenced to be beheaded, which sentence was a few dayes after executed upon him on Tower-Hill, and by the same Court Martial Sir John Hotham and his Son were in like manner arraigned, found guilty, and executed for designing to quit their party, and by some service to ingratiate a return to their allegiance to the King: concerning whose misfortunes, the King amongst other reflections thereon in his excellent * Book, exprefs'd him thus;

Sir Alexander Carew beheaded.
Sir John Hotham and his Son executed.

* Elxay
Bazil xth,
cap. 3. p. 46.

Sir John Hotham unrepented, unthreatned, not cursed by any language or secret imprecation of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward than thus, to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much promerited of them: For Apostasie unto Loyalty, some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weale. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrey; Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

In this heat, Roger L'Estrange, the Son of Sir Hamond L'Estrange of Norf. was Condemned to dye by the same Court, being taken with a Commission for the Reducing of Lyn. He was betrayed by on Leman, and Haggard, under the horridest Oath of Secrecie imaginable: He was Sentenced by a packt Committee unheard: and upon his appeal to the Lords, Reprieved in order to a Hearing, which he expected almost four years, in Newgate, and came off at last without it.

By this severe and sanguinary way of proceeding, the Parliament made themselves very terrible especially to their own party, against whom any particular Crimes could be objected; but where the offences were general, and the persons of great interest in their Army, they were more cautious in their methods; and it happened at this time, that they were much perplex'd at the ill conduct of their Armies, in suffering the King to make that progress he lately did in the relief of Dennington and Basing-House; for by his appearance there, the quarters of the Parliaments Army on that side, were at Redding, Henly, Abington and Farnham, and the Kings Troops were quarter'd at Basing, Odiam, Newbury, Blewbury and Malborough.

Dennington and Basing House relieved by the Kings Forces.

Essex began to be suspected as careless or discontented, and Colonel Norton wrote a Letter that he had received a Warrant from a Chief Commander of the Army to withdraw from Basing: And the Earl of Manchester made a long Relation in writing concerning the carriage at Dennington, wherein he made his own defence, but accused Colonel Cromwel. Upon this the House of Commons fell into consideration of the slow proceedings of their Armies, alledging that many of their Officers were deficient in not prosecuting advantages, which tended to the Prolongation of the War, and that the differences amongst their Commanders were commonly most where the command is greatest; which produced this Resolution, (viz.) That no Member of either House of Parliament shall (during this War) enjoy or execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, which hath been granted or conferred on any Member of either House, or by any authority derived from either House, and that an Ordinance be brought in to that purpose.

1644.

The House of Commons vote, that no Parliament man shall execute any command Military or Civil.

This Vote and the ordinance thereupon was very much opposed by the Peers, but Petitions from the City and severaly Counties were framed and presented to move their compliance, which in the end prevailed upon them; In the meantime, though it was now Winter, and not ordinarily a time of Action, the War went on in several places, and several new Garrisons were made by both parties, to the miserable spoyl and destruction of the Countrey. Sir Jacob Ashley possessed himself of Cirencester with three Brigades of Foot and four Regiments of Horse, and became so formidable, that he commanded Contribution to the very Gates of Gloucester; nor were the Garrisons in Worcester, Hereford, and Bristol, less active and Monmouth that had been before taken from the King, was regain'd by the Lord Herbert of Ragland, but in the midst of this good Fortune on the Kings side, a Garrison was form'd at Abington, a Town within five miles of Oxford, by order from the Two Houses of Parliament, under the command of Colonel Brown, the King and Council looking on, and suffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raised, and the Ordnance to be planted on the same. * It cannot be denied, but that Sir Henry Gage, and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about Oxford, offered their service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that mischief which by the Intrenchments of this Town must needs fall upon them. But the Lord George Digby, not long before made Principal Secretary of State, had perswaded the King unto the contrary, upon assurance that he held intelligence with Brown, and that as soon as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victual, Arms and Ammunition, at the charges of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into his Majesties hand. In which design he was deluded, and exposed to some loss of Reputation: For Brown having brought his project to the highest round of the ladder (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turn it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after all the Letters which passed between him and the Lord Digby upon this occasion.

Monmouth regained by the Lord Herbert of Ragland.

Abington made a Garrison for the Parliament under Brown's command.

* Heylin's short view of the Life and Reign of King Charles fol. 109.

But

1644. But now when it was too late, Sir Hen. Gage was sent with a commanded party out of Oxford and Wallingford to raise a Fort at Cullam Bridge within half a mile of Abington, but the design being discovered he was prevented, and in the attempt unfortunately received a shot, whereof within two hours he died, and with him Lieutenant Col. Lower the Deputy Governor of Wallingford, and Major Green of that Garrison, with several others of great Courage and Reputation.

Arch-Bishop Laud, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, was beheaded on Tower-hill, after he had been kept four years a Prisoner in the Tower, his Rent sequestred, and his Books, Papers, and all his Goods seiz'd; his Charge was, a constructive Treason under several heads, reducible into two particulars;

1. For endeavouring the subversion of the Laws of the Land.
2. And a like endeavour to overthrow the Protestant Religion.

His Tryal was at the Lords Bar, and Mr. William Pryn of Lincolns-Inn, his profest enemy, was made his Prosecutor, wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his offences, though when all that could be, was said, nothing that did amount to Treason could be proved against him, but the Scots who were at that time very prevalent, would not be satisfied, unless he were put to death, to manifest thereby their zeal against the Episcopal Hierarchy, to usher in the Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, so that by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, he was adjudged guilty of High Treason, though at the passing thereof in the House of Peers, there were but seven present, (viz. * the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury and Bullingbrook, and the Lords North, Grey, and Bruce.)

He ended his Life with such a modest confidence and so much piety, that his greatest Enemies then present, who came to behold the Execution with hearts full of joy, returned back with eyes as full of tears.

The Treaty at Oxbridge. In pursuance of several Messages from the King for a Treaty, it was assented to by the Parliament, and at Oxbridge Commissioners met on the 30th of January for the King, on one part, and for the Parliament of England and the Parliament of Scotland on the other.

The Commissioners for the King, were,	Commissioners for the Parliament, were,
Duke of Richmond and Lenox	Earl of Northumberland,
Marquess of Hertford.	Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
Earl of Southampton.	Earl of Salisbury.
Earl of Kingstons.	Earl of Denbigh.
Earl of Chichester.	Lord Wenman.
Lord Capel.	Mr. Pierpoint.
Lord Seymour.	S. Henry Vane Junior.
Lord Hutton.	Mr. Crew.
Lord Culpepper.	Mr. Whitlock.
Sir Edward Nicholas.	Mr. St. Johns.
Sir Edward Hyde.	Mr. Prideaux.
Sir Richard Lane.	

Sir Thomas Gardner.	Lord Lowdon.	Scotch Commissioners.
Sir Orlando Bridgeman	Sir Cha. Erskine	
Mr. Jo Ashburnham	Mr. Douglas.	
Mr. Jeffery Palmer.	Mr. Brackley.	
Doctor Stuard.	Mr Henderson.	

The first things to be treated on, were, The matters of the Treaty.

1. Religion.
2. The Militia.
3. Ireland.

The first paper at the opening of the Treaty was concerning Religion, which was delivered from the Kings Commissioners to the others, in these words;

1. That Freedom be left to all persons of what Opinion soever in matters of Ceremony, and that all the penalties of the Laws and Customs which enjoin these penalties, be suspended.

2. That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergie of each Diocess, of the Learnedst and gravest Ministers of that Diocess.

3. That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Diocess, except when he shall be required by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion; and that if he be not hindered by the infirmity of old Age or sickness, he Preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocess.

4. That the Ordination of Ministers shall be always in the publick and solemn manner, and very strict rules observed concerning the sufficiency and other qualifications of those men who shall be received into Holy Orders: And the Bishop shall not receive any into Holy Orders without the Approbation and consent of the Presbyters, or the Major part of them.

5. That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, out of the Improvements according to the value of the several Parishes.

6. That no Man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicarages with cure of Souls.

7. That toward the settling of the publick Peace, 100000. l. shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands.

8. That the Jurisdiction in causes Testamentary, Decimals and Matrimonials, be settled in such a manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament: And likewise that Acts to be passed for regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions as shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.

And if the Parliaments Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the Kings Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the consideration thereof.

The Parliament Commissioners after they had perused this paper, delivered one of theirs to the Kings

1644. Kings Commissioners, which was as followeth.

That a Bill be passed for abolishing of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the Directory for Publick worship already passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning Church-Government annexed and passed both Houses, be Enacted, as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the first Proposition.

That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoyed to be taken according to the second Proposition.

To this was annexed the following paper.

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

That the Minister and the Church Officers in each Congregation, shall join in the Government of the Church, as shall be established by the Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterian Government.

That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies, to be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

These papers were debated on three dayes without any determination on any one controverted point, and on the 4th of February, The Parliament Commissioners delivered in the following propofals concerning the Militia.

We desire that the Subjects of England may be Armed, Trained and Disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit; and that the like be for Scotland, as the Parliament there shall think fit: And that his Majesty give his Royal assent to the Acts following.

1. An Act for settling the Admiralty, and all Forces at Sea, and moneys thereto for maintenance, to be as the Parliament shall think fit. The like for Scotland.

2. An Act for settling all Forces by Sea and Land in Commissioners to be named by Parliament, to be such as both Kingdoms shall confide in, with power to suppress all powers and forces contrary thereto, and to act as they shall be directed by Parliament.

And so for the Kingdom of Scotland.

That the Militia of the City of London, and the Parishes without London, and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Council.

That the Tower of Lond. may be in the Government of the City, and the chief Officers thereof nominated, and removable by the Common-Council.

1644. That the Citizens or Forces of London may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and the example of drawing them out in these distracted times, may be no Precedent for the future.

These Papers were likewise debated three days, and then the Parliament Commissioners presented a paper concerning Ireland, to this effect.

That his Majesty give his Royal assent to an Act to make void the cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties of the Rebels without consent of Parliament, and to settle the Prosecution of the War of Ireland in the Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and his Majesty to assist, and to do no act to discountenance or molest them therein.

The Kings Commissioners in the debate of this Proposition, did lay open the eminent and inevitable necessity which caused the King to make the Irish Cessation, which he was in honour obliged to make good; nevertheless they offered to condescend to any thing for the security of the Kings Protestant Subjects: but the Parliament Commissioners were so bound up by their instructions, that they could admit of no alteration of what they offered.

The matter of Religion was then resumed, and that was to be concluded before they proceeded to any other proposition. But so many difficulties occurred in the debate thereon, that no accord could be made; for the Parliament to endear the Scots to them, had caused every Member of each House to take the Scotch Covenant, whereby they bound themselves to the preservation of the Religion of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government: and, To endeavour the extirpation of Episcopacy, and the Reformation of Religion in England and Ireland, according to the example of the best Reformed Churches. Whereby they could mean nothing less than to bring them to the discipline of Scotland, because they had sworn to the preservation of the Religion there. Moreover, they had sworn in this Covenant against detestable indifferency and neutrality (to keep their own words) whereby it seemed apparent, that though at first the contrivers of this Oath pretended only for liberty of Conscience, they now would allow none to any: wherefore the Kings Commissioners were at a stand; for the King took himself bound by the Oath of his Coronation, not to alter the government of the Church, and they were bound by their instructions to insist thereon, so that the Treaty became desperate upon this account, though on the Kings part it was offered, That if the Articles proposed by them, did not give satisfaction, that then so great an alteration as the total abolishment of a Government established by Law, might (for the imparlance of it, and any reformation in doctrine for the scandal of it) be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies, when the King should be present with the Parliament, and calling a National Synod, might receive such advice both from the one and the other, as should be necessary; and as any Reformation thus calmly made, would needs prove for the singular benefit; so whether the contrary, that is an alteration even to things though in themselves good, could by

1644. The Scotch Covenant taken by both Houses.

1644. by the principles Christian Religion, be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

The Treaty proves ineffectual.

This would not be admitted, and the time allowed for the Treaty being but twenty day, nothing was effected therein; for the Parliament were resolved to have no peace but on their own terms, believing all the Kings proposals for peace, to proceed either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakness and irresolutions of his Council.

Shrewsbury taken.

After this followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a place of very great importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *Wales*, situate on a rising ground, and almost encompassed about by the River *Severn*; that part which is not invironed by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle. By the loss of which Town, the Kings former intercourse with his Loyal Subjects of *North-Wales* was not only hindered, but a present stop was given to an association which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, &c. to the great prejudice of the Kings affairs in those parts of the Kingdom.

Pomfret-Castle relieved by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, & the Lord Fairfax's Army defeated.

But to make a recompence in some measure for this great loss, about the beginning of *March* this year, *Pomfret* Castle in *York-shire* was relieved by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who there defeated the Lord *Fairfax's* Army that lay before it, and in his going thither, he defeated a great Party of the Parliament Forces commanded by Colonel *Rossiter* near *Melton-Moubray* in *Leicester-shire*.

The Prince of Wales sent into the West to perfect the Association.

The King at this time thought fit to send the Prince of *Wales* into the West, to perfect the association which had been begun in the end of the last Summer, and in those Countreys to advance such further Forces as might not only serve for the defence of themselves, but give some reasonable increase to his Army; so that upon the fifth of *March*, He set forwards toward *Bristol*, accompanied by the Lord *Culpepper* and Sir *Edward Hyde*, as his principal Counsellors, and some of the chief Gentry of the West, who were of most authority in their several Countreys.

The King having advised with such of the Members of both Houses of Parliament, as had assembled at *Oxford*, from their last meeting in *November* after their Prorogation, to the tenth of *March*; He then being resolv'd for action, dismiss them to their several Countreys.

And now both sides prepare for action, in order whereunto, the Parliament had passed their Ordinance which they called self-denying, wherein all and every the Members of either House were to be discharg'd of all their Command Military or Civil, and in pursuance thereof, they elected Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of their Army, which they now modell'd out of their other Armies, consisting of 11 Regiments of Horse, and 10 Regiments of Foot. *Oliver Cromwell*, though a Member of the House of Commons, was particularly excepted out of the Ordinance, and so was *Skippon* the Major General, and *Ireton* the Commissary General of the Horse; and to make way for these Officers, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denby*, surrendered their Commissions in the Lords House, and the Earl of *Warwick* also surrendered his Commission of Admiral.

1645. The Parliament pass their self-denying Ordinance. Sir Thomas Fairfax made General of their Army. Cromwell, Skippon, and Ireton, excepted out of their Ordinance. Essex, Manchester, and Denby, surrender their Commissions and Warwick his Admiralship.

April the third Sir *Thomas Fairfax* sets forth for *Windsor*, where he applies himself to the gathering together of his Army, to which place Lieutenant General *Cromwell* came to him, and was immediately ordered to march towards *Oxford*, with a Brigade of 1100 Horse and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horse, which Prince *Rupert* had sent from *Worcester* to fetch off the King from *Oxford* with his Train of Artillery, and some foot with intention to take the field; and at *Islelip*, *Cromwell* falls upon them, which after some dispute he routed, and took divers Prisoners, and about 200 Horse, and from thence he pursued several of them that escaped to *Blechingdon* House, where Colonel *Windebank* kept a Garrison for the King, which was surrendered to him upon the first summons, but the Colonel was soon after condemned by a Court of War at *Oxford*, and shot to death for parting so easily with the place. A few days after *Cromwell* marches to *Farrington*, and assaulted that Garrison, but was repulsed with the loss of near 200 men, besides many that were wounded and taken prisoners. The King perceiving that *Fairfax* intended to besiege *Oxford*, sent for Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring* to march to him thither, and these about the beginning of *May* came to *Oxford*, and fetcht off the King, who quickly increased his Army, & advanced with it towards the relief of *Chester*, but *Goring* returned to the Siege of *Taunton*, from whence he had been called to this service.

1645. Fairfax goes to Windsor, or to get together his Army

Cromwell routs Rupert's Horse sent to convey the King from Oxford. Col. Windebank shot to death at Oxford. Cromwell repulsed at Farrington.

Prince Rupert and Gen. Goring come to Oxford & fetcht off the King.

Fairfax in commiseration of the distressed condition of *Taunton*, marched with his Army to the relief of it as far as *Blanford*, but upon second thoughts he sends Colonel *Welden* with near two thousand Horse and Dragoons, and 5000 Foot to *Taunton*, and returns to *Newberry*, where he receives an express to march to *Oxford* and lay close Siege to it: in the mean time *Welden* makes haste to *Taunton*, and the Kings Forces before the Town being informed it was the whole Army, resolved to give one furious assault, and if that took not effect, to quit the place, which was performed, and they entered the Town, and fired two Streets, but the Governour retired to the Castle, and they could not force that, wherefore they drew off, and suffered Col. *Welden* to enter the Town, but *Goring*, *Greenvil*, and *Barkley*, uniting their forces together did so press upon *Welden*, that they besieged him and the Town again. By this time the King had relieved *Chester*, and from thence marched to *Leicester*, and taken it by assault, wherein were many Prisoners of note, and good store of Arms and Ammunition. and from thence he went to *Derentry*. *Fairfax* having intelligence as he lay at the Siege of *Oxford*, of this fortunate progress of the Kings Arms, was resolved to raise his Siege, and march directly towards him, with an intent to give him Battel, and in pursuance hereof on the 5th of *June* his Army rendezvouzed at Great *Brickhil*, and from thence he marched to *Gilbrough*, within four miles of *Northampton*, and five miles of *Brough-hil*, which was one of the quarters of the Royallists.

Fairfax lays close Siege to Oxford.

The King relieves Chester, and takes Leicester by assault.

The King hereupon drew off from *Brough-hil*, minding to march Northward to the relief of *Pomfret*, which was again besieged, but *Fairfax* being eager to engage, sent *Ireton* with a flying party

1645. party of Horse, who fell in to *Naseby* Town, and took many prisoners, giving such an Alarm to the whole Army, that the King at midnight left his own Quarters, and for security hastned to *Harbrough*, where he raised Prince *Rupert*, & called a Council of War, where it was resolved to give Battel, and because *Fairfax* had been so forward, they would not stay for him, but seek him out, & at a place near *Naseby* in *Northampton-shire*, the two Armies met on *Saturday* the 14th of *June*.

The fight at *Naseby*.

The King himself commanded the Main Body, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the Lord *Ashly* the right-hand Reserve, the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Lisle* the Left. Of the Parliaments Army, *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwel* the right Wing, with whom was *Rossiter*, who came with his Forces but a little before the fight, and *Ireton* had the Left. The Reserves were brought up by *Rainsborow*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. Prince *Rupert* charged the Parliaments left wing, commanded by *Ireton*, who made notable resistance, but at last was forced to give ground, *Ireton* himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horse shot under him & himself taken Prisoner. For a while Prince *Rupert* follows the Chase almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his return summoned the Train, who made no other answer but with their Fire-locks: but in the mean time *Cromwel* charged furiously on the Kings left wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them and their Reserve; during which the Main Bodies had charged one another with incredible fierceness, often Retreating and Rallying, falling in together with the But-ends of their Musquets, and coming to handy-blows with their Swords. But *Fairfax*'s his Foot coming up seasonably to the Horse, and *Cromwel* coming in with his Victorious right Wing, they all charged together upon the Kings main Army, who maintain'd the fight, till over-born with fresh Numbers, and being out of Condition to dispute it any longer, retired out of the field toward *Leicester*, in the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable: leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who pursued them within two miles of *Leicester*, and the King finding the pursuit so hot, leaves that Town, and hastes to *Litchfield*. This Battel was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very courageous and numerous, not being five hundred odds, fought in a large fallow field, on the North-west-side of *Naseby*, about a mile broad, which space of ground was wholly taken up. On the Parliaments side were wounded and slain, above a thousand Officers and private Souldiers: Major General *Skippon* (who was an old experienced Souldier, and was ordered to draw up the form of the Battel) fought stoutly that day; and although he was sorely wounded in the beginning of the fight, and the General desired him to go off the field, he answered, he would not stir so long as a man would stand and accordingly stayed till the Battel was ended. *Ireton* (as is said before) was dangerously hurt and taken prisoner for a while, after he had done his part, but in the confusion

The Victory obtained by the Parliamentarians.

The King escapes to *Litchfield*.

1645. of the fight got loose again, and saw the Victory achieved. The General and Lieutenant General performed their work with sufficient resolution (had their Cause been as good) and by their own examples infused valour into their followers, so likewise did the other Officers of whom divers were wounded.

On the other side, the King shewed himself that day a courageous General, keeping close with his Horse, and himself in person rallying them to hot encounters, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord *Ashley*, Colonel *Rastol*, and others were wounded, 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of note, and 600 private Souldiers slain: but much more was the damage that the King sustained, by what was taken, viz. six Colonels, 8 Lieutenant Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, and 70 Lieutenants, 200 Ensigns, and other inferiour Officers, 4500 Common Souldiers, and many women, 13 of the Kings household Servants, four of his Footmen, 12 Pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Baggage and Baggage, with store of rich Pillage, 3000 Horse, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after published by the Parliament (with less decency and civility than became such an Assembly) Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* hastened away the same night to *Newark*. The next day General *Fairfax* sent up Col. *John Fines* to *London*, with the Prisoners and Colours taken in the fight.

The King having saved himself by flight, gathered together some part of his scattered Forces, but never was able to make head against the Conquerors, losing this year one Garrison after another, till his whole strength was almost reduced to *Oxford*; I shall take notice only of some of the principal, namely, *Leicester*, *Carlisle*, *Pomfrat-Castle*, *Bridgwater*, *Scarborough*, *Bristow*, *Hereford*, and *Westchester*, on which so great a part of his affairs did most especially depend.

On the 16th of *June*, *Fairfax* sat down before *Leicester*, and summoned the Governor the Lord *Hastings* to deliver up the Town; which he refusing, Warrants were issued for the Country to bring in Ladders & other necessities for a storm; and *Hastings* continuing yet obstinate, he assailed it in several places, and at the *Newark* side, he made so wide a Breach, that the Governor desired a Parlee, which was granted, and thereupon a surrendring ensued upon very fair Terms. There were in the Town 14 pieces of Ordnance, thirty Colours, 2000 Arms, 500 Horse, 50 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition proportionable, and about a week after Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governor of *Carlisle*, having been long besieged by the Parliament Forces, and despairing of succours yielded up the Town. The low condition of Col. *Welden*, & the Town of *Taunton*, caused the Committee of both Kingdoms to order Gen. *Fairfax* to march thither, which he readily obeyed, but upon his approach to the Town, General *Goring* on the tenth of *July*, drew off from *Taunton*, and retreated to *Langport*. The next day *Fairfax* being at *Long-Sutton* within two miles of *Langport*, he drew out his Forces early in the morning in *Sutton* field, *Goring* likewise drew forth at that time, and took a pass leading to *Bridgwater*, and lined the way to it with Musquetiers; *Fairfax* sent Major *Bethel*

Several Garrisons of the Kings taken

Leicester and *Carlisle* surrendered up to the Parliament.

1645.

to force the pass, but he was repulst; then *Defbrough* was sent with 200 Horse, who prest so hard upon the Royallists, that they were put to a disorderly retreat into *Langport*, setting one end of the Town on fire, that the smoke thereof might hinder the enemies pursuit of them; but Lieutenant General *Cromwel* with some Troops prest through, and pursued them within two miles of *Bridgwater*.

In this fight *Goring* lost about 200 of his men, who were slain, and about 1400 taken prisoners, of which Colonel *Brettrige*, and Colonel *Slingsby* were the Chief. On *Fairfax's* side, Colonel *Cook*, Colonel *Butler*, and Major *Bethel* were wounded, and a Captain of *Butlers* slain, and about 100 of the Souldiers killed and wounded.

Sir J. b.
Digby died
of his
wounds at
Bridgwater.

Sir *John Digby* who was Major General of the Horse to *Goring*, was shot in the elbow, and carried into *Bridgwater*, where shortly after he died of his Wound, and was very much lamented by his party, he was about forty five years of age at the time of his death, and in all his Life was scarce ever heard to swear or seem angry; he had very great courage and conduct in Martial affairs, and was competently learned also in many Sciences. *Goring* after he had refreshed himself for some time in *Bridgwater*, marched away to the North of *Devonshire*: Sir *Thomas Fairfax* presently thereupon sits down before *Bridgwater*, and summons the Town, but being resolutely denied by Sir *Edmond Windham* the Governor, he stormed the lower part thereof, which is divided from the rest by a Bridge, and gain'd it, and the next day he shot hot steel plugs into the Town, by which means, and by some intelligence he had with the Town, most of the houses that were thatcht were fired, whereby the Townsmen were so distracted that they left the Works, and flung down their Arms to endeavour to save their Houses. In the midst of this consternation, *Fairfax* sent a Trumpeter in to the Governor, whereby he acquainted him, that he purposed to assault the Town, but in compassion to the women and Children therein, he offered to permit as many of them as desired it, to go out of the Town; upon this there was so great a distraction in the Garrison, that the Governor was forced to yield to a Treaty; and thereupon on the 23. of *July* the Town was surrendered, upon condition only of fair quarter, but all except Townsmen that were in Arms to be prisoners at war, of which there were a thousand Officers and Souldiers, and in their Stores they found 44 Barrels of Powder, and 400 weight of Match, and in the Town 44 pieces of Ordnance, and 1500 Arms; and two days before, *Pomfract* Castle after three months Siege was delivered up to Major General *Pointz*, upon condition for the Officers and Souldiers to march away with their Arms, Drums beating, and Colours flying, and bullet in mouth, with 6 shot of Powder, and bullet proportionable: and on the 25th of *July* the Castle of *Scarborough* had the like fate it being then surrendered by Sir *Hugh Cholmley* the Governor, to Sir *Matthew Boynton*, who commanded the Forces before it, upon very honourable conditions, amongst which it was provided, that the Governor and all his Officers and Souldiers should have a safe Convoy to *Newark*, and

By whom
yielded up
to Fairfax.

Pomfract
Castle deli-
vered up to
Gen. Pointz.

Scarborough
Castle sur-
rendered to
Sir Matthew
Boynton.

from thence after six days notice, as many as desired should have a pass to go into *Holland*, or any other place abroad, and none were to be plundered or forced to take up Arms against their wills, but have Passes to go home if they desired them. They had kept this Castle so well, that at the delivery thereof, many of the Officers and Souldiers were so sick and weak, that they were brought out in sheets: there were about 35 pieces of Ordnance in the Castle, besides many Arms, but very little Victual or Ammunition.

Bristow comes next, a place conveniently seated for the Trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great ships, and the Port well guarded: At the taking of this City by the Kings Forces, to such strengths as before it had, there was added a Fort Royal, then conceived impregnable. Into this City Prince *Rupert* had put himself at the present; and was besieged not long after by General *Fairfax*, who came before it on the 25th of *August*. The Prince made several sallies, and did some execution upon the Enemy, but not without considerable loss to his own party, amongst which Sir *Bernard Ashley*, and Sir *Richard Crane* died of wounds they received in one of them.

Fairfax had intelligence that the works in many places were very weak and imperfect, and withall he heard that the King did purpose to joyn with *Goring* to raise the Siege, but first expected that they should weary themselves so long before the Town, till he should be able to draw together a force sufficient for such an enterprize: upon consideration whereof a Council of War was called, and Resolution taken to storm the City, which was done in this order; Colonel *Fortescue* with four Regiments on *Somersetshire* side, Colonel *Montague* with the like number on both sides of *Lawford*-Gate, and Colonel *Rainsborough* on this side the River *Froom*, from the Sally-port to the Fryers-port, and other Regiments were disposed in several stations, to second the assailants and enter the Lines; *Fortescue* fail'd in his attempt, but *Montague* and *Rainsborough* effected their business, and *Rainsborough* possess himself of Fryers-port, and all the other Forts, except the great Fort, were taken; the way being thus made by the Foot, the Horse entered the Town, and the Princes Horse hastned to get themselves into the Fort-Royal, but the Parliamentarians from the Fryers-port did so command the Gate and Entrance into the great Fort, that none could go in or out, so that the next day a Parley was had, and Articles concluded on for the surrender thereof; and in the place they had above 200 pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 200 Barrels of Powder, 80 Tun of Beer, and great store of other Provisions. In the storm on the Kings side Major *Price*, Major *Williams*, and ten other Officers were slain, and many Souldiers, and Colonel *Taylor* wounded. On the Parliaments side, Lieutenant Colonel *Purefoy*, and Captain *Hill*, and Major *Cromwel* with 30 more Officers were killed; and Major *Bethel*, Major *Gethings*, with some others of less note were wounded. The Prince on the 11th of *September* marched out of the City with eight Lords in his Company, 500 Horse, and 1400 Foot, the Foot marched with their Muskets & other Arms, but when they came within 20 miles

1645.

Bristow
stormed by
Fairfax.

1645.

Fairfax marches into the West to the Prince of Wales.

10 miles of Oxford, they were to lay them down.

Bristol being thus reduced, Fairfax marched into the West, towards the Prince of Wales (who was now in the middle parts of Devonshire) intending to take in Exeter, but there were so many blocks in his way, that it was a long time after before he gained that City, as will be hereafter related.

The quick surrendering of Bristol did much trouble the King, for he thought that City, (so well fortified and furnished with Victual, Arms, and Ammunition) would rather have given a turn to his affairs, by the ruin of the Parliament Army against it, than otherways; but the line being so very large, they had hardly men enough to man the works, especially being kept by frequent alarms upon continual duty, so that in the end, partly out of weariness, and partly out of discouragement to see the Parliament carry all before them, the Prince was necessitated to deliver it up, for the People would stand by him no longer. Soon after this disaster, Col. Legg was removed from his Government of Oxford, and Sir Thomas Glenham appointed in his stead.

Scots raise their siege from Hereford. Montrose's Victory in Kilsyth field near Glasgow. Hereford surprised by Col. Birch and Morgan.

Hereford next followed the same fortune of Bristol, which having been besieged by the Scots from the 13th of July to the first of September, (at which time they were forced to draw off, upon news that their help was required in their own Kingdom, where Montrose was very prevalent, having defeated an Army employed against him in a Battle fought in Kilsyth field near Glasgow:) the Town was suddenly surprized by Colonel Birch and Colonel Morgan (the last then Governor of Gloucester) on the 18th of Decemb. The King a little before this time had got a small Army together in Wales, and seeing Bristol lost, was very desirous to free Chester (a City of very great importance in those parts of the Kingdom) from the Siege then before it by Sir Will. Brereton, Col. Jones, and others; to effect which he march'd with his Army consisting of about 5000 men, and most Horse to relieve the Town; but in his march towards it, he was fought by General Poyntz at Roughton-Moor within 2 mile of Chester, where being out-power'd with numbers, his Army was worsted, & amongst others, the L. Bernard Stuart (Brother to the Duke of Richmond then newly made Earl of Lichfield) was slain; he was a young Nobleman of great hopes, and therefore was his loss very much lamented by the King; upon this discomfiture, the King drew his broken Army towards the North-east, and commanded the Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale to march for Scotland, and to joyn with the Marquess of Montrose, who was very successful there, and only wanted Horse to enable him to reduce that whole Kingdom to the King's Obedience. These in obedience to their order march'd Northward, and at a Village called Sherborne, they surprized seven hundred of the Parliament Foot, with their arms and baggage, but staying there for carriages, some of General Poyntz his Forces commanded by Colonel Copley, Colonel Lilborne, and Colonel Allured, fell upon them, and routed them, killing and taking about a hundred Officers, three hundred common Souldiers, six hundred Horse, with their furniture, and the Lord Digby's Coach

Lord Digby defeated at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, and himself compelled to fly into Ireland.

and Horse, and therein his Cabinet of Letters, but he, with his remains of his shatter'd Brigade, making towards Scotland, was a second time met upon Carlisle Sands, and utterly defeated, he himself escaping to the Isle of Man, from whence he got a passage into Ireland: The King was got to Newark when this misfortune hapned to the Lord Digby, but so great was the discontent he found there, that he was put to much trouble thereby; Sir Richard Willis was a little before removed from the Government of the Town, and the Lord Bellasis made Governor thereof in his place, which alteration caused great heats among several Noble Persons, as they stood severally affected to either party; in so much that indecencies of Language and behaviour, passed even in the King's presence; and the feud, in all probability, had proceeded further, if his Majesty had not interposed with his Royal Authority to compose it. But all this was not yet sufficient to extinguish the Animosities which were contracted upon this dispute; although for the present they were so far pacified, and allayed, as not openly to break out into any Notorious Act of violence or mischief. This matter hath been reported several ways, and all with so great uncertainty, that I have rather chosen to deliver the truth in Generals, than to run the hazard of a mistake in a more particular Relation. In the close of this affair, the two Princes, Gerard, the Lord Hawley, and Sir Richard Willis, with some others of their friends, retired to Norton-House fourteen miles from Newark, from whence they sent to the Parliament for a pass to transport them out of the Kingdom, and obtained it.

1645.

The King comes to Newark.

Sir Richard Willis removed, and the Lord Bellasis made Governor of Newark.

The two Princes, Gerard, Lord Hawley, and Willis depart the Kingdom.

These traverses were accompanied with unwelcome intelligence from most places; for about this time, the King received the ill news of the taking from him of Basing-House by storm, (the defendants not having a sufficient number to man their works) and therein the Marquess of Winchester (who had long and gallantly defended his house) taken prisoner, with about two hundred others, and about a hundred were slain in the defence of the place; and as one misfortune is commonly followed by another, he had notice about the same time of the loss of Shelford-House taken by storm, wherein the Governor Colonel Stanhop, a Son of the Earl of Chesterfield, and near two hundred more, were kill'd after the House was entred.

Basing-House taken by storm and in it the Marquess of Winchester.

Shelford-House taken by storm, and Colonel Stanhop, with many others slain.

Newark at this time became so in-secure, that the King thought it inconvenient to continue longer therein, & therefore with a guard of three hundred Horse, he got safe to Oxford on the third of November, and thither the Princes Rupert and Maurice came to him from Worcester after a serious reflection upon themselves for their miscarriages towards him, and were perfectly reconciled to his favour.

The King leaves Newark, and comes safe to Oxford, whither the two Princes came to him and regain his favour.

The King's Forces in most parts became very much lessened, and though by the endeavours of the Queen, and some of his Ministers abroad, foreign aid was promised him against the next Summer, yet the King in affection to his people, was rather inclined to try all other ways than accept of those succors, and to that purpose from the 15th of December to the 23d of March following, he sent nine or ten Messages to the Parlia-

164 .
The King
sends offers
of Peace to
the Parliam-
ent, but
they would
not hear of
an accommo-
dation.

Dartmouth
surrendered
to Fairfax.

The Kings
Forces sent
to the relief
of Chester
routed, and
the City de-
livered up to
Sir William
Brereton.

Belvoir Ca-
stle surren-
dered to the
Parliament.

Parliament with offers of Peace, and for the better accomplishment thereof, he proposed to have a personal treaty with them, but they would not consent to any other terms of accommodation, than to have all their demands drawn up into Bills to be presented to him for his assent; yet in the mean time the King omitted not to use all ways in his power to relieve his Garrisons, and the Prince of Wales in the West was very active, but the spirits of men became so much depressed by the vigorous Progress of the Parliaments Troops, that nothing succeeded.

The siege of Plymouth was raised by Fairfax, and two dayes after Dartmouth was surrendered to him by Sir Hugh Pollard the Governour thereof, and from thence he marched to Exeter, and summon'd it, and there he left Sir Hardres Waller to block up the City, whilst himself with the rest of his Forces went to find out the Prince his Army then commanded by the Lord Hopton, he himself being gone into Cornwall to raise the Trained-Bands, and what other Souldiers he could to strengthen his Troops; whilst these things were acting in the West, the King at Oxford was again intent upon the relief of Chester, and for that service several Forces were by Sir William Vaughan drawn out of the Garrisons of Hereford Ludlow, Worcester, and Bridgenorth, who with seven hundred Horse, and seven hundred Foot, advanced to its relief; but the enemy drawing out a party of a thousand four hundred Horse, and a thousand Foot encountered, and utterly routed him, so that after this attempt, all hopes of relief failing, on the same day the City was delivered up to Sir William Brereton upon these conditions, viz. That the Lord Byron and all Noblemen, Commanders, and Officers and Souldiers, should depart the Town in all their apparel whatsoever; The Lord Byron with Horse and Arms, and ten men alike accomplished to attend him; his Lady, and Servants, with Coaches, in each four Horses, with such other Ladies and Gentlewomen as he thought fit, and with his Books, Evidences and Writings in his possession: but all of them with not above forty pounds in money, and twenty pound in plate; the rest of the Noblemen with their Ladies answerable to their honour with not above thirty pounds in money, and so every one in their degrees to the common Souldiers, who were to march away with 20 s. each. Nor were the Conditions for the Citizens less reasonable, which were the easier condescended to by Sir William Brereton, though he knew their distrefs, because of the desire he had not to ruine the City, the chief of his County, and of which he hoped to be Governour.

And on the same day Belvoir Castle was by Sir Gervase Lucas surrendered to General Poynts upon Conditions, and the Governour and his Lady, with the Officers and Souldiers, were with a Convoy conducted to Litchfield. At Torrington in Devonshire, Fairfax found the Lord Hopton with his Army; which he resolved to ingage; Hopton having the lesser number, drew up his men into several closes, and Fairfax pressed upon him very hard, but a great part of the time was spent in Skirmishes by several parties, till both retired; at length the forlorne-hopes of both Armies engaged; that of the Parliaments, with its Reserve,

was at first beaten back to the main body of their Army, but that advancing, the Fight began about eight a clock at night, nigh the Town, to which the Royallists retreated, and there they maintained the charge so resolutely, that had not Fairfax's Souldiers been heartened with fresh supplies, they had given it utterly over; but the other overpowered by their fresh numbers, gave back, whereby the Enemy gained the Town; which being entered into, the Magazine in the great Church was fired by a train, and destroyed Fairfax more men than he had lost in the Battel; for there was no less than eighty Barrels of Powder: upon the firing of the Magazine, Sir John Digby took advantage of the Enemies amazement, and gave them a resolute Charge, in which he did some execution, and so fell off, and marched with the rest of the Forces into Cornwall; whither Fairfax followed with so much speed, that he compell'd the Royallists in disorder to quit Launceston, whereupon the Prince of Wales marched away towards Pendennis Castle, accompanied with the Lord Capel, the Lord Culpepper, and Sir Edward Hyde, and took shipping there on the first of March, and arrived safely at Scilly; the Lord Hopton soon after finding it in vain to make resistance with his broken Army, being summoned by Fairfax to disband, consented to it upon very honourable conditions; but having experienc'd how ill Articles had been observed, and being likewise sensible of the ill effects of the Kings gracious Proposals for Peace; He chose rather than to go to Oxford (whither by Articles he might have been conveyed by fifty of his own, and fifty of the Parliaments Horse) to transport himself to France.

After the disbanding of these Forces, all the Kings Garrisons and Forts in Cornwall yielded, except Pendennis Castle, and St. Michales Mount, and General Fairfax return'd to the siege of Exeter.

All these mischances thus hapning on the neck of one another, all the Kings hopes and expectation rested upon the coming of Sir Jacob Astley, (created Lord Astley of Redding two years since:) Who having kept together some Remainders of the Kings Forces since the Fight near Chester, and increasing them with the accession of some fresh supplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir John Campsfield, with the Oxford Horse. But either through the want of Intelligence, or the necessity of fate, or some occasional delays, it was so long before Campsfield was upon his march, that the news came of the Lord Astleys being vanquish'd by Colonel Morgan at a place called Donnington near Stow on the Wold, on the 21th. of March: In which fight himself was taken prisoner, and with him all the Kings hopes were lost of preserving Oxford, till he could better his condition.

The King having often sent to the Parliament (as hath been said) to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, offering to come to Westminster in Person, had on the thirtieth of March a message from the Parliament, wherein they told him, That it would be unsafe for him or them to return to Westminster, untill he had assented to the Propositions which they were framing, &c. And to pre-

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1645

The Lord
Hopton bea-
ten and
Launceston
taken by Fair-
fax.

Launceston
quitted by
the King.

The Prince
of Wales
takes ship-
ping, and
arrives at
Scilly.

Lord Hopton
accepted
of conditions
for dis-
banding his
Army, and
transports
himself to
France.

Lord Astley
defeated
near Stow.

1646.
The Parlia-
ment vote
against the
Kings com-
ing to Lon-
don in order
the Treaty

Exeter sur-
rendered to
Fairfax.

The Princess
Henrietta
conveyed
privately to
her mother
in France.
Barnstable,
Woodstock,
with many
other Garri-
sons submit
to the Par-
liament.
Oxford be-
sieged again
by Fairfax.

The King
disguised,
leaves Ox-
ford.

The Parlia-
ment Order
that his
conceal-
ment.

The King
comes to the
Scotts Camp
before New-
ark.

The Parlia-
ment lies to
the Scots for
the Kings
Person.

The Scots
General and
Commission-
ers Letters
to the Par-
liament.

vent his coming to London without their know-
leged and consent, they voted, That if the King
should come, or attempt to come within the Lines
of Communication; that then the Committee of
the Militia of London should have Power, and
were thereby enjoined to apprehend and secure
such as should come with him, to prevent resort
unto him, and to secure his Person.

Exeter was at this time so much distressed,
and without possibility of relief, that the City
was on the 13th of April surrendered to Fairfax
upon very good conditions; Sir John Berkley
the Governour was to march out with his Sould-
iers both Cornish and others, in the height of
Honour, with Drums beating, Colours flying,
Bullet in mouth, Matches lighted, &c. The first
into their Country, and the others to Oxford.
The Princess Henrietta youngest daughter to
the King, (who ever since her Birth had continu-
ed in this City under the care of the Lady Dal-
keith) was sent up to London, there to be dispo-
sed of by the Parliament, till soon after she was by
her Governour conveyed privily to her Mother
in France. To the fortune of Exeter, Barnstable
Town and Fort, St. Michaels Mount, Dunston
Castle, Woodstock, and many other Garrisons soon
after submitted; so that Fairfax his victorious
Army having cleared the West, was now resol-
ved to march up to a close beleaguering of Oxford
(which had some time before been extremely
strained by the continual Alarms of Fleetwood
and Rainsborough) which made the King begin
to think of some way for his safety; and at last on
the 27th of April the King disguised, departed
out of Oxford accompanied only with Mr. Hud-
son a Minister, and Mr. John Ashburnham, and
few or none else were acquainted with his design,
so that though many knew that he was gone, yet
various were the opinions whither; some said to
Wales, others to Montross in Scotland, but the
most general opinion was, that he was come up
and lay in London concealed; to discover which
the Parliament passed an Order, That whatsoever
person should harbour or conceal, or know of the
harbouring or concealing of the Kings Person, and
should not immediately reveal it to the Speakers of
both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a Trai-
tor to the Common-wealth, forfeit his whole Estate,
and dye without mercy. But contrary to all mens
expectations, he is at length heard of at the Scots
Camp before Newark; many wondered how he
durst trust his Person with them; but the Parlia-
ment having notice of it, immediately ordered that
the Commissioners, and the General of the Scottish
Army, should be desired, That his Majesties Person
might be disposed of as the Two Houses should de-
sire and direct, and that he be thence disposed of,
and sent to Warwick Castle, and that John Ash-
burnham and the rest that came with him into the
Scots Quarters, should be sent for as Delinquents
by the Scrivants at Arms, and that the Commis-
sioners of the Parliament residing before Newark
should make a Narrative of the K. coming thither
and present it to the House; But these Votes were
scarce past, when came a Letter from the Gene-
ral and Commissioners of the Scottish Army to
the Committee of both Kingdoms, to be commu-
nicated to the Parliament, acquainting them, That
the earnest desire they had to keep a right under-

standing between the two Kingdoms, moved them
to acquaint them with that strange providence
wherewith they were surprized, together with their
carriage and desires thereupon; That the King
came yesterday into their Army in so private a
way, that after they had made some search for him
upon the surmises of some Persons who pretended to
know his face, yet they could not find him in sun-
dry Houses; That they believed their Lordships
would think it was matter of much astonishment to
them, seeing they did not expect him to come into
any place under their Power; They conceived it
not fit to inquire into the Causes, but to endeavour
that his being here might be improved for procu-
ring the work of Uniformity, for settling Religion,
and attaining of Peace according to the League and
Covenant, and Treaty, by the advice of the Par-
liaments of both Kingdoms, and their Commis-
sioners authorized for that effect; That trust-
ing to their integrity, they were persuaded that
none would so far misconstrue them, as that they in-
tended to make use of this seeming advantage, for
promoting any other ends than were expressed in
the Covenant, and had hitherto been pursued by
them with no less Conscience than care; That for
further satisfaction they did ingenuously declare,
That there had been no Treaty nor Capitulation
betwixt his Majesty and them, nor any in their
names; but that they left their wayes and means of
Peace to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and
so far as concerned them, as they had a witness in
Heaven, they were confident to make it appear,
That there was nothing more in their desires than
in all their resolutions and proceedings to adhere to
the Covenant and Treaty; That their greatest
thoughts should be taken up in studying, and their
utmost abilities employed in acting those things
which most advanced the publick good and common
happiness of both Kingdoms, wherein by the help
of God they should labour to use so much tender-
ness and care, that they hope it shall soon appear,
their actions were the result of honest and single
intentions; That they could not in a matter of so
deep consequence and common interest, but seek
their Lordships advice; for which effect they had
also written to the Committee of Affairs in Scot-
land, with intentions to move joyned consents and
resolutions, that after a seed time of Afflictions,
we might reap the sweet fruits of Truth and Peace.
This was the account given by Leven the Gene-
ral, and the Commissioners in the Army to the
Committee of both Kingdoms at Westminster. In
the mean time the Garrison of Newark (which
had been for a long time valiantly defended by
the Lord Bellasis both against the Scots and Eng-
lish Forces, and had made many fortunate Sallies
upon the Besiegers) was upon the 4th of May,
the day before the King came into the Scotch
Camp, entred upon a Treaty, and on the 9th
was agreed to be surrendered upon condition,
That the Garrison, with all the Ordnance, Arms,
and Ammunition, should be delivered up to
the Commissioners for the Parliament of Eng-
land; That the Lord Bellasis Governour, with
all Officers, Gentlemen, and Clergy, to march
away with their Horses and Swords unto any
Garrison of the Kings not besieged, or to their
own Houses; the Souldiers to have staves in
their hands, and their own goods, and all of
them

1646. them to have three Months time to make their peace with the Parliament; or that failing, to be allowed Passes to go beyond Sea. About this time also was Banbury Castle surrendered, and not long after Carnarvon Town and Castle were delivered up upon Articles by the Lord Byron; and the Scots having conveyed the King from Southwel to Newcastle, for the more sure possession of him, He on the 10th of June by their advice, published a direction to Sir Thomas Glemham, Sir Thomas Tilsely, Col. Washington, and Col. Blague, Governors of Oxford, Worcester, Litchfield, and Wallingford, and to all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles or Forts within the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, giving them an account of his Resolutions to comply with the designs of his Parliament in every thing that might be for the good of his Subjects, and leave no means unattempted for the removing of differences betwixt them; and the more to evidence the reality of his intentions therein, he required them upon Honourable Conditions to quit the Towns and Forts intrusted to them, and to disband all the Forces under their several Commands; which some of them however demurr'd upon, in regard of his Majesties restraint: But before notice hereof came to Oxford, the Governor and Lords there had come to a Treaty, to begin at Heddington the 17th of May, between Sir John Mounson, Sir John Heydon, Sir Tho. Gardner, Sir George Binion, Sir Richard Willis, Sir Stephen Hawkins, Col. Gosnell, Col. Tillier, Dr. Zouch, Tho. Chichely, John Dutton, Geoffrey Palmer, and Robert Mead, Esquires, for the besieged; and Lieutenant General Hammond, Commissary General Ireton, Col. Lambert, Col. Rich, Scout-Master-General Watson, Major Desbrough, Major Harrison, Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Waller, for the Parliament. And after a tedious Treaty continued to the 25th of June, without any Cessation of Arms, it was delivered upon Conditions sufficiently Honourable, had they been as honourably performed; The whole number of the Garrison was supposed to amount to 7000 Souldiers and Scholars in pay, who all marched out; but many of the Nobility and Gentry had leave to tarry for Passes; the Chief of whom were the Duke of York, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, the Earls of Dorset, Hertford and Southampton, the Lords Cottington, Dunsmore, Secretary Nicholas, and others. The Duke of York was conveyed to London, and at St. James's committed with the rest of the Royal Children to the Tuition and Care of the Earl of Northumberland and his Lady. The two Princes Rupert and Maurice had Passes granted them to go beyond Sea; but before their departure, by the Parliaments leave, they had a Visit made to them by their Brother the Prince Elector.

Two daies after the surrendry, all the Seals of Estate were sent up from the General to the two Houses at Westminster, to wit, the Great Seal of England, carried by the Lord Keeper Littleton to the King in the year 1642. The Privy-Seal, Signer, King's-Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy-Seals, together with the Sword; the Seals were immediately voted to be broken in pieces, which was accordingly performed by a Smith in the House of Lords, the Commons standing by, and the broken Silver given in reward to the two Speakers, but the Sword was

laid up safe in the Wardrobe. All other Garrisons were soon after surrendered according to the King's Order; Ragland Castle was one of the last held out in England or Wales, which the Old Marquess of Worcester, a man of Fourscore and four years of age, delivered up on very good Conditions, when the King had neither Field Army, nor scarce a Garrison besides it in England.

The King's Children were not long kept together under that Restraint the Parliament put upon them, the Princess Henrietta being in a short time after conveyed into France by the Lady Dalkeith, and the Duke of York after, as will be related hereafter.

The Scots desirous to haste home in safety with that spoil and plunder which they had gotten in their marching and re-marching betwixt Tweed and Hereford, were impatient at the caution of the King's Governors (as aforesaid,) and therefore prest his Majesty to reiterate his Orders; but that which they most earnestly importuned, was, That the Marquess of Montrose should lay down his Commission, who having twice beaten the Marquess of Argyle out of the Field, followed him home, and wasted his Country with Fire and Sword: And having vanquish'd Bailly, one of the best Souldiers of the Faction (commanding over a well formed Army) in a set Battel fought between them; and followed his blow so well, that he made himself Master of the City and Castle of Edinburgh, releasing divers of his Friends who had been seized and imprisoned there when he first took Arms, was at last (for want of Supplies) totally overthrown by Lesley, with 6000 men out of England. And yet about this time he was beginning to make head again, and in a hopeful way of proceeding, till he received his Majesties Command to Disband; which he immediately did, and took Shipping, and put himself into a voluntary Exile.

Whilst the King was at Southwel he had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, which after many Debates, was so far complied with, as to send Propositions to him by the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, Mr. Godwin, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Hippsley, and Mr. Robinson, but they were so high both in relation to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and tending to the change of Religion established, that he could not consent to them; but to give them some satisfaction therein, On the first of August the following Message was sent to them.

C. R.

The Propositions tendered to his Majesty by the Commissioners, &c. (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many months for deliberation, as they have assigned daies for His Majesties Answer) do import so great alterations of Government both in Church and State, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer, before a full debate, wherein those Propositions, and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty upon the full view of the whole Propositions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away or changed. In all which he finds (upon discourse with the said Commissioners) that they are so bound up from any capacity, either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as His Majesty

E e e e 2

Banbury and Carnarvon Town and Castle surrendered. The Scots convey the King to Newcastle. The King sends directions to his Commanders to quit their Towns and Forts, and to disband their Forces.

Oxford delivered up to the Parliament.

The Duke of York, with the rest of the King's Children, committed to the Care of the Earl of Northumberland.

All the Seals of Estate broken in the Lords House.

1646. Ragland Castle surrendered.

Montrose's Army broken by Lesley.

Montrose disbanded by the King's Command.

The King's Message to the Parliament.

1645. is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present Judgement of, and Answer to these Propositions whereby he can Answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded Peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be, unless the just Power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and priviledges of the Parliament, be likewise settled) to which end His Majesty desires and proposes to come to London, or any of his Houses thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and security of the Two Houses of Parliament, and the Scots Commissioners, that he shall be there with freedom, honour and safety, where by his Personal Presence he may not only raise a mutual confidence between him and his People, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be destructive to his Just Legal Power, if he should give a full consent to these Propositions as they now stand. As likewise that he may make known to them such his reasonable demands, as he is most assured will be very much conducive to that Peace which all good men desire and pray for, by the settling of Religion, the just priviledges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject. And His Majesty assures them, that as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive unto that just power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto, so he will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills on the desire of his Two Houses, or reasonable Demands from Scotland, which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particulars, (much less any bodies else) in respect of the happiness of those Kingdoms: Wherefore His Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as Men who desire to leave a good Name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled; and upon assurance of an Agreement, His Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son, absolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return to this Kingdom.

His second
Speech at a
Conference
Oct. 6.
1646.

Answer to
the Vote of
Sept. 24.
1646.

This Message did not prevail, and there pass many Debates about disposing of His Majesty's Person. If any such course shall be taken, (saies Lowdon) or any demand made for rendering of his Person, which cannot stand with his Honour and Safety; or which cannot consist with our Duty, Allegiance, and Covenant, nor with the honour of that Army to whom (in time of his extreame danger) he had his recourse for safety; it cannot be expected that we can be capable of so base an Act. And again, If it be contrary (say the Scotch Commissioners) to the Law, and Common Practice of Nations, to deliver up the meanest Subject fled to them, though it be for the greatest Crimes; how much more would the World abroad condemn our Army for a base, dishonourable Act, if they should deliver up their Head and Sovereign, (having cast himself into their hands) to be disposed of at the Arbitrement of another Nation.

But alas! these difficulties only stuck till the Summ was agreed upon, and then they delivered him up, not only foreknowing, but foretelling the Consequences of that Action. If your Majesty (which God forbid) shall refuse (saies the Chancellor) to assent to the Propositions, you will lose all your Friends; lose the City; and all the

Country; and all England will join against you as one man: and (when all hope of Reconciliation is past) it is to be fear'd they will proccss, and depose you, and set up another Government. The Propositions that then stood in Competition with the King's Freedom, Life, and Dignity, and the honour of the Scottish Covenanters, were to this following effect:

1646.

First, For His Majesty to Justifie and Confirm the Proceedings of Parliament.

2. To settle the Militia of England and Ireland in the hands of the Parliament for Twenty years, giving them power to raise Men and Moneys, &c.

3. To swear and sign the Covenant, and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms; abolishing Episcopacy, and settling Religion as both Houses shall agree.

4. That all Honours since 1642. be made null and void, and that no Peers be admitted for the future to sit and Vote in Parliament, but by consent of the Two Houses.

5. That all great Places, and Offices of Honour in England and Ireland be disposed of by consent of Parliament.

Upon His Majesties Refusal to sign these Propositions, the Scots declared, That there would be a joint course taken by both Kingdoms concerning the disposal of his Person; (And a little after) with respect had to the safety and preservation of His Royal Person, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, according to the Covenant. Explaining themselves afterwards, upon a Debate at Edinburgh, That the Clause in the Covenant for Defence of the King's Person, is to be understood, in defence and safety of the Kingdoms; by which construction it appears, that they knew what would become of the King before they parted with him.

Declaration
of the King-
dom of
Scotland,
Jan. 16.
1646.

But before the Scots entered upon this Treaty about the Person of the King, they had agreed with the Parliament upon terms for their marching out of England, by which agreement they were to have Two hundred thousand pounds paid in present upon their delivery of Barwick, Carlisle and Newcastle to the Parliament of England, and two hundred thousand more secured to them upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.

The first payment of this money was made at Newcastle according to the compact, and thereupon they delivered the King to the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the Lord Montague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and Major General Brown, who were Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to receive him, and with these on the 8th of February, the King set forward towards his House at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the 16th of the same month; The Scots two daies before the King's departure marched from Newcastle, which was possesed by a Garrison of English, and a few daies after, they also put Barwick and Carlisle into the Parliaments hands, and marched quietly home to Scotland.

The Scots
deliver up
the King
into the
power of the
Parliament.

The King at Holdenby was kept so close, that none of his domestick Servants that had attended him since he left London, nor any of his Chaplains were suffered to have access unto him; nor so much as a Common Prayer-Book allow'd him for

The King
close Prisoner
at Holdenby-House.

1646. for his private use. And the Parliament having now the King in their possession, and all his Armies and Garrisons subdued by their Forces, they began to be much divided amongst themselves, under the names of Presbyterians and Independents.

Presbyterians described. The first whereof who were the major part in both Houses, were those who in compliance with the Scots thought themselves obliged by the Covenant to set up the Presbyterian Discipline of Geneva, as it was exercised in Scotland under the Government of Congregational, Classical, Provincial and National Assemblies (to whom the City of London very much adhered) but the others disliked that sort of Government as too rigorous, imperious and conclusive, holding that Churches should not be subordinate as Parochial to Provincial, and Provincial to National, but co-ordinate, without superiority; and from hence they were called Independents: whereof the first eminent appearance was in the Assembly of Divines, which met in the year 1643. at Westminster to consult about matters of Religion; for the major part of these being Presbyterians, were in consideration of a Directory and Model of that Government to be proposed to the Parliament, when five of their Members, viz. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs, and William Bridge, made some opposition, and desired Toleration to be indulged to them, that they might not be concluded by the Votes of the Assembly; but the rest of the Members opposed their Toleration, and some moved their ejection out of the Assembly, except in convenient time they would comply therewith, whereupon the Dissenters appealed from the Assembly, and presented an Apologetical Narrative to the Parliament, wherein they petitioned for some favour to them, whose Consciences could not join with the Assembly in all particulars; concluding, That they pursued no other interest or design but a subsistence in their own land, as not knowing where else with safety, health, and livelihood to set their feet on earth.

Upon this Petition they found such favour, that they were secured from further trouble; and from this beginning they grew to so great an increase, that they had the best preferments left in the Church, and opened and shut the door of preferment to others.

Lieutenant General Cromwel and Commissary General Ireton, and the greatest part of the Army, consisting now of men of several Sects of Religion, did much favour these Independents, who to ingratiate themselves with them (though in their Confession of Faith and Doctrine, they wholly agreed with the Presbyterian) held out a Liberty of Conscience to all other Sects in the profession of their Faith and exercise of their Religion.

1647. This inclination of the Army to the Independents made the Presbyterians, who were the major part of the Parliament, very watchful over their actions, and observing that the Army at their Courts of War laid hold on all pretences of scandals and crimes to disband and cashier Presbyterians, that Independents might be put in their places, resolved to disband all of them except five thousand Horse, a thousand Dragoons, and five Companies of fire-locks, for which they wanted

not a good pretence, that the people might be eased thereby of a great part of the Taxes imposed upon them for their maintenance, and that some of them might be sent into Ireland, where there was a want of English Souldiers. And for this purpose they borrowed two hundred thousand pounds of the City of London. The head-Quarters of the Army was at St. Edmunds-bury in Suffolk, when these matters were debated in Parliament; but by the intelligence they kept at Westminster nothing thereof was concealed from them, and by the Independent party in the House (as it was commonly said) they were so practised on, that they were resolved not to disband; yet which something of this was suggested in the House of Commons, Cromwel with his hand upon his breast, said, *In the presence of God before whom he stood, that he knew the Army would disband and lay down their Arms at their doors whensoever they should command them.* Upon this assertion, Orders of both Houses for disbanding were sent to the Army with instructions for determining the Accomps of the Souldiers, but instead of obedience to these Orders, a Council of Officers met at St. Edmunds-bury to consider thereof, began to debate of the matter with much dissatisfaction, and two Souldiers out of each of sixteen Regiments of Horse and Foot, as Agitators or Agents of their respective Regiments, were allowed to meet also in a kind of Council on the same Business, and both of these Assemblies agreed upon the same things in substance, namely, against disbanding; and in a Petition to the General, they desired the Army might be speedily drawn to a Rendezvouze, and that he would use his utmost to endeavour that it be not disbanded till publique Grievances should be redressed, and all such persons called to account who had been intenders, contrivers, or promoters of their destructions (for so they termed those of the Parliament that voted them to be disbanded.) These requests of the Officers and Souldiers produced a General Rendezvouze of the Army at Newmarket on the fourth of June, and the Agitators the day before privately sent Cornet Joyce with a party of Souldiers to seize on the King (as will be mentioned hereafter) and at this Rendezvouze they associated themselves together as a kind of distinct body from the rest of the Kingdom, and subscribed a solemn Ingagement of their resolution, wherein they to this purpose expressed themselves, (viz.)

We the Officers and Souldiers of the Army subscribing hereunto, do hereby declare, agree, and promise, to, and with each other, that we shall not willingly disband nor divide, nor suffer our selves to be disbanded or divided, until we have security, that we as private men, as other the free born people of England, shall not remain subject to the like oppressions and injuries as have been attempted, and shall have such satisfaction and security as shall be agreed upon by a Council to consist of those General Officers of the Army, who have concurred with the Army in this resolution (for many moderate men upon these discontents left them) with two Commission Officers and two Souldiers for each Regiment, of such likewise as subscribed to this Agreement. But whilst these contrivances were acted at the head-Quarters, there was a large Petition framed in the County of Essex against the Army:

1647.

Agitators of the Army chosen.

The Armes Ingagement.

The Army resolve to disband the Presbyterians.

1647. Army: upon this Cromwel goes to Walden where the head-Quarters of the Army then was, on pretence of quieting the distempers thereof, but nothing was effected; and in the Month of May, they presented a Petition to their General, wherein they desired to be satisfied, not only for their pay as Souldiers, but that a Provision might be made for their Indemnity, and several other things relating to Publick settlement: of which Petition great complaint was made by the Presbyterians; yet they rested not here, but were very active in framing another to be presented to the Parliament. But the Parliament shewed their high dislike of that Petition, and their approbation and esteem of their good service who first discovered it: but declared, if the Subscribers would forbear to proceed any further therein, they should be retained in the Parliaments good opinion, and that those who shall continue in the present distempers, shall be proceeded against as enemies to the State.

The King brought from Holdenby to the Army by Cornet Joyce.

These and some other alterations wrought at last so far, that on the 4th of June a party of Souldiers commanded by Cornet Joyce, came somewhat late to Holdenby, and desired to speak with the King, which being granted, he told him, he was come by command of the Army to remove him from that place; and so the next day after Dinner he carried him towards the Army. But on the 6th of June the General sent a Letter to the Parliament, pretending that he knew nothing of the Party that attended the King, professing that his remove was without his consent, or his Officers about him, but the Party that did it, told him that the reason thereof was from an apprehension of some strength gathered to take him away, thereby to make a new War, the plot and plotters whereof they were able to prove when called thereunto: when this was known, it was ordered by both Houses of Parliament,

1. That the King should reside at Richmond.
2. That he should be attended by the same persons that he was at Holdenby.
3. That Rositer's Regiment should guard him.

The Armes Representation to the Parliament.

But the Army in stead of complying herewith, sent a Representation to the Parliament, wherein they proposed,

That the two Houses might be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there.

That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and endangered the Kingdom, might be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse.

That some determinate period of time might be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.

That provision might be for succeeding Parliaments not to be adjournable or dissolvable by any power, but by their own consent during their respective period, and then to determine themselves.

That the freedom of the people to present grievances by Petition to Parliament may be vindicated.

That the exorbitant power of Country Committees may be taken away.

That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments accompts for their vast summs received, and also in divers other things wherein the Common-wealth have been long abused.

That after such Delinquents as have been of the King's Party have compounded for their Delinquencies and paid their Compositions, an Act of Oblivion may be passed.

1647.

And immediately after this Representation, there was brought to the Parliament from the General and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment against eleven Members of the House of Commons, (*viz.*) Denzel Holles, Esq., Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir John Maynard, Major General Massey, Mr. Glyn Recorder of London, Anthony Nicols, Esq., Colonel Edward Harley, and Colonel Water Long, for things done for the most part in the House, whereof one of the chief was, That by their power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for disbanding the Army to pass. The impeached Members declared themselves ready to answer any crime that could be objected against them, but the Officers of the Army requested that they might be forthwith suspended from any longer sitting and acting as Members: but this was denied as a thing judged at this time too high, and too much against the privilege of Parliament; but when the Army iterated their desire, those accused Members by leave of the House made a voluntary secession for six Months. Concerning that Order of Parliament, That the King should go to Richmond, the General desired to be excused, intreating them not to command that till things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no residence for the King nearer to London, than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be: after which the King was conveyed to Royston, thence to Hatfield, not long after to Causam while the Army Quartered at Reading, from whence when the General with his Army marched to Bedford, the King went to the Earl of Bedford's House near Ouborn, and during all this time he was received with all possible demonstrations of love and duty, and some of his Chaplains were licensed to repair to him, and read the Book of Common-Prayer, as in former times, and the way was open to all those of his own party who desired to see him.

Eleven Members impeached by the Army.

The City of London's Militia as it was settled by Ordinance of the 4th of May, was in the managing of Presbyterians, who were very active and industrious in compleating their Companies both of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, which was rumoured by the Independents as a very dangerous Conspiracie against the Army, and the General in a Letter to the Parliament of the 10th of June, requested, That the Militia of the City might be put into the hands of persons better affected to the Army: Upon which Letter, the Commons upon the 22^d of July Voted the repealing the said Ordinance of the 24th of May, and a new Ordinance for reviving the old Militia was presently passed.

The unexpected news of this changing their Militia caused the City to meet in Common-Council, where because the repealing the former Ordinance was upon no other ground than the Armies desires, they resolved to Petition the House of Commons against it, which they did on the 26th of July by the Sheriffs and some of the Common-Council; but so it happened, that about a thousand Apprentices came down two or three hours

The Petition of the City against the Vote for taking the Militia out of their hands.

1647.

hours after with another Petition, therein complaining, That to order the Cities Militia was the Cities Birth-right, belonging to them by Charters confirmed by Parliament, for defence whereof they had adventured their lives as far as the Army, and desired the Militia might be put again into the same hands in which it was put, with the Parliament and Cities consent by Ordinance of the 4th of May. Upon reading of which Petition, the Lords revoked the Ordinance of the 23^d of July, and renewed that of the 4th of May, by a new Ordinance of the 26th of July, which they presently sent down to the Commons for their consents, where some of the Apprentices in a childish heat were over-clamorous to have the Ordinance passed, refusing to let some Members pass out of the House, so that at last it passed in the affirmative about three in the afternoon, and most of the Apprentices departed; but after this some disorderly persons when the House was rising, took the Speaker and thrust him again into his Chair, detaining both him and the rest of the Members, until they enforced from them a Vote, That the King should come to London.

After this disorder the two Houses adjourned for four daies, and many private Cabals were held what to do, and those that favoured the Army went thither, so that on the fourth day both the Speakers being absent, new Speakers were chosen, the Lord *Hunsdon* for the Peers, and Mr. *Henry Pelham*, a Barrister, for the Commons, by whom it was that day voted,

1. That the King should come to London.
2. That the Militia of London should be authorised to raise forces for defence of the City.
3. That power should be given to the same Militia to chuse a General for those Forces.

It was likewise Ordered, That the aforesaid eleven Members impeached by the Army should return to their seats in Parliament. The Citizens armed with these Orders, presently proceeded to the raising of Forces, which were to be under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massey*, and Colonel *Poyntz*, who were each of them busie in lifting of Souldiers; but *Waller* who was a person of good experience and foresight, seeing great numbers of Reformed Officers and Souldiers lately disbanded flocking to them, advised that they should immediately seize on all the serviceable Horses in and about London, to the number of six thousand, and bring them in Tuttle-fields, where Saddles, Bridles, and Arms might be provided ready, and they would then have quickly Souldiers to mount them, and in four and twenty hours time they might have a Body of Horse to join with the City Regiments, strong enough to oppose the Army if they should attempt any thing against the Parliament and the City: and of this the Army were in great fear, but some of their friends in the Common Council did so distract their consultations, that it appeared impossible for them suddenly to raise any forces to withstand the Army, who by this time upon intelligence hereof made their approaches towards London, whereupon the Aldermen and Common Council were so terrified, that they sent to the General for a pacification, which by the consent of the Members of Parliament then

with him, was granted to them upon these conditions:

1. That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.
2. That they should recall their Declaration lately divulged.
3. They should relinquish their present Militia.
4. They should deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of London.
5. They should disband all the forces they had raised: And do all things else which were necessary to the Publick tranquillity: all which things none of them daring to deny, were presently ratified.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons who had left London, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, That all Acts and Decrees that had passed on the 26th of July and since, should be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise decreed, that the General with his Army should march to London: and on the sixth day of August he with his Army came to Westminster, and with him the Speakers of both Houses, together with the rest of the Lords and Commons, whom he restored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers in the name of the whole Parliament, gave solemn thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower of London: and a Months pay was likewise given as a gratuity to the Army. The next day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon*, and the rest of the Commanders with the whole Army marched through London from the Western part thereof to the Tower, and at the Tower the General made Colonel *Tichburn*, an Alderman of the Independent faction, to be Lieutenant of the Tower; and to humble the City, the Militia's thereof were by Order of Parliament divided, and authority given to Westminster, Southwark, and the Hamlets about the Tower, to exercise and command their own Militia's.

The Members of Parliament in this manner restored, and the Militia of London settled to the Armies good liking, the General marched out of London, and Quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about Whitehall and the Mews to guard the Parliament, his head-Quarters being at Putney; and the King about the middle of August was brought to the most stately of all his Palaces, Hampton-Court.

But now the Members that were brought in by the Army, thought it necessary for the strengthening of their factions to proceed against all such of both Houses of Parliament, and others that were in any measure active in the late troubles, and therefore Serjeant *Glyn* was oured of his Office of Recorder of London, and one *Steele* a Barrister of Gray's-Inn admitted in his place, and *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Clotworthy*, *Long*, *Massey*, and *Nicols* were summoned to attend the House on the 16th of October; and the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk*,

1647.

The City submits to the Army.

The General comes with his Army to Westminster.

The King brought to Hampton-Court.

The Speakers and divers Members fly to the Army.

1647.

Several
Members
and Citi-
zens com-
mitted for
acting in
the late
troubles.

The Affairs
of Ireland.

Suffolk, and Middlesex, with the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Barkley, Hunsdon, and Maynard, were impeached of Treason, and committed to the Black-rod, and Sir John Maynard of the House of Commons, and Sir John Gray Lord Mayor of London, with four Aldermen, Adams, Langham, Culham, and Bunch, were also impeached and committed to the Tower, where we shall leave them for some time, and look to the affairs of Ireland during these occurrences.

The Irish when the cessation of Arms was concluded with them at *Singison* in the year 1643. seemed very desirous of a peace, but by their ill observation of the articles of cessation, their reality therein was much suspected; for they were so far from ceasing from acts of hostility during that short term of a year as they had agreed to, that they often pillaged and plundered the English, imprisoning or murdering their persons, and particularly at the Castle of *Wicklow*, which they surprized, and put all the men, women and children therein to the sword; yet after this Treaty, they had the confidence to send Commissioners to the King to supplicate, that before the expiration of the cessation, a peace might be concluded with them; but he referred them back to his Lieutenant *Ormond*, and he considering the necessity of the Kings affairs, and his present inability to prosecute that War, would willingly have reduced things to a pacification; but the Irish having correspondence with the Spanish and French upon the interest of the Romish Religion, spun out all Treaties with tedious delays, in hopes of supplies of men and money to be sent to them, so that in two years nothing was effected therein; and moreover at the same time when they were in treaty with the Lord Lieutenant, they were likewise agitating under-hand, an agreement elsewhere, pretending the Kings Commission to Authorise the proceeding: which his Majesty utterly disowned, with expressions of much indignation, that his name should be made use of to so odious a purpose, as the advancement of the Popish Religion, and the discouragement of the English Clergy in that Kingdom. While these things were transacting, matters went still worse and worse with the English, so that in confusion, all the strong places in the Province of *Lemster*, except *Drogedah* and *Dublin* were possessed by the Irish. One of the principal Actors in this affair was seized and taken into custody by Order of the Lord Lieutenant, who struggled as far as in him lay, to prevent further inconveniencies: but about the time that the King went to the Scots Army near *Newark*, he was forced to conclude a Peace with them, and upon conditions very advantageous to the Natives; but nevertheless, all of them would not submit to it: For the Popes Nuntio had drawn a great party of the most zealous of their Religion to protest against it, as a peace wherein there was not sufficient security for the free exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion. *Ormond* thought to profit himself of that division, and made himself ready to joyn with those that adhered to the peace to suppress the others, not doubting upon his success herein, to be master of such a force as might make the Kings rearms in *England* easier to him: But in the midst of all these hopes, when he was

A Peace
concluded
in Ireland
by the Mar-
quess of *Ormond*.

ready with a party to march to *Kilkenny* to joyn with his new friends, he was inform'd of a design against his person, which was related to him with such circumstances, that he was confident of the truth thereof, and if he had not retreated to *Dublin*, he and his party had been lost; In this extremity he thought it better to put *Dublin* and the Forts yet in English hands, in the Parliament of *England's* power, than suffer them to be possess'd by the Irish, and brought under a foreign jurisdiction, in order whereunto, he sent to two Captains of the Parliament Ships then riding near *Dublin*, and imparted to them his desires of complying with the Parliament, if the King would give his assent thereunto, and obtain'd of them ammunition and powder for his present supply; and in further prosecution of that overture, having the Kings commands for so doing, he capitulated with the Parliament Commissioners, and yielded up *Dublin*, and what remained under his Government to their authority; who immediately sent thither Colonel *Jones* with 1450 Horse and Foot, who on the 17th. of June took possession of *Dublin*, and from that time such supplies were sent to re-inforce the English, that every week produced news of Victories over the Irish.

Dublin put
into the
hands of the
Parliament
of *England*.

Whilst the King remained at *Hampton Court* he seemed not at all a restrained man, but as a Prince living in the splendor of a Court, so freely to his presence were all sorts of people admitted to kiss his hands, and do all obeisances whatsoever; nor did the people from *London* only and the adjacent Towns resort to the King, but his Chaplains and such of his Servants who by order of Parliament had been forbidden, as Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Sir *John Barkley*, now by permission of the Army had safe recourse to him: The Marquess of *Ormond* likewise attended him there with an account of the Irish affairs, and was with much kindness received by him, and about the beginning of *October*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, and the Lord *Seymour*, repaired to him; but the Parliament were displeased at this liberty, whereupon those Lords being told of it after two days stay at *Hampton-Court* returned to their Houses: On the seventh of *September* Propositions agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament (the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concurring also) were sent to the King at *Hampton-Court*, to which they requested his Answer in six dayes; The Commissioners appointed for this business by the Parliament of *England* were, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Mountague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *John Holland*, and Major General *Brown*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lawderdale*, and Sir *Charles Erskins*. Two dayes after their arrival the King gave the Commissioners a Message in writing to the two Houses of Parliament, in answer to the Propositions, which was to this effect, (*viz.*)

Propositions
sent from
the Parlia-
ment to the
King at
*Hampton-
Court*.

That having perused the Propositions now brought to him, he found them the same in effect which were offer'd to him at *Newcastle*, to some of which as he could not consent without violation of his conscience and honour, so neither can he agree to other now; conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present

The Kings
answer to
the Propo-
sitions.

1647. condition of affairs, than when they were formerly presented to him, and having seen the proposals of the Army to the Commissioners from the two Houses, residing with them, to which as he conceives, they are no strangers, so he believes they will think with him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for lasting peace than the propositions at this time tendered to him, and therefore he propounds that Commissioners may be sent from the Parliament and the Army for a personal treaty upon them, and such others as he shall make, that a firm peace may be settled.

This answer was not very pleasing to the Parliament, and it was by many thought, though the Armies proposals had the consent of the General and his Council of Officers, yet the agitators who influenc'd the body of the Souldiery, were not assenting to them, nevertheless, the Scotch took great offence at them, and affairs were thereby much perplexed more than before; but for the better understanding of these affairs we shall relate such of the Armies proposals as were of most consequence, and most acceptable to the King.

The Armies
Proposals to
the King.

1. That an Act be passed to take away all coercive Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction of Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers whatsoever, extending to any civil Penalties upon any, and to repeal all Laws whereby the Civil Magistracy hath been, or is bound upon any Ecclesiastical censure to proceed (ex officio) unto any civil penalties against any persons so censured.

2. That there be a repeal of all Acts or Clauses in any Act, enjoying the use of the Common Prayer, and imposing any penalties for neglect thereof, as also of all Acts or Clauses in any Act imposing any penalties for not coming to Church, or for meeting elsewhere, for prayer, or other religious duties, exercises or ordinances, and some other provision to be made for discovering of Papists, and Popish Recusants; and for disabling of them and all Jesuits and Priests from disturbing the State.

3. That the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any, nor any penalties imposed upon the refusers, whereby men might be constrained to take it against their judgement or consciences; but all orders or ordinances tending to that purpose to be repealed.

4. The things here before being provided, for settling and securing the Rights, Liberties, Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, his Majesties Person, his Queen, and Royal Issue may be restored to a condition of safety, honour and freedom in this Nation, without diminution to their personal Rights, or further limitation to the Exercise of the Regal Power than according to the particulars before going.

5. That a lesser number out of the persons excepted in the two first qualifications of the

Parliaments late Propositions to the King, not exceeding five for the English (being nominated particular by the Parliament, who together with the persons in the Irish Rebellion in the third qualification) may be reserved to the further Judgement of the Parliament, as they shall find cause. All other excepted persons to be remitted from the exceptions, and admitted to composition.

6. That the rates of all future compositions may be lessened and limited not to exceed the several propositions hereafter expressed respectively: That is to say, 1. For all persons formerly excepted not above a third part. 2. For the late Members of Parliament under the first branch of the fourth qualification in the propositions, a fourth part. 3. For other Members of Parliament in the second and third branches of the same qualification, a sixth part. 4. For the persons nominated in the said fourth qualification, and those included in the tenth qualification, an eighth part; and that Real debts either upon Record, or proved by Witnesses, be considered, and debated in the valuation of their Estates in all the cases aforesaid.

7. That those who shall hereafter come to compound, may not have the Covenant put upon them, as a condition without which they may not compound; but in case they shall not willingly take it, they may pass their composition without it.

8. That the Persons and Estates of all English not worth two hundred pounds in Lands or Goods, be at liberty and discharged, and that the Kings menial Servants, that never took up Arms but only attended his Person, according to their Offices, may be freed from composition, or to pay (at most) but the proportion of one years Revenue or a twentieth part.

9. That in order to the making and perfecting of compositions for delinquency at the rates aforesaid, the Rents, Revenues, and other dues and profits of all sequestred Estates whatsoever (except the Estates of such persons who shall be continued under exception as before) be from henceforth suspended and detained in the hands of the respective Tenants and Occupiers, and others from whence they are due, for the space of six months following.

10. That the faith of the Army, or other Forces of the Parliament given in Articles upon surrenders to any of the Kings party, may be fully made good, and where any breach thereof shall appear to have been made, full reparation and satisfaction may be given to the parties injured, and the person offending being found out, may be compell'd thereunto.

11. That there may be a General Act of Oblivion to extend unto all (except the persons to be continued in exception as before) to absolve from all trespasses, misdemeanors, &c. done in prosecution of the War, and from all

trouble

1647. trouble or prejudice, for or concerning the same, and to restore them to all priviledges belonging to other Subjects.

The resentment of the Scots at these Proposals, which was touched at before, was chiefly manifested in a Remonstrance about this time made by the Commissioners of the General Assembly met at *Edenburgh* the 13th of *October*, to their Committee of Estates; wherein amongst other things they declared;

The Scots Remonstrance.

That his Majesty waving the Propositions of both Kingdoms, and pressing the Proposals of the Army, to be the subject of a Treaty, doth much increase the danger of Religion, seeing those Proposals, as they omit and abandon the former desires so both Kingdoms in point of Religion, so they cannot accord (as the words stand) the continuance of Prelacie, the toleration of Heresie and Sects, and the taking away the Ordinance in joyning the taking of the Covenant.

And a little further they thus express themselves;

These dangers of religion we have insisted on as being most proper for us to speak to, but not as if we were insensible of the great danger of the Kings Person, and of Monarchical Government, for preserving of which, according to our Covenant, our prayer and best endeavours shall not be wanting: and now the danger of Religion is so great, and the grounds of our Fears and apprehensions so regnant, we earnestly beseech and humbly obtest your Lordships in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and by the Vows of God which are upon you, that as your Lordships desire God and your own Consciences and posterity, may not afterwards charge upon you the Ruine of Religion, King, and Kingdoms, so your Lordships may be very tender and conscionable that no such design be entertained or get place amongst you, as tendeth to the disabling of this Church and Kingdom from an effectual prosecuting and promoting the ends of the Covenant, or to the strengthening and enabling the enemies thereof by affording them the opportunity which they wait for to disturb the peace and destroy the present Reformation: these and no better effects can be looked for, if the Army in this Kingdom, which hath been so blessed of God, and so faithful to you, shall be disbanded before this cause of God, which so much concerneth his Glory, the reformation and defence of Religion, the peace and safety of the Kingdom, the honour and happiness of the King, be settled upon a firm foundation.

The Scots Commissioners Letter to the Parliament.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* attended the King at *Hampton-Court*, and gave him full information of all these matters, and so far represented to him the uncertainty of his condition in reference to the Army, which became now by the practises of some busie men very ungovernable, that he began to incline rather to the Scots; and the Commissioners of *Scotland* residing at *London* sent Letters to the Parliament dated *November* the 5th in which they pressed very much that the King might come to *London* and treat personally with the Parliament about the things controverted; urging for reasons thereof, because the King had been taken from *Holdenby* against his will, and without the consent of the Parliament, by the

1647. violence of the Souldiers, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom which was thought fit for a King, treating about a business of so great moment; but if it might not be thought convenient for his coming to *London*, that he may continue at *Hampton-Court* so he be not under the power of the Army, but in such a condition that the Commissioners of both Parliaments might have a free recourse to him.

The Agitators were much alarmed at this interposition of the Scots, and their keeping up their Army in *Scotland*, and from hence they became more violent than before in their practises against the King, which they expressed in several proposals to the General Council of Officers: and about this time in one of their debates at a General Council at *Putney* it was proposed,

Whether it were safe either for the Army or the people to suffer any power to be given to the King: and in the discussion of this, it was said openly in the Council,

That they had gone about to wash a Black-moore white whether he would or not, and to set up a Power which God would destroy; that the power of Kings was a burthensome stone that would destroy whosoever should fall upon it:

Monstrous passage against the King at a meeting of the Officers at *Putney*.

That the reason of their distractions in Councils was from a compliance to save that Man of Blood (meaning the King) and those principles of Tyranny which God from Heaven by his many successes had manifestly declared against.

Cromwel and *Ireton* (who yet wished well to the King) did what they could to oppose these proceedings, but the stream was too strong against them; and the King having from time to time notice of these agitations, thought it not imprudent to provide (ere it should be too late) for his own safety, and by advice of *Sir John Berkely*, *Colonel Legg*, and *Mr. Ashburnham* (whom he then much trusted) he resolved to attempt to get to *Fersey*; and for the effecting thereof, a Ship was provided somewhere about *Southampton* for his transportation; but before he took this resolution, he thought fit to retract an Engagement made by *Mr. Ashburnham* on his behalf not to depart from the Army without their consent, which we shall relate in *Mr. Ashburnham's* own words:

*When the differences of the Army grew great, and an active and powerful party thereof daily menacing violence to his Majesty's person, his Majesty commanded me to retract the Engagement which I had formerly given, alledging, that *Colonel Whalley* affirmed to him, that the Officers of the Army had so little power to preserve him, as that they were scarce able to keep themselves from affronts; whereupon having found *Colonel Whalley* walking by the river side near *Hampton-Court* I told him that I came to withdraw that word which I had given him for his Majesty's not leaving the Army without their consent; the *Colonel* said, why then the King doth so too: and I told him you are to understand it so. He added, It was fairly done, and he would take notice of it accordingly.*

Ashburnham's Letter from *Carrbrook* to the Speaker dated *November 29. 1647* Printed for *R. Royton*.

This being done, and the Ship and Horses and other convenience for the Kings escape in preparation, he resolved to take the first opportunity he could to get his liberty, but hearing of some passages at the meeting of the Officers at *Putney*

ON

1647.
Manuscript
of the trans-
actions at
Purton, col-
lected by
Sir William
Clark at-
tending as
Secretary at
all close
meetings.
The tie of
obedience to
him as King.

The King
escapes
from Hamp-
ton Court.

The Kings
Letter to the
Parliament
at his de-
parture
from Hamp-
ton Court.

on the 11th of November, tending to the destruction of his person : (where Colonel Harrison made a long narration concerning some things that lay upon his Spirit, in relation to the King, Lords, &c. saying, *That the King was a man of Blood, and therefore the Engagements to him were taken off, and that they were to prosecute him* : And that on the same day the Agitators of nine Regiments and the Generals Life-Guard, had prepared a Letter of the same strain by way of narrative to all the Souldiers of the Army to draw them to a general Rendezvouze to declare against any settlement with the King) he resolved that evening to remove himself, and accordingly about eight a Clock at night he got away, having Horses laid ready to receive him on the other side of the River; and about nine a Clock, whilst the Commissioners of Parliament and Colonel Whalley (who commanded the Guard) expected when he should come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondred at his long stay, at last some of them going in, and not finding the King, they found his Cloak left there, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners, to be by them communicated to both Houses of Parliament; Cromwel about midnight dispatched a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons with notice of the Kings departure : In the Kings letter to the Parliament, after he had discoursed somewhat about Captivity, and the sweetness of Liberty, he protested (as before God) *That he had not taken this design of withdrawing himself to disturb the publique peace, or any Treaty tending to the establishment thereof, but only to preserve his own safety, against which he understood there was a treasonable Conspiracie. But towards the end of the Letter he useth these words: Now as I cannot deny but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement, so I take God to witness, that the publique peace, is no less before mine eyes : and I can find no better way to express this my profession, (I know not what a wiser man may do) than by desiring and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction; as for example, the Army (for the rest though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to consent) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their Consciences, and have an act of Oblivion or Indemnity, (which should extend to the rest of all my Subjects) and that all their Arrears should be speedily and duly paid, which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawful and honest means as I shall chuse : To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour and safety, and I shall instantly break through this Cloud of retirement, and shew myself to be Pater Patriæ.*

CHARLES Rex.

The Parliament were at first surprized with this unexpected news of the Kings departure, and they dispatched Messengers to all Sea-Ports to prevent his going out of the Kingdom, and upon a rumour that he was concealed in London, they ordered, That if any man should closely detain the Kings Person, and not reveal it to the Parliament, he should be punished with the loss of his estate and life; But in the midst of this confusion, a Letter came to the Lords from Colonel

Hammond Governour of the Isle of Wight, dated at Cowes the 13th of November, wherein he acquainted them, That being that morning on his way from Carisbrook Castle to Newport, Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Berkely overtook him, and after a short discourse told him, the King was near, and that he would be with him that night; and was come from Hampton-Court, upon information, that there were some who intended to destroy him, and that he could not with safety continue any longer there, and finding his case thus, he chose rather to put himself into his hands being a member of the Army (which he said he would not have left, could he have had security to his Person) than to go to any other place; and therefore weighing the great concernment that the Person of the King was of, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to preserve his person from any such horrid attempts, and to bring him to a place of safety : hereupon he went over the water and found the King near the water side, and by his own desire he brought him to the Isle of Wight.

The Parliament were well pleased to hear of the Kings being at Cowes, and ordered thereupon on the 16th of November,

1. That he should continue there and in the Castle.
2. That none that have borne arms against the Parliament but Inhabitants that have compounded, shall remain in that Island.
3. That no Delinquent or Foreiner should be admitted to come to him without leave of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, and that Propositions should be speedily sent to him.
4. That five thousand pounds shall be advanced for his accommodation : And,
5. That it should be considered who should attend his Person.

In the little space of time betwixt the Kings departure from Hampton-Court, and his arrival at Cows-Castle in the Isle of Wight many great distempers appeared in the Army, which had been growing some while before, on this occasion. The Agitators having some jealousy, that Cromwel and Ireton and the rest of the General Officers designed to establish the King (and being acted and guided by divers persons not of the Army that were for a total subversion of Monarchical Government) possessed the Souldiers with much prejudice against them, as that they had fallen from their Principles, and were in their proceedings false and treacherous both to the Army and Kingdom, and by several insinuations of this kind which they dispersed in printed papers they had made great factions and parties in the Army, and much divided the Souldiers from the Officers, and both Officers and Souldiers amongst themselves: these disorders and discontents were much increased by the repair of the Agitators to the head Quarters, where they assembled as a kind of Representative Council, and debated divers matters of great concernment : But the General doubting the event of these practices, and being willing to quiet the discontents then growing amongst the Souldiers, in the first place, dismissed the Agitators to their several Regiments, and sent also most of the Officers then at the Head-Quarters to their respective and particular char-

1647.

The King is brought to the Isle of Wight. At the Countess of Southamp-ton houses.

Divisions happen in the Army.

ges, to endeavour to satisfy and compose those discontents and divisions; and about a fortnight after he contracted the quarters of the Army, intending to draw them to several Rendezvous; the first whereof was to be in a place called *Cork-bush Field* betwixt *Hartford* and *Ware* on the 15th day of *November*; But as soon as the Agitators had notice of these orders, they and their associates laboured to hinder the Execution thereof, and to draw divers Regiments from the Quarters and Rendezvous, to which they were ordered, to the first Rendezvous, near *Ware*; whereupon the General the day before called a Council of War at *Hartford*, and there agreed upon a Remonstrance, and Engagement, which was to be read at the Rendezvous at the head of every Regiment, and subscribed by the Officers and Souldiers; But the next day when the Army was drawn together, many of the Souldiers of five whole Regiments mutinied against their Officers, and wore certain marks of distinction to be known by from the rest, nor was this done in so tumultuous a manner as usually mutinies are made, but with some kind of order, and had proved very dangerous, if *Cromwell* and *Ireton* and some of the rest of the Officers had not been very active in seizing on some of the principal Mutineers, in the doing whereof, one or two were shot to death before the Troops were reduced to order and good obedience; but though the present distemper was thus ended, great animosities remained, most of the Mutineers and the Officers that favoured them, were tried at Court Martials, and cashiered, or otherwise punished, but *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and their factions, were after this (to keep their credit with the Army) to alter their Counsels, which brought great misery to the Kingdom, as will be shewn hereafter.

Whilst the Parliament were deliberating about Propositions to be sent to the *Isle of Wight* to the King; a Letter came to them from him dated the 18th of *November*, super-scribed, *To the Speaker of the Lords House, to be communicated also to the House of Commons*, which was read in both Houses. In which he delivered his sense and opinion concerning many things contained in the former propositions to him, especially concerning the abolition of Episcopacy, which he said, *He could not consent to either as a Christian or a King, because he looked upon it as Apostolical, and had sworn at his Coronation to maintain it; but yet he was willing that Presbyterie should be authorized for three years, and in the mean time, a free debate had between the Divines assembled at Westminster, and twenty that he should appoint for the future settlement of Church Government; he was also willing that the Parliament should dispose of the Militia, and have the choice of his Privy Counsellors during his Reign, provided they would have it by Grant in Letters Patents from him, and that it might return to his Successors: He gave touches also concerning the Payment of the arrears of the Souldiers, and the other matters, of all which he said, he hoped that he should satisfy the Parliament with his reasons, if he might personally treat with them. Therefore he desired earnestly to be admitted with honour, freedom and safety to treat personal-*

ly at *London*. The Commissioners of Scotland likewise with great vehemency press'd, That the desire of the King might be granted: inasmuch, that after a long debate, on *November 26*, it was concluded, that four previous propositions being drawn up into the form of Acts, should be sent to the King in the *Isle of Wight* to sign; which when he had signed, he should be admitted to a personal Treaty at *London*.

1. An Act for raising, settling, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of England and Ireland, and Dominion of Wales, &c.

Four Acts sent to the King to be signed.

2. An Act, for recalling of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the Parliament, or those who have adhered to them.

3. An Act, That those Peers who were made after the Great Seal was carried from the Parliament, may be made incapable of sitting in the House of Peers.

4. That Power may be given to the Two Houses to adjourn themselves as they think fit.

The first of these Acts was concerning the Militia, which devested the King, his Heirs and Successors of the power thereof for ever; for though it seem'd to be but for twenty years, yet it saith, That neither the King nor his Heirs or Successors, nor any other shall exercise any power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but such as shall act by Authority and Approbation of the Lords and Commons: It gives also an unlimited power to the two Houses to raise what Forces, & what number for Land and Sea, and of what persons (without exceptions) they please, and to imploy them as they shall judge fit, and to raise what Money they please for maintaining them. The rules of the other Acts do sufficiently discover the nature of them, and therefore we shall not enlarge upon them: The Commissioners of Scotland would in no wise give their consent that these four Acts should be imposed on the King before he treated at *London*; and in a large declaration they protested against it, notwithstanding which, they were sent by the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague*, Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Bunkly*, and Mr. *Kemp*, Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament, and on the 24th of *December* they were presented to the King at *Carisbrook Castle*; but he willing to satisfy all interests, and finding the Scots openly to protest against them, refused to give his assent to any Acts till the whole peace should be concluded; and the Commissioners returned to *London* with his denial. This refusal of his Majesties, together with some other unhappy Circumstances, gave *Cromwell* a suspicion that the King had some thought of Deserting the Army, and casting himself upon the Presbyterian Interest; Whereupon the Army march'd to *Windsor*, where the head quarters for some time remained, and the chief Officers had many consultations about the present transactions betwixt the King and the Parliament; for *Cromwell* and *Ireton* finding the Interest of the Scots was likely to be

The King refuseth to give his Assent to them.

The Souldiers mutiny against their Officers.

The principal of them shot to death.

The Kings Letters from the Isle of Wight to the Parliament.

1647. be joyn'd with that of the King, and that the City of London was very favourable to them, they feared a downfall to their greatness, if they did not prevent the progress thereof, and strengthen themselves by drawing the inferiour Officers and Souldiers who were much acted by the late mutinies against the King and his Government, to have a good opinion of them; to effect which, as a pretence to procure a unity in the Army, a Fast was solemnly kept amongst the Officers, and a whole day spent in Prayer and Preaching, and at the close thereof, all those Prisoners that were committed for the mutiny at Ware, as the mind of God, were set at liberty, when as one well knowing in those affairs, published; *They had without doubt resolv'd it before as the only expedient to re-imbalm their lost reputation; for if the K. would have taken their price, to let Cromwell and Ireton rule and Reign under him, no doubt but he might have come in; but because the Scots feared if he came in by these Grandees of the Army, they and he might joyn together to chastise them for all their old former provocations, and therefore out of meer safety (it may be) they out-bid the Grandees to gain the Kings affiction, which made them mad.

The Officers of the Army keep a solemn Fast.

*John Lilburne in a Book called England's Freedom, Souldiers Rights, pag. 59

Ireton's Speech in the House of Commons.

*Remonstrance from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Army under his command at St. Albans June the 23. 1647. pag. 64.

Cromwell's Speech in the House.

Thus much is related in a print, and to manifest this practice, Cromwell and Ireton being present in the House of Commons when the Kings Answer was read, Ireton said; That the King had denied safety and protection to his people by denying the four Bills; That subjection to him was but in lieu of his protection to his people, this being denied they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected after so long Patience, they should shew their resolutions, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, unless they forsook them first; and in the conclusion he press'd for a Question to be put, That no more addresses or applications should be made to the King. This discourse was received with much admiration of many that had observ'd the late motions of the Army, and read their declarations, who knew how contrary this his speech was from what he had often before asserted on behalf of the King, and that most of those declarations were penn'd by him, in one of which were these words: *We do clearly profess, we do not see how there can be any Peace to the Kingdom firm or lasting, without a due consideration of, and provision for the Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majesties Royal Family, and his late Partakers; And in many others there were the like expressions, besides what was contained in the Armies proposals before recited; but now, Those that chose by Arms to compass their ends upon the King, began too late to discover, That the Government by an Army would introduce at last (as in the Roman State it did) the Army to be Masters of Government. This debate of non-addresses was very long in agitation, for it continued from nine in the morning till seven at night, and when the House was ready for a Question, Cromwell spake to this purpose;

That it was now expected the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom by their own power

and resolutions, and not teach the People any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened; That those men who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expence of their blood, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your own and the Kingdoms safety (in which their own is involved) to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake: and therefore are likely to find his future government of them insupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Justice, lest despair teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you, who will not stick to your selves, and how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge: And to enforce this Speech, at the later end thereof, in kind of menacing manner, he laid his hand upon his sword; and in the end, a Declaration and Votes were passed, which were after much debate assented to by the Lords, in these words.

The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after many Addresses to his Majesty for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, raised by him against the Parliament and Kingdom, have lately sent four Bills to his Majesty, which did contain only matter of safety and security to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the composition of other differences to a personal Treaty with his Majesty, and having received an absolute Negative, do hold themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavours, speedily to settle the present Government in such a way, as may bring the greatest security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in Order thereunto, and that the Houses may receive no delay nor interruptions in so great and necessary a work, they have taken these Resolutions, and passed these Votes following, viz.

The Lords and Commons do declare, That they will make no further Addresses or Applications to the King.

The Parliament vote that no more addresses should be made to the King.

Resolved &c. By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That no Application or Addresses be made to the King by any person whatsoever without the leave of both Houses.

Resolved &c. By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That the person or persons that shall make breach of this Order, shall incur the penalty of High Treason.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any Message from the King; and do enjoin, That no person whatsoever do presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any other person.

Within few days after these Votes of Parliament were published, and in compliance with them, a Declaration of the General, and General Council of the Army was made, and presented to the Parliament, in the close whereof it was thus expressed:

We

1648.

The Decla-
ration of the
Army.

We do freely declare for ourselves and the Army, That we are resolved, through the Grace of God, firmly to adhere with, and stand by the Parliament in the things Voted, concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for settling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and against him or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

The Parlia-
ment pub-
lishes a
DeclarationThe Com-
mittee of
Debate
new impow-
ered.

The Parliament also made a publique Declaration about the beginning of February, with many invective arguments in it against the King, laying open all those errors of his Government together, which they had with virulence & malice formerly published in parcels; but the more sober part of the people knew too well by what arts the Councils which produced these actions were framed, to be perswaded by them, and so great were the discontents in the City of London and the suburbs thereof, that part of the Army was quartered about Westminster, the Mews and other places of the City for fear of Insurrections; & the month before these high transactions, 7 Lords and 13 of the House of Commons were chosen out of both Houses, to sit as a Committee in Derby-House (where the Committee of both Kingdoms of England and Scotland had sitted before) who were empowered to suppress tumults and insurrections, and to that purpose to raise forces as they saw occasion; the names of these were, the Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick, and Manchester, and the Lords Say, Wharton and Roberts; and of the Commons, Sir Henry Vane Senior, Sir Henry Vane Junior, Sir William Armin, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Lieutenant General Cromwel, Nathanael Fiennes, William Pierpoint, and Oliver St. Johns Esquires, Mr. Crew, Mr. Brown and Mr. Wallop, these were pretty equally made up of Presbyterians and Independents; but the latter seemed to be most prevalent by the influence of the Army, but they were less violent in their actions, than otherwise they would, that they might not too much exasperate the Scots, for their Commissioners had about this time, repeating the four Votes against the King, propounded to know, *Whether the Houses by their Votes, That no person whatsoever do presume to make, or receive any application or address to, or from the King, would debar the Scots to make or receive any addresses to, or from him, and so put an incapacity upon him to perform Acts of Government towards them:* this Message caused great debate, but at last it was consented to, *That the Scotch Commissioners might make addresses to the King:* But these carriages in the House of Commons made the Army and their Independent friends consult how to suppress or terrifie the Presbyterians, who in that House notwithstanding all the Military means, were yet the major part, though least active; and to effect this, about the beginning of March the Lords sent a Message to the Commons (which had been six months before rejected) to desire their concurrence to an Engagement of those Members that fled to the Army, *To live and die with the Army,* which after eight hours debate was carried by nine voices in the affirmative, when there were near two hundred present, after many Presbyterians, who

The Scots
Commission-
ers allow-
ed to make
addresses to
the King.The Parlia-
ment pass
an engage-
ment.

were awed by the threats of some of the Armies Creatures, had left the House because it was late, not daring to Vote in the Negative: and it was insinuated, that if they had not approved of the Engagement, a new charge would be exhibited by the Army to the Lords against the principal opposers; which prevailed upon the weakness of many, though the wiser sort believed not they durst attempt any such thing; for many arguments at this time were published against those proceedings, very well received by the people, some of which went so high, as not to allow the Lords any Judicature over the Commons: but others agreed, *That the House of Peers was a Court of Judicature, but not without the K's. special Authority granted to them either by his Writ, or by his Commission;* and the Lords by the four Votes before mentioned having denied all further address or application to the King, had cut off from themselves that fountain from which they derived all their power. During these practices, to encrease and strengthen the Independent party, the discontents of the people were much augmented in all places, against the Parliament and the Army for their severity against the K.; for upon his denial to assent to the four Bills or Acts lately sent to him the Governor removed most of his Servants from him, and restrained him to the Circuit of the Castle within the Walls, and though he did it at first without the Authority of the Parliament, yet they afterwards approved of the action. Those in the Island being nearest to the view of this usage, were very much offended with it, and one Captain Burleigh lately an officer in the Kings Army and an Inhabitant there, beat up a Drum in Newport to draw some Souldiers together to rescue the King, but being too hasty in the attempt, his endeavours were frustrated, and he himself was taken prisoner, and those that took part with him suppressed: he was after some time sent in custody to Winchester, where by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to Sergeant Wild of Worcester-shire the then Chief Baron and others; he was tried and condemned of High Treason, and on the 10th of February injuriously executed for the same.

The King in this condition set forth a declaration to all his Subjects, which enlarged their compassion towards him, and in that towards the end he thus expresseth himself (*viz.*)

By what means or occasions I am come to this relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider that I have sacrificed to my two Houses of Parliament (for the peace of my Kingdom) all, but what is much more dear to me than my life, my Conscience and Honour; desiring nothing more than to perform it in the most proper and natural way, A personal Treaty; but that which makes me most at a loss is, the remembering my signal compliance with the Army and their Interests, and of what importance my compliance was to them, and their often repeated profession and engagements for my just rights in general, at New-Market, and Saint Albans, and their particular explanations of these generals by their voted and revoted Proposals, which I had reason to understand should be the utmost extremity would

1648.

Hist. Indep.
61, & 62.The King
suffers a
more close
restraint.Captain
Burleigh
suffers for
endeavoring
the Kings
rescue.He is so di-
stinguished
from ano-
ther loyal
person of
his name,
late Recor-
der of Lon-
don and
now a learn-
ed Judge.The King
puts forth a
Declaration.

1647. would be expected from me, and that in something therein I should be eased, (herein appealing to the consciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the Army, if what I have said, be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or my professions to them, I challenge them, and the whole World, to produce the least colour of reason; And now I would know what it is that is desired: Is it peace? I have shewed the way (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is a just compliance with all chief interests: Is it plenty and happiness? they are the inseparable effects of Peace: Is it security? I, who wish all men would forget and forgive like me, have offered the Militia for my time: Is it liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, is most ready to give it: Is it the right Administration of Justice? Offices of Trust are committed to the choice of my two Houses of Parliament: Is it the Arrears of the Army? upon a settlement they will certainly be paid with much ease, but before there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility in it.

Thus, all the World cannot but see my real and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which, (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor never be slackned in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future sufferings. But if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would or might do; What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? It cannot be reason, (at least none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confesse it) and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable discourses; for thereby peradventure I might more justifie this my Restraint, than the causes themselves can do; so that of all wonders, this yet is the greatest to me: But it may be easily gathered hence, how these men intend to govern, who have used me thus. And if it be my hard fate to fall together with the liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for my self; but much lament the future miseries of my people, the which I shall still pray God to avert, whatever becomes of me.

During the time of these restraints, he betook himself to meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book, entituled, *Εἰς τὴν Βασιλικὴν*, or *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings*.

The Parliament send Visitors to Oxford.

1648.

Oxford visited by the new Chancellor.

About the moneth of June last, the Parliament sent visitors to the University of Oxford, but their authority was not submitted to by the Members thereof, who alledged, that they could not acknowledge any visitors but the King, or his immediate substitute, without manifold perjuries: but about the 27th of April this year, The Earl of Pembroke being lately before by Vote or Ordinance of the two Houses, made Chancellor of the University, resorted thither with some others that were with him made Visitors, & being armed with the authority of a vote of the Lords and Commons to expell all such Masters, Fellows, and Officers of Colledges, as refused to submit to their power, the next day after his arrival, he went to *Christ-Church Colledge*, and there by

force removed the Dean, and all the Canons and Students that did not comply with him, and take the Covenant, and put others in their places, and in the like manner he proceeded in the Colledges of *All-Souls*, *St. Mary Magdalen*, and *New-Colledge*, and in all other Colledges and Halls, by displacing those that did not submit, and putting others in their places.

1648.

This Summer the King, though a Prisoner, was as formidable as ever since the beginning of his troubles, and many of the more moderate of his Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against him, began to look upon his estate with consideration, and they and others attempted by force to try their fortunes on his behalf: And first, an Insurrection was made in London, where some Apprentices in *More-fields* set upon a part of the Trained-Bands who were there keeping Guard, and over-powered them, by which success their numbers hourly increased, and they divided themselves into two or three Bodies, one whereof (which was the most considerable) having born before them an Ensign which they took from the Trained-Bands, march'd towards *White-Hall*, but being without any Arms but Sticks, a Troop of Horse from the *Mews* charg'd and disperfed them; yet at night they joyned again, and surprized *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, and shut up the Gates thereof, and seized a Drake-piece from the Lord Mayors House, which they planted within *Ludgate*, being animated hereunto by some of the Army, to make their Conquest of them more remarkable: The morning following, they laboured to get Arms, and brake open some Salemens Houses of Ammunition, and mastered the Magazine at *Leaden-Hall*, crying out in a tumultuous manner, *For God and King Charles*; but the next day General *Fairfax* entered *Aldersgate* with two Regiments, and marched to *Leaden-Hall-street*, and there charged this undisciplin'd multitude; who after a short Skirmish, were utterly disperfed, with little or no loss to the Assailants.

An Insurrection of the London Apprentices.

In *South-Wales*, about this time, Colonel *Poyer* Governour of *Pembroke Castle*, refused to yield up his Charge (though commanded thereunto) but the better to countenance his intention, his first pretences were to have the Arrears of him and his Souldiers paid to him, but this produced some expostulatory Letters betwixt him and the Parliament, and in the mean time he fortified the Castle, and stored it with provision for a defence, and Major General *Laughorn*, for the same reason, refused to disband his men, and so both resolved to run the same fortune. *Laughorn* surprized *Tenby Castle* with the Parliament Commissioners therein; and for the support of their Souldiers they raised contribution from the neighbouring parts and declared for the King, to whom one Colonel *Powel*, a valiant Souldier of that Countrey, joyned. Colonel *Horton* was sent by *Fairfax* Commander in chief against them, with thirty Companies of Horse, & Foot who sent out Adjutant General *Fleming* to charge them, who when he came near went to gain a Pass from *Poyer*, which he found quitted to his hands, and going on improvidently, he fell into an Ambuscade which *Poyer* had laid, whereby his men were disor-

Poyer and Laughorn refuse to submit to the Parliament.

1648. disordered, and he with some few of them compell'd to shelter in a neighbouring Church, but perceiving himself unable to hold it out, he died (as it is thought) by his own Sword, and the rest were taken Prisoners: This success was attended with the surprize of *Chepstow* Castle, which was taken by Sir *Tho. Keymish* for the King in the Governors absence. And now *Fairfax* thought a greater Force was required than those with *Horton* to reduce *South-Wales*, & therefore *Cromwel* himself was ordered to march with a strong power into that Country; but when the news of his advance came to *Laughorn*, he thought it best to fight *Horton* before his coming, and the other as willingly marched to meet him, and near *St. Ewgows* on the eighth of *May*, the two Armies came in sight of one another, *Laughorn* had many more than the other, but not well armed nor disciplined, and for that he did not so soon expect *Horton* the conquest was the easier; for as soon as his men were charged, after a little resistance, *Horton's* men obtained a Victory in which they killed & took 1500 Officers, & 3000 Common Soldiers, *Laughorn* himself and *Powel* escaped by flight. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* entred *Wales* shortly after this, and stormed *Tenby* Castle, which yielded upon mercy, and *Chepstow* Castle was retaken by Colonel *Ewar*. and from thence he marched to besiege *Pembroke* Castle: Sir *John Owen* whilest *Cromwel* besieged *Pembroke* Castle, got together some Forces in *North-Wales* for the King, which the Sheriff would have suppressed, but being too weak was defeated and taken Prisoner by him; but shortly after, the same fortune befell *Owen* himself, by the Forces of Major General *Mitton*. *Pembroke* Town and Castle held out courageously for a long time, but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have surrendered, if they could have had any other Conditions, than to yield upon discretion; & to force them thereunto, *Cromwel* gave a furious assault to the place, which the besieged resolutely endured: But upon News that Duke *Hamilton* was preparing to march into *England* with an Army of *Scots*, he became inclinable to give them better terms, & thereupon the Town and Castle was delivered up to him July 13th on these terms (*viz.*) *Powell*, *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors to submit to the Parliaments mercy: the other Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within six weeks, for two years, the rest to return to their respective dwellings, and the Townsmen to enjoy their freedom and Liberties: Those that submitted to mercy, were afterwards tried as Traytors, notwithstanding the Princes Letter in their behalf to General *Fairfax*; But this cruel favour was extended towards them, that they should cast lots for their lives, and so only *Poyer* suffered.

April 23. The Duke of *York*, disguised in Womens Apparel, made his Escape from *St. James's* by Water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, by help of one Mr. *Bamfeild*, sent over purposely on that design by the Queen.

Whilft some by Arms were endeavouring to free their Countrey, others attempted by Petitions in a mild way to obtain that by favour, which would not without great hazard and effusion of blood be procured by force: The County of *Es-*

sex was the first that began, who supplicated the Parliament, That the Army might be paid and disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal Treaty. *Surrey* followed, and desired the like but in higher Terms, and being numerous, a quarrel was made with the Souldiers of *Westminster* who came to keep guard against them, words were first the weapons used, but from thence they came to blows, and some hurt was done on both sides, but night parted the Fray: The City of *London* succeeded next, and petitioned to the same effect, and also requested, that those Prisoners who stood committed for their former difference when the Parliament went to the Army, might be released, as shortly after they were; and upon the Cities constant profession to adhere to the Parliament, their Militia was restored, and Major General *Skippon* was appointed Major General thereof, and of all the Forces within the late Lines of Communication; the Lieutenant of the *Tower* put in by the Army, was also discharged, & Mr. *West* a Citizen, surrogated in his place; and because alarms of insurrections came from all parts, the General was easily intreated to draw off all the Forces he had from *White-Hall* and the *Mues*, and any other parts of *London*, or the late Lines of Communication, upon the Cities promise to order a Guard for the Parliament, which they readily performed, and settled six hundred pounds yearly on their Major General for his entertainment.

The *Kentish* men finding those of *Surrey* so ill treated when they came in a peaceable manner to Petition the Parliament, resolved to make their demand with Swords in their hands, and to that purpose a numerous body of them were drawn together, against whom the Lord *Fairfax* (for so he was now by his Fathers death) marched with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the *Kentish* were ten thousand, but unhappily, they parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle, upon strong assurances from *London*, that the City would oppose the passage of the Army, if they should attempt it. Which notwithstanding, the Army advanc'd, and Major *Husbands* gained a passie at *Northfield*, and took some Prisoners; *Fairfax* followed, marching in a full body, expecting the *Kentish* (who hovered in sight of him) would have engaged, but they were not prepared for it, and so without any resistance, he came near *Maidstone*, in which the *Kentish* men were drawn up into a Body, and had planted some great Guns, and barricadoed the avenues of the Town.

Fairfax having his Army by this time encreased to ten thousand, on the second of *June* at seven a clock at night storm'd the Town twice, and was both times repulsed, but the third time he got entrance, yet then the fight was more perilous than before, whilst the Assailants had to do not only with those who manned the Streets, but were also galled with continual shot from the Houses, getting all by inches, nor could they master the Town till after six hours fight, and much loss on their own side: But of the *Kentish*, two hundred were slain, and above one thousand and three hundred taken Prisoners, with four hundred Horse, & eight pieces of Ordnance, & good Booty; & presently upon this, *Rocheſter* was also quit-

1648.

Petitions brought to the Parliament, from *Essex* and other Counties.

Chepstow Castle taken for the King

Laughorn defeated by *Horton*.

Tenby Castle stormed by *Cromwel*, and *Chepstow* Castle retaken.

Sir *John Owen* routed by Major General *Mitton*.

Pembroke Town and Castle delivered up to *Cromwel*.

The *Kentish* men in arms

The Duke of *York* escaped to *Holland*.

1648 Routed at Maidstone by General Fairfax. ted to the Generals mercy; many of the Kentish men after this defeat kept still in a Body, and marched towards London, and rendezvou'd upon Black-Heath, whither some resolute persons repaired to them from London, and the Earl of Norwich at the head of them gave them the best encouragement he could; but the Kentish men perceiving their succours to come short of what they expexed, they quitted their Commanders apace, and returned home; Norwich with Five hundred men crossed over Greenwich Ferry into Essex, in which County the Committee-men were already secured by some that were for the King there, and Sir Charles Lucas having gotten together Two thousand Horse and Foot, joyned with Norwich, who seized the Earl of Warwick's Armory, and possessed themselves of Colchester, which now became a seat of War, and the Countrey people flocked in unto them, and many also came from London, and the Lord Capel, and the Lord Loughbrough from Hertfordshire, but General Fairfax leaving Colonel Rich, and Colonel Hewson to take in those places which held out in Kent, which himself had not time to reduce, crossed over into Essex after the Enemy, and came before Colchester, which he immediately surrounded with a potent Army. Neither were these endeavours for the King only confined to the Land, but a considerable party of the Navy Royal, encouraged by Captain Batten, formerly Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick, was put into the power of the Prince of Wales, to be used for the Kings service; and with these the Prince with his Brother, Prince Rupert, and the Earl of Brainford, the Lords Hampton, Wilmot, Willoughby, and Culpeper, with others of Quality came into Tarmouth-road, he had on board about Two thousand Souldiers, and these he would have landed, but hearing of Colonel Scroops coming against him with a party of Horse and Foot more in number, he sailed from thence to the Downs in Kent, seizing what Merchant Ships and Goods he could meet withall; Deal Castle was at this time besieged, for relief whereof the Prince would needs attempt something, and therefore he set five hundred men ashore, who at first charged handsomly, but being over-numbred, were beaten, and several of them were slain and taken, but the rest got on board again. Soon after this, Sandwich, Deal, and Weymore Castles were yielded up, and the whole County of Kent fully subdued. Whilst the Prince anchored in the Downs, the States of Scotland invited him to them, and engaged the Publick Faith of that Kingdom for his well-being in Honour, Freedom, and Safety with them, or with their Army then in England, and to remove from them, or their Army, when, or whither he pleased. But he having written to the House of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain summoned the Earl of Warwick (Admiral for the Parliament) to submit to him as highest Captain-General under the King, and beginning to stand in need of Provision, went with his Fleet into Holland.

The Earl of Holland takes up Arms for the King. But the Earl of Holland being commissioned from the Prince, Heads a fresh Insurrection, just as it were in view of the Parliament at Kingston upon Thames, his chief Associates were the Duke of Buckingham, and his Brother the Lord Fran-

cis Villers, and the Earl of Peterborough. July 2. 1648 they rendezvouzed near Kingston, and had Five hundred Horse, and some Foot upon the Heath there, and from thence they marched to Darking, and would have possessed Rygate, but were prevented; for Colonel Rich and Major Gibbons marched towards them, and thereupon they retreated towards Kingston, and being closely pursued, they sent away their Foot before to secure their Retreat to the Town, and made a stand between Emel and Nonfuch Park, where the Pursuers overtook and engaged them; the fight was short and smart, wherein the Lord Francis Villiers (refusing Quarter) was slain, with a Son of Sir Kenelm Digby, and others, and the rest put to flight, and many prisoners of note were taken, the Earl of Holland got into Kingston, but staid not long there, but fled with all speed to Saint Needs in Huntingdonshire, where he was totally subdued, and taken by Colonel Scroop, and sent Prisoner to Warwick Castle, and Dalbier was there killed, but the Duke of Buckingham retired towards Lincolnshire, and escaped beyond Seas; Colchester yet held out courageously, making frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers with indifferent success, and good hopes of relief from the North; for the Parliament of Scotland had sat ever since the second of March, and were much disgusted at the English proceedings in reference to the King, which was not a little encreased by the report of their Commissioners now returned, so that notwithstanding that the Parliament of England made them fair offers concerning the payment of the money due upon account of their Auxiliary Armies both in England and Scotland, and on the four and twentieth day of July passed an Ordinance to establish the Presbyterian Government in England and Ireland, (viz.) under Classcal, Provincial, and Parochial Assemblies: yet all would not serve, for they had framed a Committee of Danger, to consult of their Affairs in relation to England; the major part whereof being of Hamilton's Faction, Voted a War. And the Scots published a Declaration, wherein they proposed:

That the King may come to London, or some of his houses near, and that with safety.
That reparation be made for his carrying away, or satisfaction by punishing them that did it.
That the Army under the Lord Fairfax be disbanded.
That Presbytery be settled, and Sectaries punished.
That all Members of the House be restored.

These actings drew many of the Kings party from the Northern parts to Edinburgh, and Wogan a Captain in the English Army marched to them with his Troop, and fifty Foot, and two Companies of Foot landed out of Ireland at Chester, and marched thither also: moreover Berwick was surprized by some Royallists, and Sir Thomas Glemham and Sir Philip Musgrave raised Forces for the King in Westmerland and Cumberland, with which they seized on Carlisle, and with them joyned Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with some Horse, being Commissioned to be General of the English Forces for the King, with which now encreased to three thousand, he coasted about the Northern Counties.

July the thirteenth, a Scotch Army under Duke Hamilton

1648 He is routed and the Lord Francis Villiers slain. The Earl taken at S. Needs.

An Ordinance for establishing the Presbyterian Government in England

Berwick & Carlisle surprized. Sir Marmaduke Langdale made Gen. of the English Forces for the King.

1648 *Hamilton* entred *England*, the Van was brought up by the Duke himself, the main Body by Major General *Middleton*, and the Reer by the Earl of *Calender*, these joyned with *Langdale*, and fell upon Major General *Lambert* near *Appleby*, and forced him to retire into the Town, from thence he retreated to *Kirkby-Steven*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him, to defend the Castle, which was besieged and taken August 7. by Sir *Philip Musgrave*; Colonel *Boynton* Governor of *Scarborough* Castle declared for the King, and *Pomfret* Castle was taken by Major *Morris*; in *Tinmouth* Castle Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lilbourn* declared for the King; but the Castle was suddenly retaken by Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*.

The Scots enter England under Duke Hamilton, and joyn with Langdale.

The Scots staid some time at *Kendal* in *Westmerland*, and Major General *Lambert's* Army increased daily with additional Forces, and Lieutenant General *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, marched to joyn with him, and in his way took *Pomfret* Town, but not the Castle; *Hamilton* left *Kendal* and marched into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the English Army resolved to hinder, and therefore marched to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their Forces, reported to be Twenty thousand strong, *Cromwell* and *Lambert* now joyned were reckoned to have Five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Seven thousand Foot. August the 17th both Armies faced one another, Major *Smithson* commanded the Forlorn of the English, who charged furiously on the Scots Van, and routed them, and alarmed the whole Army, and so the Battels joyned on a Moor two miles East of *Preston*, and the fight was very hot for two hours, and then the Scots gave ground, which encouraged the English to pursue them, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to divide, one part being a Body of Three thousand Horse, moved toward *Lancaster*, and was followed and dispersed by Colonel *Twisleton* and Colonel *Thornlow*, (who took multitudes of them prisoners;) and the other part Horse and Foot marched over the River *Rible*, whom the Main of the English Army followed, and at *Rible-Bridge* the Scots made a stand, defending the Pass stoutly for two hours, even to the Push of Pike, but were then constrained to retire. The next morning the Scots drew up on a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the English, they fled in great disorder to *Wiggon*, which they plundered, and the next morning after marched towards

The Scots Army defeated by Lieutenant General Cromwell.

Warrington (the English pursuing all the way) near *Warrington* the Scots taking advantage of a Pass, made another halt, but were again beaten with the loss of a Thousand men, and were pursued to the very Bridge, where the Foot in number 4000. being deserted by the Horse, laid down their Arms and submitted to mercy; *Hamilton* got away with Three thousand Horse to *Nantwich*, where the Countrey being up in Arms, seized upon most of them; Lieutenant General *Cromwell* marched towards *Cumberland*, to meet *Monroe*, who was marching with a Reserve of Scots, giving order to all the Parliament Commanders in these Counties to follow the flying Scots, by some of whom Major General *Middleton*, who commanded Four hundred Horse, was defeated and taken prisoner, and the rest dispersed: *Hamilton* himself was met with at *Utoxeter*, and made to

submit to mercy by the Lord *Gray of Groby*, 1648 who sent him prisoner to *Ashby de la Zouch*; in this days Fight, the English took more prisoners than their whole Army amounted to. The Scots Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours taken were afterward hung up in *Westminster-Hall*; Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn: *Cromwell* improved his success, and came to *Durham*, to look out *Monroe*, supposed to be about Six thousand strong; but the stricter Presbyterian party in Scotland having now recovered the Sword, ordered him to return, which he obeyed more for fear of the English, than obedience to them, and joining with the Earl of *Lanerink*, both together they made Eight thousand Horse and Foot; to oppose whom, the Anti-Hamiltonians provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was Commander in Chief, and *David Leslie* Lieutenant General; but being too weak to fight them, *Cromwell* entred Scotland by their invitation, and to smooth his way, he published the following Declaration:

Hamilton taken prisoner by the Lord Grey of Groby.

Cromwell enters Scotland.

Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of England into the Kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy who lately invaded the Kingdom of England, and for the recovery of the Garrisons of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*: These are to declare, That if any Officer or Souldier under my command shall take or demand any moneys, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the people in any sort, he shall be tried and punished with Death by a Court Martial.

His Declaration.

To him *Argyle*, *Lowden*, *Leven*, and other of the Scotch Nobility repaired, and contracted with him for subduing of the publick Enemy: and so much feared was he in Scotland, that the following Agreement was consented to by them.

First, That the Army under *Argyle*, and the other under *Lanerick* and *Monroe*, with all the Forces in any of the Garrisons in Scotland, be disbanded, and *Barwick* and *Carlisle* be delivered to the English.

Secondly, That the settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad, be ordered by the determination of the General Assembly, & all Civil differences be referred to a Parliament speedily to be called.

Thirdly, That no party that were in the last Engagements against England, be of the new Parliament, or of the General Assembly.

And so he returned into England after he had been invited to *Edinburgh* to Feasts and Banquets, and highly carested by the States of Scotland with all expressions of Honour. And in *Yorkshire* as he marched homewards, he was desired to reduce *Scarborough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was then promised, but not till some time after effected; *Colchester* had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such a scarcity of Provision, that the besieged had not horse-flesh enough to serve them one day (that being the Food which they had fed on almost a fortnight, and not purchased without much blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses,) and now perceiving all hopes of succour utterly frustrated, they were necessitated to yield upon these Conditions following:

The Common Souldiers to depart with Life, and the Officers to remain at the Generals disposal, and he

1648 to exempt from mercy whom he pleased; the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments mercy, and the Town to raise fourteen thousand pounds to preserve it from plunder.

The prisoners of Quality were the Earl of Norwich, Capel, and Loughborough, eleven Knights, twelve Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, and sixty five Gentlemen, the private Souldiers were about three thousand; three of the Knights were condemned to die by a Court-Marshal (viz.) Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoin a Florentine; but the last was reprieved because a Stranger, and the other two shot to death, the first having (as the General said in his Letter to the Parliament) falsified his word with him; the second directed the shooting of poysoned Bullets, against the Laws of Arms.

And so General Fairfax, after much loss of time and men, and difficult service for a quarter of a year, took possession of the Town of Colchester, August the 27th. after which he marched up and down the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Hartford to settle peace, and visit the Garrisons, and then returned to St. Albans, his Headquarters. And thus we have briefly described the Military Actions of this year; and whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Parliament were taken up with Petitions from the several Counties for a Treaty with the King; the City of London among the rest had preferred one, and withall desired, as in one before, the release of their imprisoned Citizens, which were the Aldermen Langham and Bunch, and Sergeant Glyn their Recorder, to which the Houses readily consented, and likewise repealed their Orders against the Earls of Suffolk and Middlesex, and the Lords Berkley, Hunsden, Maynard, Willoughby of Parham, and the eleven Members, for they became very well inclined to Peace with the King, now they were freed from the insolency of the Army by their distance from them, and a Treaty was resolved on, and the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hipsley, and Mr. Bulkley were sent to the King, to let him know this their Resolution; who returned with his ready compliance thereunto; upon which the Parliament Voted,

The Vote of Non-Addresses recalled. That the Votes of Non-Addresses should be recalled. That such persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, be admitted. That he be in the same state of freedom as at Hampton Court, with such Servants as he desired. That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be Newport in the Isle of Wight. And that the King be admitted to invite the Scots thercunto to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat personally with these Commissioners, (viz.) the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke and Middlesex, and the Lord Say, for the House of Lords; and the Lord Wainman, Mr. Pierpoint, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir John Potts, Mr. Brown, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Bulkley for the House of Commons, and with these were joyned Mr. Hollis and Mr. Glyn.

Munday September the eighteenth the Treaty began: The propositions were in number eleven.

1648 The first was for calling in all the Kings Declarations, which he assented to, with this Proviso, That neither of this Concession, nor any other of his advantage should be taken, unless the whole were concluded.

The second Proposition was, concerning the settlement of the Church, in reference to which he condescended to settle the Directory, and to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three years, reserving liberty to himself and his party to use the old Form: But would not agree to the utter abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands.

The third Proposition was, for settling the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years solely; to which he assented.

Likewise to the fourth, for making void the Cessation of Ireland, and remitting the Government of it both Civil and Military to the Two Houses at Westminster.

And to the fifth and sixth, for nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of publick Debts.

The seventh Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament proposed great severity; the King moderated thus, he was contented that they should be fined, and prohibited access to Council or Court without the Parliaments consent, that they should be deprived for three years of their right of Sitting in Parliament, and brought to Trial (if the Two Houses should think fit) to suffer according to the merit, whereof they should be legally convicted: But he would by no means bear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away their lives or possessions from any, but such as after a legal Tryal should be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.

The eighth, for empowering the Parliament to confer all Officers of the Kingdom, and the chief Magistrates for twenty years, he agreed to: And to

The ninth, for confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it. And to

The tenth, for ratifying all Priviledges, Grants and Charters, and Immunities to the City of London, with power to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia to be confirmed to them: and the Citizens to be exempted from Military service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliaments appointment.

The last was for total exterminating of the Court of Wards, which was also consented to, so as an hundred thousand pounds might be yearly paid to the King by way of compensation for it.

The Earl of Ormond had gotten back into Ireland, and raised Forces there in opposition to the Parliament by the Kings Commission, but the King assured the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take effect, the Irish affairs should be managed at the discretion of the Houses only.

The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his desire Voted:

1648

That he be in Honour, Freedom and Safety, according to the Laws.

Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the deductions for such Forts and Garrisons as were of old accustomed to be maintained.

Thirdly, That he have compensation of the Court of Wards.

Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be past with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed on by both Houses,

The Officers of the Army have many meetings about a new frame of Government.

Some thought now, that the King and Parliament would have united, but it was too late for those that might have saved the King before, if they would, to pretend to help him now, when it was out of their power. But whilst the King was treating for Peace at the Isle of Wight with the Commissioners of Parliament, the Officers of the Army were contriving at Windsor the destruction of both, and many private meetings were had both there and at London, by the Levellers, and some of their Independant Friends about a Frame of Government to be represented to them, the result whereof was,

That some persons should be chosen by the Army to represent the whole Body, and that the well-affected in every County (for so they distinguished their Party) should chuse one person to represent them: and those to meet at the Head-Quarters.

That these persons ought not to exercise any Legislative power, but only to draw up the Foundations of a just Government, and to propound them to the well-affected people in every County to be agreed to; which Agreement should be above Law, and therefore the bounds, limits, and extent of the peoples Legislative Deputies in Parliament, contained in the Agreement should be drawn up into a formal contract, to be mutually signed by the well-affected people, and their said Deputies upon the days of their Elections respectively.

To prevent confusion, the Parliament may not be by force immediately dissolved, but the day of its dissolution be inserted in the Agreement, by virtue whereof it should be dissolved.

That this way of Settlement should be mentioned in a Remonstrance from the Army.

When these Proposals were transmitted to the Army, the matter thereof was very well approved of by the chief Officers; but Colonel Harrison told the Agents imployed to them:

Colonel Harrison's Speech to the Agents

That they could not stay so long from going to London, as to perfect an Agreement for such a Settlement, and without their speedy going (said he) we are unavoidably destroyed; we fully understand that the Treaty betwixt the King and the Parliament is almost concluded upon, at the conclusion whereof we shall be commanded by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done already; and if we do not disband, they will by Act of Parliament proclaim us Traytors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of settling peace in the Nation, and then we shall never be able to fight with both Interests of the King and the Parliament. So that he and the Officers with him declared, the first thing the Army was to do, was, to cut off the Kings head, and force and thoroughly purge (if not dissolve) the Parliament. The Agents did not disapprove of this horrid resolution, but pressed a-

gainst the doing it without first giving security to the Nation (to use their own words) for the future settlement of their Liberties and Freedoms, especially in frequent, free, and successive Representatives. The dire effects of these Councils will follow in the sequel of this History: in prosecution whereof, the Army sent up a Petition to the Parliament to try their tempers:

1648

For a scrutiny to be taken for discovery of the Con-trivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that speedy Justice should be done upon them. That the same fault may have the same Justice and punishment in the person of the King or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Commoner: that such as speak or act in the Kings behalf (till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood) be proceeded against as Traytors. When this would not do, they framed their Remonstrance in bolder terms, which they sent to the Parliament by six Officers inclosed in a Letter from the General, dated the 10th of November.

The Army petition for Justice against the King.

Requiring, That the King be brought to Justice as the capital cause of all the evils of the Civil war.

Their Remonstrance to the same effect.

Secondly, That a peremptory day be set for the summoning the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, and if they refused to come, to declare them incapable of Government or succession, and to stand exiled as Traytors; and if they rendered themselves, yet to be proceeded against for satisfaction, and that the Revenues of the Crown be sequestered.

Thirdly, That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

And lastly, They concluded, desiring their Arrears, with the old pretence of easing the Countrey of free Quarter; and request that a period may be put to this Parliament, and a care taken to elect new Representatives, and that no King should be admitted for the future, but upon election of and upon trust for the people, to be limited by the Representatives, &c.

In the mean time, General Fairfax commanded Colonel Hammond by his Letters to deliver up Col. Ever, his charge of the Kings Person to Colonel Ever, by put in whom the King was conveyed out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst-Castle the 30th of November. But the Parliament declared their ill resentment of this action, and voted, That the seizing upon the person of the King, and carrying him prisoner unto Hurst-Castle, was without the advice and consent of the Houses.

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Lords Voted the Kings Concessions a sufficient ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourned, and the major part of the Commons Voted the same. But the Army being now come up to London, and quartered at White-hall, S. James's, the Mews, and several Villages near, they resolved to hinder these proceedings, and therefore discharged the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parliament, and ordered Colonel Prides and Riches Regiment to supply their places, by whom above forty Members coming to the House, were seized and committed to Guards in several Inns in Westminster, and the parts adjoining; and not satisfied with this, they accused Major General Brown, and ninety odd Members for inviting in the Scots the last Summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the House: At these proceedings the Commons

Divers Members of Parliament excluded by the Army.

1648 Commons (being displeased) adjourned for four or five days, in which space the Army was busied in compleating their Model of Government, where-in it was amongst other things proposed :

That the present Parliament should be dissolved the last of April next: And that the Representatives of the whole Nation should consist of three hundred persons, half which number should suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervals of Parliament a Council of State should govern.

And this Declaration, together with half a score of Modifications, they styled, *The Agreement of the People*; which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and sixteen Officers, when the House new moulded by the Army, met again, (for besides those that they forced out, a great number absented themselves) and to testify their submission to the Army, they restored the Votes of Non-Addressees, and repealed those which approved of the Kings Concessions; and Voted, *That no Message be received from the King upon pain of Treason; That the General should take care of his person: and that the Council of War should draw up a Charge of Treason against him*; which manifested that impious intention to destroy him, which before they had determined: But before this open and avowed acting, some secret practices were designed upon his Life, as appeared in the Letters and Informations of one *Dawcet* and *Osburn* against Captain *Rolph*, who commanded a company of the Guards about the King, whom *Osburn* particularly accused to have projected his death by poyson or pistol, and not without the privity of Colonel *Hammond*, and some Chiefs of the Army that incited him thereunto: and though great endeavours were used to obstruct any proceedings in the business, yet the clamour of people was so great, that they were forced to commit him to prison, and subject him to Tryal; but by the stickling of some of the prevailing party in his behalf, the Indictment against him was found *Ignoramus* by the Grand Jury of *Hampshire*, at *Southampton* or *Winchester*, by the advice of *Maynard* of Council with him, because there was but one Witness to each Fact, as in cases of Treason there ought to have been two.

Decemb. 10th. the King was brought from *Hurst-Castle* with a strong Guard to *Winchester*, next day to *Farnham*, and the next day to *Wind-
sor*: In the mean time the Two Houses differed among themselves; the Commons asserted, That it is Treason for the King to levie War against the Commonwealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Trial as a Traytor; and the Lords denied that the King can commit any Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore rejected the Ordinance of the Commons, and declared, *That no Act of the Commons is binding without their consent*; and adjourned for a fortnight; upon which the Commons Voted, *That all Members and others appointed to act in any Ordinance with Peers, are impowred and enjoyned to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the Peers joyned not therein*; and so earnest were both the Commons and the Army about the Kings Trial, that the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Arraignment, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming and returning.

January 6th. the Ordinance for the Kings Trial was turned into an Act of the Commons alone,

and ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two days after in *Westminster-hall*, *Cheapside*, and the old *Exchange*, for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it; and now a suborned Faction in the City petitioned the House for Justice against the King. And *Hil-
lary* Term beginning *January* the twenty third, was adjourned till fourteen days after, to give place to the proceedings against him.

January 19th the King was brought from *Wind-
sor* to *St. James's House*, and all things were pre-
pared for his fatal Tragedy, in which the Com-
mons proceeded, notwithstanding the dissent of
the House of Lords, and the Remonstrance of the
Parliament of *Scotland*, now convened against it:

The Act of Parliament which directed the Trial of the King, appointed a new Tribunal, called the *High Court of Justice*, who were impowred to con-
vene, hear, judge and execute *Charles Stewart* King of *England*. His Title in Writs they abrogated, and ordered the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, and a new Seal to be made with the Cross for *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland* thereon, and these words, *The Great Seal of England*, and on the Reverse, the picture of the House of Commons sitting, with these words, *In the first year of Free-
dom by Gods blessing restored, 1648.*

Thus this Great, though the unfortunate Prince, Monarch of Three mighty Kingdoms, was now, through the inscrutable Providence of the Omnipotent disposer of all things, subjected to the miserable condition of a calamitous prisoner to his own Subjects, by whom he was tried, condemned, and lastly beheaded, under a form of Justice. Some of the more immediate and inconsiderable Actors in this horrid Murther, passed the hands of the Executioner, as you will see hereafter: but the more remote and eminent Regicides, who only can be said to have kill'd the King, have escaped their Judgement in this World, being to receive their Doom in the World to come.

Of his Taxations.

King *James* dying, left his Son a large Domi-
nion, but a poor Exchequer, which was the
occasion that his Taxations were more frequent
than before in his Fathers Reign.

In his first year, the Parliament at their first Ses-
sion granted him two Subsidies from Protestants,
and four from Popish Recusants, and from the
Clergy three; and till the Parliament took order
therein, he continued the Levies as in his Fathers
time of Tonnage, Poundage, and other fums by
way of Impost upon Merchandise Imported and
Exported.

In his second year he engaged in a War with
France, and for the relief of *Roche*, he raised neer
two hundred thousand pounds by Loan.

In his third year, in a Parliament holden at
Westminster, they gave him five Subsidies:

In his sixth year, he revived an ancient * *Cu-
stome* or *Usage*, by which all that were qualified
by the Law for Knighthood, were to take upon
them that Order, or to make Fine for respite of
the same, whereby an hundred thousand pounds
was brought into the Exchequer.

In his ninth year, by the advice of his Attorney-
General, and other his Council learned in the
Laws,

1648 The King is brought to Saint James's. A High Court of Justice erected for the Trial of the King. A new Great Seal made.

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1648 Laws, several Writs were issued under the great Seal of *England*; for the charging of the Ports, Towns, Cities, Boroughs and Counties of this Realm respectively, to provide and furnish Ships for the defence of the King and the Kingdom, whereby great sums were raised. And in a Parliament holden in *Ireland*, the Deputy obtained some Subsidies for the payment of the Army of that Realm, and the encrease of his Majesties Revenue there.

In his sixteenth year, the Earl of *Strafford* obtained of the *Irish* Parliament the grant of four Subsidies: and the Convocation of Bishops in *England*, gave him an ample Benevolence of four Shillings in the pound for six years to be assessed on all the Clergy in *England*, towards the carrying on of a War with *Scotland* then begun.

And in the same year, the Parliament of *England* then assembled, granted to him four entire Subsidies for relief of his Army then raised against the Scots, and for relief of the Northern parts of the Kingdom, then much burthened by an Army of the Scots quartering in those parts, who imposed great Taxes on the Inhabitants where they lay for their maintenance.

In his seventeenth year, the same Parliament granted two Subsidies for the further relief of his Majesties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom; and likewise a Subsidie of Tonnage and Poundage, and other sums of Money payable upon Merchandise exported and imported, from the twenty fifth of *May* to the fifteenth of *July* following; and when that Act was expiring, they granted another for the same duties from the fifteenth of *July* to the tenth of *August* following; and by five other subsequent Acts, the Parliament granted the like Subsidie and Imposition upon Merchandise to the third of *May*, 1642. And the said seventeenth year, several sums of money were by Act of Parliament charged upon persons according to their Ranks, Dignities, Offices, Callings, Estates and Quality, by way of Pole, for the speedy disbanding two Armies then in the bowels of the Kingdom.

This year also a Contribution and Loan was granted for the relief of *Ireland*, where a bloody Rebellion had broken forth the year before.

And in his eighteenth year, an Act passed for raising and levying of moneys for the necessary defence and great affairs of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the payment of Debts undertaken by the Parliament.

These were all the Taxations either by Loan or otherwise raised by Royal Authority during the Kings Reign. But the War which the Parliament raised without his Authority and against it, was supported and maintained by great and vast sums of money illegally levied on the Subjects by Contribution, Assessments and Excise, which cannot be properly here inserted; and we wish the memory of such unjust proceedings, may be for ever effaced.

Of the Laws made in his Reign.

HAVING under the head of Taxations set down such Acts of Parliament as granted money to the King, we shall herein make no further mention of them in the enumeration of the other

Laws enacted during his Reign.

In the Parliament holden in his first year, an Act was made for punishing abuses on Sundayes; And,

An Act to enable the King to make Leases of Lands parcel of his Dutchy of *Cornwal*; And,

An Act for easy obtaining Licenses of Alienation, and in the pleadings in the Exchequer or elsewhere; And,

An Act for restraining of ill behaviour in Inns and Ale-houses.

In his third year,

The Petition of Right was enacted, and the several Statutes following, (*viz.*) An Act for reformation of divers abuses committed on the Lords day, commonly called Sunday.

An Act to restrain the passing or sending any to be popishly bred beyond the Seas

An Act for the better suppressing unlicensed Ale-house-keepers.

An Act for continuance and repeal of divers Statutes.

An Act for establishing of the Estates of the Tenants of *Bromfield* and *Yale* in the County of *Denbigh*, and for the Tenures, Rents and Services thereon reserved, according to a late composition made for the same.

In the 16th 17th. and 18th. years of his Reign, the Laws hereafter mentioned were made, whereof such of them as are since repealed, we note with Rep. and such as being but temporary Laws, and are since expired, we note Exp.

An Act for preventing of inconveniencies happening by the long intermissions of Parliament, Exp.

An Act whereby the Lord Admiral and others by his Authority may raise and impress Mariners, Sailers and others for the present guarding of the Seas, and necessary defence of the Realm, Exp.

An Act concerning the Limitations, and abbreviation of *Michaelmas* Term.

An Act declaring, That this Parliament shall not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned; but by Act of Parliament, Exp.

An Act for regulating the Privie-Council, and taking away the *Star-Chamber-Court*.

An Act for repeal of a branch of a Statute *Primo Elizabethæ*, concerning Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical.

An Act for declaring the late proceedings touching Ship-money unlawful and void, and all Records and Process concerning the same.

An Act against divers incroachments and oppressions in the Stannery Courts,

An Act for the certainty of Forrests, and the Meets and Bounds of the Forrest.

An Act for confirmation of the Treaty of Pacification between *England* and *Scotland*, with the Commissions and Articles thereupon, Exp.

An Act by which the Office of Clerk of the Market is allowed, and regulated, and false weights and measures reformed.

An Act for the prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood.

An Act for bringing in of Gun-powder and Salt-petre from foreign parts, and for the free making of Gun-powder in this Realm: There were two Acts passed successively for the better raising and levying of Mariners, Sailers, and others, for guarding the Seas. Exp.

An

1648

An Act was passed also for relief of Captives taken by Turkish and other Pyrates, Exp.

An Act declaring, that persons in holy Orders shall not exercise certain Temporal Powers and Authorities, Rep.

An Act was also passed, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in Ireland. And,

An Act for adding to, and explaining certain clauses therein. And,

An Act by which Corporations and Bodies Politick are enabled to take the benefit of an Act for reducing of the Rebels in Ireland. And,

An Act for the further advancement of an effectual and speedy reduction of the Rebels in Ireland.

Moreover, besides the above-mentioned Statutes made in the 16th. 17th. and 18th. years of this King, which were of publick concernment, There were several other Acts made of a more private nature, the Titles whereof were ;

An Act for the Attainder of Thomas Earl of Strafford, Rep.

An Act to enable the Marquess of Winchester to grant Estates for three lives, or twenty one years, of Lands in the County of Southampton, reserving the old Rents.

An Act for naturalizing of Dorothy Spencer, Daughter of Henry Lord Spencer, Baron Spencer of Wormleighton.

An Act for enabling of the Sale and Leasing of Lands for payment of the Debts of Thomas Earl of Winchester.

An Act for the settling and estating upon the Lady Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Exeter, her Heirs and Assigns for ever, the soil of the Hospital of St. Leonards within the Town of Newark upon Trent in the County of Nottingham, with the dwelling House, and other Buildings thereupon built, and of certain Closets and Grounds, parcel of the possessions of the said Hospital, and for the settling of divers Lands and Tenements of better value, being the Inheritance of the said Countess, to be added to the possessions of the said Hospital for ever in lieu of the same.

An Act for making the Chappel of Hool in the County of Lancaster, a Parish Church, and no part of the Parish of Groston.

An Act for John Eggars's Free-School within the Parish of Alton in the County of Southampton.

An Act for settling of certain Mannors, Lands, Tenements & Hereditaments, on Katharine Countess Dowager of Bedford, William now Earl of Bedford, John Russel, and Edmund Russel Esquires, Sons of Francis Earl of Bedford, deceased.

An Act for the confirmation of His Majesties Letters Patents to the Town of Plymouth, and for dividing the Parish, and building a new Church there.

An Act for the alteration of the Estate and Tenure of some Lands within the Parish of Fulham in the County of Middlesex, held of the Lord Bishop of London, as of the Mannor of Fulham.

An Act to settle the Mannor of Belgran, and other Lands in the County of Leicester, to and upon William Byerly Esq, his Heirs and Assigns, for and towards payment of the Debts of William Davenport, Esq, deceased.

An Act to enable Sir Alexander Denton, Knight, to sell the Manor of great Barvard and Barford St. Michael, and other Lands in this present Act mentioned for the payment of his Debts, and preferment of his younger children.

An Act for the assuring of a Messuage called Duresm-House, alias Durham-House, and certain Stables, part of the possessions of the Bishop of Duresm, situate in the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields in the County of Middlesex, unto the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and his Heirs, and a yearly Rent of Two hundred pounds a year to the said Bishop of Duresme and his Successors in lieu thereof.

Affairs of the Church in His time.

THE King was a zealous Protestant according to the profession of the Church of England ; for the peace and defence whereof, he laboured much all the time of his Reign, though the malice and ignorance of the Enemies thereof much obstructed his pious endeavours.

In his first Year, some differences were revived about the Tenents of Arminius, which began in the latter end of his Fathers Reign, and were heightened by the Commons House of Parliament then newly assembled, the Members whereof generally favoured the oppugners of those points ; and the controversie was the more remarkable, because it divided the Bishops themselves ; but those of that Order that were reputed Arminians, did not own themselves to be such, but maintained, That what they held, was ever the Doctrine of the Church of England contained in the seventeenth Article thereof, and the like was asserted by those that opposed those Tenents, so that both made claim to that Article, and about the Exposition thereof, and the consequences from thence derived, the peace of the Church was not a little disquieted: to put some stop to this growing evil, a Conference was this year kept in York House, betwixt Dr. Buckbridge Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White Dean of Carlisle on the one side, and Doctor Morton Bishop of Coventry, and Doctor Preston on the other, about these points, and chiefly about the possibility of one elected to fall from Grace ; and the success of this and of another in the same kind answered neither the intention nor expectations of such as procured them ; but the King taking notice of these Arminian Controversies, by his Declaration a while after published, forbade any in preaching or writing to meddle with those high points, as tending more to destruction than edification of the people.

In his fourth Year, at the confirmation of Mr. Richard Mountague to be Bishop of Chichester, which was in Bow-Church, according to the usual custom in such cases, all persons were summoned to appear, to shew cause why the Elect there present should not be confirmed ; whereupon one William Jones a Stationer of London excepted against Mr. Mountague as unfitting for the Episcopal Office, because lately questioned by the Parliament for a Book he had writ, wherein they said were many dangerous opinions of Arminianism and Popery, yet upon examination thereof, some sharp and invective expressions were the greatest offences in it ; but exceptions were taken at the Exceptions of Jones,

A Conference at York-house for ending the Controversies of Arminians and Calvinists.

The Kings Declaration against meddling with these Controversies.

Bishop Mountague at his consecration excepted against.

1040

Jones, though the reason thereof appears not otherwise than what is alledged in the Record by Dr. *Rives* (substitute at that time for the Vicar-General) *Quod nullo modo legitime comperuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta Juris exigentiam diceret, exciperet, vel apponeret*, so that the Bishop was confirmed, and immediately after he sued out a Pardon under the Great Seal of England for all Errors before committed, either in Speaking, Writing, or Printing, whereof he might hereafter be questioned.

The contest between the Jesuits & Secular Priests.

In the same year one *Richard Smith* a Secular Popish Priest, titular Bishop of *Calcedon*, in *partibus Infidelium*, acted and exercised Episcopal Jurisdiction in *Lancashire*, with his Mitre and Crotier, conferring Orders on divers Priests, and in granting and administering confirmation, which much disturbed the Peace of the Church of England, and made disorders amongst their own party; for *Nicholas Smith* a Jesuite wrote bitterly against him, urging, that a Bishop over the English Catholics was useless in Times of Persecution (as he called it) there being but two peculiar performances of a Bishop, (*viz.*) Ordination and Confirmation; for the former it might be supplied by foreign Bishops, since the English Papists were most bred abroad; and for the latter he offered out of *Thomas Aquinas* and other Divines, that by Commission from the Pope, a Priest, though no Bishop, might confirm; he added likewise, that a Bishop was burthensome to the English Church, considering that the present pressures of those of that Religion needed now no unnecessary expences.

These and the like Objections were answered by Doctor *Killison* Rector of the English Colledge at *Dorway*, and many other Secular Priests, which occasioned great animosities betwixt the Regular and Seculars; but the King to shew his dislike of the Bishops presumptions, by his Proclamation, promised an hundred pounds to be paid to any that should apprehend him, besides all the profits that accrued to the Crown, from the person who entertained him, which frightened him into France, as was mentioned before in the History.

Bishop Davenant questioned, and Thorn and Ford expelled the University for offending against the Kings Declaration.

In his sixth Year *Davenant* Bishop of *Salisbury* was questioned for breach of the Kings Declaration, by falling on some points in his Sermon before the King touching the Arminian Controversies which were forbidden therein; but by his modest and discreet Answers, he was acquitted; though in the same year *Thorn* and *Ford* two Masters of Arts of *Oxford*, were expelled the University for being judged offenders against the same Declaration.

The Controversie about the Sabbath revived.

In his ninth Year the Sabbatarian Controversie was revived by one *Theophilus Bradbone* a Minister of *Suffolk*, which first began in the year 1595. occasioned by a Book put forth that year by one Dr. *Bound*; for before that time (as in *Geneva* at this day) no civil Recreations were denied to any of the people at such times as they were not exercised in their publick Devotions at Church; in *Bounds* Book these following Opinions were maintained.

The sum of Doctor Bounds Book concerning the Sabbath.

1. That the Commandment of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaical Decalogue, is moral and perpetual.

2. That whereas all other things in the Jewish Church were taken away (Priesthood, Sacrifices and Sacraments) this Sabbath was so changed, that it still remaineth.

1648

3. That there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves as straightly bound to rest upon the Lords Day, as the Jews were upon their Sabbath, it being one of the moral Commandments, for before all were of equal Authority.

4. The rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and precise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed.

5. Scholars on that day are not to study the Liberal Arts, nor Lawyers to consult the Case, nor peruse mens Evidences.

6. Sergeants Apparitors, and Sumners to be restrained from executing their Offices.

7. Justices not to examine causes for the conservation of the Peace.

8. That ringing of more Bells than one that day is not to be justified.

9. No solemn Feasts, nor Wedding-dinners to be made on that day (with permission notwithstanding of the same to Lords, Knights, & Gentlemen of Quality.)

10. All honest Recreations and pleasures lawful on other days (as shooting, fencing, bowling,) on this day to be forborn.

11. No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter.

The Doctrine was at first very well received, because of the Piety of such persons as maintained it in their publick Writings; but a while after it was opposed, as galling mens necks with a Jewish yoke against the liberty of Christians; and further, it was urged, that Christ as Lord of the Sabbath had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful Recreations.

That this Doctrine puts an unequal lustre on the Sunday, on set purpose to eclipse all other Holy days, to the derogation of the Authority of the Church, and that this strict observance was set up out of faction to be a Character of difference to brand all for Libertines who did not entertain it, so that Archbishop *Whitgift* called in all such Books as were written on this Subject. But *Bradbone* who revived this Matter at this time was questioned for it by the High Commission Court, whose well tempered severity so prevailed upon him, that submitting himself to a private Conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of England ever after.

Bradbone retracts his opinion of the Sabbath.

Just in this conjuncture of time the King being troubled with Petitions on both sides by the strict and the more moderate observers of the Lords Day, thought good to follow his Fathers Royal Example upon the like occasion in *Lancashire*, where in his progress in the Fourteenth year of his Reign, taking notice that some Preachers perswaded the people to so rigorous observance of the Sabbath, that it was unlawful therein to dress meat, to sweep their houses, kindle the fire, or the like, and that the Popish Priests took advantage thereby to pervert many to Popery, perswading them that the Protestant Religion was so rigorous, that no lawful liberty was allowed therein, the year after he set forth a Declaration to this effect:

That for his good peoples lawful Recreations, His pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful actions, such as Dancing either of men

A Declaration tolerating Sports on the Sabbath day.

1648

men or women, or for men leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless Recreations: nor from having May-Games, Whitsun-Ales, or Maurice-Dances, and setting up of May-Poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment, or let of Divine Service, and that Women should have leave to carry Rushes to the Church for decorating of it, according to their old custom: withall prohibiting all unlawful Games to be used on the Sundays only, as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and Bowling (at all times in the meaner sort of people prohibited.)

In his tenth year, by the procurement of Land Bishop of London, all such Improvements in Ireland restored to the Church, and at a Convention in that Kingdom, concurrent with a Parliament then in being, the 39 Articles of the Church of England were there received for all to subscribe thereunto.

In his thirteenth year, the same Bishop of London, being some time before translated to the See of Canterbury, and himself a strict observer of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, did in his Metropolitan Visitation more vigorously than before press conformity thereunto, which occasioned many differences in the Church about Divine Worship, (*viz.*) about the Holiness of Churches, bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, and the manner of Adoration in Gods House, which last was by the Conformists practised to be towards the Communion Table, as the most remarkable place of God's presence, others would not admit of the name of Table, but have it *Altar*; and then a great Controversie was raised about the placing of it, some would have it constantly fixed with the sides East and West, ends North and South, and a gradual advance next the East Wall of the Chancel, citing a Canon, and the practice of the Kings Chappel for the same; whilst others pressed Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, (allowing it at other times to stand in the Chancel) but to be set in the Body of the Church when the Sacrament is celebrated thereon: Many were the Books writ *pro* and *con* of these matters, to the great Rent and Division of the Church; and such heat about this *Altar*, and other differences on both sides was kindled, that had almost sacrificed their mutual charity thereon: Amongst the Writers in the Controversie of this time, there were three that writ most bitterly against Bishops, and the established Discipline of the Church, Mr. Henry Burton a Minister, Dr. John Bastwick a Doctor of Physick, and Mr. Will. Prynne a Barrister of *Lincolns-Inne*, who were severely censured for their Offences, as hath been before mentioned in the History of the Kings Reign.

In the same year, or the year after, the Book of Service or new Liturgy was sent into *Scotland* to be used in that Kingdom, the circumstances whereof, and the miseries thereby occasioned, are likewise related in the foregoing History.

In his fourteenth year, on the thirteenth of April a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and with the Parliament a Convocation began, but the Parliament being after a Month dissolved, the King nevertheless continued the Convocation under the Title of a Synod, which was authorized under the Great Seal of England. The Acts of this Synod were scarce any time in use, so that we shall here only insert the Titles of the 17 Canons that passed therein.

†

1. Concerning the Regal Power.

2. For better keeping of the day of His Majesties most happy Inauguration.

3. For suppressing of the growth of Popery.

4. Against Socinianism.

5. Against Sectaries.

6. An Oath enjoined for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.

7. A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.

8. Of Preaching for Conformity.

9. One Book of Articles of Inquiry to be used at all Parochial Visitations.

10. Concerning the conversation of the Clergy.

11. Chancellors Patents.

12. Chancellors alone not to censure any of the Clergy in sundry Cases.

13. Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest.

14. Concerning the Commutations and disposing of them.

15. Touching concurrent Jurisdiction.

16. Concerning Licenses to Marry.

17. Against vexatious Citations.

As to the Oath concluded in the Synod, which was a Subject of so much discourse at that time, and after in the succeeding Parliament, that the Members of the Synod and the whole Episcopal Clergy suffered much thereby, it is here set forth at large according to the true tenor thereof.

I A.B. do swear, That I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my self, or any other, directly or indirectly to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that which is so established: nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the Faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ.

As soon as these Canons were published, various were mens censures upon them, and many objections were raised against them, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the Fundamental Liberty of the Subject, though their fitting was justified by the opinions of the ablest of the Kings Learned Council in the Laws; but against the Oath many exceptions were made, some of which we shall insert.

1. Because the (Oath) did leave the Oath so loose, that neither the makers nor the takers thereof understood the same.

Secondly, These words were disliked (*viz.*) (*We will never give consent to alter this Church-Government,*) as if the same were intended to abridge the Liberty of King and State in future Parliaments and Convocations. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, the day before the ending of the Synod,

M h h h

repaired

1648

The Acts of the Synod.

The Oath concluded on by the Synod.

† The Oath concluded on by the Synod.

1648

Bishop
Goodman
commit-
ted to the
Gate-house.

repaired to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and acquainted him, that he could not with his Conscience subscribe these new Canons, and thereupon he was by the King committed to the *Gate-house*, and it appeared afterward that he scrupled some passages about the Corporeal Presence.

In *Scotland* the Distempers were so great about the *Service-Book* sent thither, that the King raised an Army to reduce them to obedience: And from this beginning many and great Calamities ensued in the Church and State, in the few remaining years of this Kings Reign.

The *Liturgie*, and shortly after *Episcopacy* it self, were both abrogated by those that usurped the Government of the Kingdom, and (which is the more to be lamented) many Ministers of the Gospel in *England*, who were reputed Learned and Pious Men, and had conformed to the established Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, to the scandal of Religion, joyned with those that opposed the Kings just Authority, and the Laws, and by their Preachings and Writings excited the people to an unlawful and unnatural War, on pretence of Reformation of Religion, forgetting, That not Guns and Swords, but Prayers and Tears ought to be the Arms of the Church; and then came in that flood of Errors that does yet too too much obscure the beauty thereof; for hitherto, though some differences arose in Discipline, yet so far was there unity amongst us, that the Ministers in the common grounds of Religion and of the Ministry were all one, and all preached one Faith and substance of Doctrine; but we shall no further enlarge on these things, which will make matter for an entire History of it self to describe.

*Works of Piety done by this King, and others
in his Reign.*

Pembroke
Colledge
in Oxford
built and
endowed.

Pembroke Colledge in *Oxford* was erected, and built in the place where formerly *Broadgates-Hall* stood, at the Charge of *Thomas Tisdale* of *Glympton* in the County of *Oxford*, who gave five thousand pound thereunto; and *Richard Wightwick* Rector of *East Isle* in *Berkshire* gave to it Lands of the yearly value of an hundred pounds; and hereupon King *James* in the latter end of his Reign gave his License for the building the Colledge, and granted to it a Charter of Mortmain of seven hundred pounds a year; but the Colledge was not built till the first year of this Kings Reign, and he gave to it the perpetual Patronage of the Church of *St. Aldates* near adjoining. Sir *Foulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, founded a History Professorship in the University of *Cambridge*, and gave an hundred pound a year thereunto for ever; and Sir *Thoms Adams* a competently Learned and worthy Citizen, and sometime Lord Mayor of *London*, erected and endowed an Arabick Professorship in the same University.

An Ara-
bick Pro-
fessorship
erected &
endowed
there.

Oriel Co-
lledge in
Oxford
new built.

Anthony Blencow sometime Provost of *Oriel Colledge* in *Oxford*, gave twelve hundred pounds towards the re-edifying of the Front of that Colledge, and by his example some other Benefactors did so largely contribute, as to new build the whole Colledge, which from a very old and decayed building, is now as handsome a uniform Pile as any in that, or any other University in *Europe*.

The Queen *Henrietta Maria*, Wife to this King,

of her great goodness and love to Learning, procured of the King her Husband the perpetual Patronage of several good Parsonages in *Hampshire*, to be granted to *Queens Colledge* in *Oxford*; and the King out of his care to have the Inhabitants of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* well educated, gave some Fellowships in *Jesus Colledge* and *Pembroke Colledge* in *Oxford*, to the Natives of those Islands.

1648

The King
& Queen
great Be-
nefactors
to Jesus &
Queens
Colledge
in Oxford.

Sir *William Paddy* Knight, Doctor in Physick, gave two perpetual Parsonages to *St. John's Colledge* in *Oxford*, and beautified the Chappel thereof, and endowed some Singing Men and Choristers to make a Quire therein; and *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury* built a new Court in the same Colledge, a very elegant Fabrick, and was otherwise a good Benefactor thereunto; he also enlarged the publick University Library, and purchased to it at a great price many Manuscripts of the Eastern Languages; and by that Example, Sir *Kenelm Digby* a Valiant and Learned Knight, gave a numerous Collection of Choice and Excellent Books to it.

A new
Court in
St. John's
in Oxford
built by
Archbi-
shop Laud

The ancient Hall of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and many Lodgings there were built at the charge of *Barnaby Okey*, Proctor of the University, and Fellow thereof, and some other Benefactors (procured chiefly by his Sollicitation,) which is for so much of it, as handsome a Building as any in *England*.

Clare-Hall
in Cambr.
new built.

The King was very solicitous to repair the ancient Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in *London*, which was much decayed with Age, and advised with Archbishop *Laud*, and some others of his Council, how to effect so Pious and so Noble a purpose, which was after some time resolved on, and he himself at his own Charge repaired some part thereof, and by his inducement Sir *Paul Pindar*, a wealthy and worthy Citizen, and many others, contributed largely thereunto, so that the Work went on very fast, and had not the Civil Wars made an interruption to it, in few years *St. Paul's Church* would have been made the most magnificent Structure of *Europe*.

St. Paul's
repaired.

Mr. *John Eggor* erected and endowed a Free-School in the Parish of *Alton* in *Hampshire*, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament.

The King also, by his Letters Patents, gave power to the Town of *Plymouth* to erect a new Church there. The Citizens of *Edenborough* in *Scotland* also built a new Church in that City called the *Fronekirk*, and covered it with Plates of Copper; and one *Heriat* a Citizen of that City, founded an Hospital there, which is one of the most beautiful Buildings in that Kingdom. There were many Free-Schools besides those here mentioned, and many Alms-houses erected in several parts of *England*, and some Hospitals; but we have not now so particular information thereof, as to make mention of them in this place, but by what has been here expressed, we may see the pious and charitable effects of the just security and peace of the first fifteen years of the Kings Government, which is all the time he reigned freely, and without opposition.

A new
Church
built at
Plymouth.
The like
at Eden-
borough.

Of Casualties hapning in his Time.

IN his first year, the Plague broke out in *London*, more dangerously than in the beginning of his Fathers Reign, insomuch that the King was

The plague
breaks out
in London.
fain

1648 fain to adjourn the Parliament, because of the thin appearance of the Members by reason of the Contagion.

Earth- In his second year, was great Earthquakes in quakes. many parts of the Kingdom.

A Star ap- In his seventh year, May the 29th. a Star ap- pears at peared visibly at Noon, the Sun shining clear, at Noon a what time the King rode to St. Paul's Church to little after give thanks for the Queens safe Delivery of her Prince charls his second Son Prince Charles.

The great In his eighth year, a Fire brake out on London- Fire at Bridge, by which most of the Houses which were London made up a very beautiful Street) were burnt down Bridge. to the ground.

A sad ac- In his sixteenth year, the Earl of Haddington cident at in Scotland, having recovered some pieces of Dowglass of Ordnance which the Garrison of Berwick had fei- in Scot- sed at Dunce, return'd back to Dowglass, where sit- land. ting merry at Dinner, with about twenty Knights and Gentlemen, on a sudden the Magazine of Powder that lay in a vaulted Room, took fire by accident, whereby the Earl and his Company were blown up.

A Pond in The same year likewise, a Pond in Cambridge cambridge became red as Blood, the Water whereof being blood red. taken up in Basons, retained still the same colour.

Many Sights also were seen in the Air, as Armies fighting one against the other, which were looked upon as the sad presages of the ensuing Wars: Neither is that strange Thunder and Lightning unworthy of mention which hapned at Withcombe in the County of Devon, in the fourteenth year of his Reign, where a Ball of Fire was seen to come into the Church in the time of Divine Service, whereby three persons were killed, and threescore and two hurt, divers of whom had the Linings of their Cloaths burnt, though their outward Garments were not so much as singed, and most of the Seats were turned upside down, and the Pillars, Steeple, and Church, more endamaged than the expence of three hundred pounds could repair.

Strange Thunder at Withcombe.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married Mary the Daughter of Henry the Fourth King of France, whose Marriage was solemnized in the year 1625. being the first year of his Reign: He had Issue by her, four Sons, and as many Daughters; the eldest Son born before the time, was baptized Charles, and lived not above two hours: His second Son born May the twenty ninth, 1630. was also named Charles, and afterwards created Prince of Wales. And in the year 1660. Restor'd (after many years seclusion in Foreign Countreys) with the universal Congratulation of his Subjects to his Fathers Throne, happily blest with the Regal Vertues of so illustrious a Monarch: His third Son was born Octob. the 13th. 1633. and was baptized James, and created Duke of York, a Prince of invincible Courage, and Heroick Valour, as his Actions in France and Flanders, yet fresh in memory, have given sufficient Testimony: His fourth and last Son was born the twentieth of July, 1640. and Christened Henry, afterwards created Duke of Gloucester; He since his Brothers happy Restauration, deceased on the 13th. of September, 1660.

thereby bereaving the World of those fair hopes which had been generally conceived of his Noble and Princely Endowments. His eldest Daughter Mary, was born November the 4th. 1631. and afterwards married to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by whom he had one Son named William, Heir and Successor to his Father in his Dignities; she quickly followed her Brother the Duke of Gloucester, viz. the 24th. of December, 1660. her loss being very much bewailed, especially by any who had relation to her Service, as being a Princess of universal Goodness, Charity, and Bounty. His second Daughter Elizabeth was born the 28th. of December, 1635. She died at Carisbrook in the Isle of Wight, September the 8th. 1650. of meer Grief (as it is not without reason believ'd) for her Fathers unfortunate Death: And his third Daughter Anne, was born the seventeenth of March, 1636. who also died very young: His fourth and last Daughter, was born June the 16th. 1644. at Exeter, from whence she was brought up to St. James's, but afterwards conveyed into France by her Governness the Lady Dalkjeth; She was married to the Duke of Anjou, Brother to Lewis the Fourteenth, the present King of France; a Princess she was of incomparable Beauty, and Gallantry of Spirit.

Of his Death and Burial.

HIS Death was strange and unparallel'd; we read of many Kings who came to violent ends, but never any that was so formally and solemnly murdered; by a publick Trial and Execution, which was done in the manner following.

On Saturday, January the 20th. 1648. the wicked High Court of Justice sate in Westminster-Hall, whereof John Bradshaw of Grays-Inne was President, he had a Mace and Sword carried before him, and twenty habited like Gentlemen for his Guard, under the Command of one Colonel Fox, (formerly a Brasier or Tinker.) When the pretended Court was sate, and O Yes made, and silence commanded; the Act of the Commons for erecting the said Court was read, in these words,

The Trial of His Majesty. Bradshaw President of the High Court of Justice.

Whereas it is notorious, That Charles Stuart the now King of England, not content with the many incroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedom, hath had a wicked design to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and that besides all evil ways to bring his design to pass, he hath prosecuted it with Fire and Sword, and levied and maintained a Civil War in the Land against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby this Countrey hath been miserably wasted, the Publick Treasure exhausted, Trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, and infinite of other mischiefs committed, for all which high Offences the said Charles Stuart might long since have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: Whereas also the Parliament well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the Distempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him, but found by sad experience that such remissness served only to encourage him and his Complices in the continuance of their

The Commons Act for erecting the High Court of Justice for Trial of the King.

1648 *their evil practises, and raising new Commotions, Rebellions, and Invasions : for prevention of the like and greater Inconveniences, and to the end no chief Officer or Magistrate may hereafter presume Traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity; Be it Enacted and Ordained by the Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, and it is hereby Enacted and Ordained, That † J.B. O.C. M.G. J.M. G.I. &c.*

† Here the Commissioners names were inserted.

shall be, and are hereby appointed Commissioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the said Charles Stuart, and the said Commissioners, or any Twenty or more of them shall be, and are hereby authorized and constituted an High Court of Justice, to meet at such convenient times and places as by the said Commissioners, or the major part, or Twenty or more of them under their Hands and Seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall, or Palace-yard of Westminster, and adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court, or the major part thereof, meeting shall hold fit, and to take order for the charging of him the said Charles Stuart with the Crimes above-mentioned, and for the receiving his personal Answer thereunto, and for examination of Witnesses upon Oath (if need be) concerning the same; and thereupon, or default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause; and to be executed speedily and impartially. And the said Court is hereby Authorized and required to chuse and appoint all such Officers, Attendants, and other circumstances, as they, or the major part of them shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the premisses, and Thomas Lord Fairfax the General, with all Officers of Justice, and other well-affected Persons are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Commissioners in the due execution of the Trust hereby committed unto them; Provided, that this Act, and the Authority hereby granted, do continue for the space of one Month from the date of the making hereof, and no longer.

After the reading of the Act, the Court was called, and the Commissioners, whose names are here inserted, appeared and answered to their names; there were many more nominated in the Act, but because they acted not in this infamous Court, we shall forbear to record their names to Posterity.

The Commissioners & Judges of the Court.

Oliver Cromwel, Lieutenant General of the Army
Henry Ireton, Commissary General.
Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel.
Valentine Walton.
Col. Tho. Harrison.
Col. Edward Whalley.
Col. Thom. Pride.
Col. Isaac Ewer.
Col. Richard Ingoldsby.
† Sir Henry Mildmay.
Thomas Lord Grey, Col.
† William Lord Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer.
Sir John Bouchier.
† Sir James Harrington.

1648
† Robert Wallop, Esq;
William Henningham, Esq;
Isaac Pennington, Alderman of London.
Henry Martin, Esq;
Col. Will. Purefoy.
Gilber Millington, Esq;
Col. John Barksted.
John Blackstone, Esq;
Sir Willam Constable, Knight.
Col. Edward Ludlow.
Col. John Hutchinson.
Sir Michael Livesey.
Robert Tichbourn, Alderman of London.
Col. Owen Roe, of London.
Col. Robert Lilburne.
Col. Adrian Scroop.
Col. Rich. Dean.
Col. John Okey.
Col. John Hewson.
Col. William Goff.
Cornelius Holland, Gent.
John Carew, Esq;
John Jones, Esq;
Miles Corbet, Esq;
Francis Allen, Goldsmith.
Peregrine Pelham, Esq;
Thomas Challoner, Esq;
Col. John Moore.
William Say, Esq;
John Allured, Esq;
† Col. Francis Laffels.
Henry Smith, Esq;
† James Challoner, Esq;
Humphrey Edwards, Esq;
Gregory Clement, Esq;
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Serjeant John Bradshaw.
Col. Edm. Harvey.
Col. John Venne, of London.
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Andrews, Alderman of London.
William Cawley, Esq;
Col. Anthony Stapely.
John Downs, Esq;
Col. Thomas Horton.
Col. Thomas Hammond.
John Lisle Esq;
Nicholas Love, Esq;
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland, Esq;
John Dixwell, Esq;
Col. George Fleetwood, Com. Buck.
Simon Main, Esq;
Col. James Temple.
Col. Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrove, Esq;
Col. Thomas Wayte.

Of these Commissioners John Bradshaw was chosen President of the Court, as was before mentioned. And there were several Officers which appeared.

Councillors to draw up and prosecute the Charge.

Dorilaus, Doctor of the Civil Law.

Ask. } Two Councillors at Law, whereof
John Cook. } Cook was made the States Solicitor-General for this Employment.

Serjeant

1648

Serjeant Dandy, the Younger, Serjeant at Arms.
Daniel Braughton, } Two Clerks attending.
John Phelps. }

Wallford, }
Radly, } Messengers and Door-keepers.
Paine, }
Powel, }
Hull. }

Mr. King, Cryer of the Court.

The Court being thus sate and called over, the King was brought to the Bar by Colonel Hacker, with Halburdeers, the Mace of the Court conducting him to his Chair within the Bar where he sate, and then the President Bradshaw said to the King,

Charles Stuart King of England, The Commons of England assembled in Parliament being sensible of the great Calamities brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent blood shed (which are referred to You as the Author of it) according to that Duty which they owe to God, the Nation, and Themselves, and according to that Power and fundamental Trust reposed in them by the People, have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge, upon which the Court will proceed.

Solicitor Cook. My Lord, In behalf of the Commons of England, and of all the people thereof, I do accuse Charles Stuart here present of High Treason, and Misdemeanours, and I do in the name of the Commons of England desire the Charge may be read unto him.

The King. Hold a little.

President. Sir, the Court commands the Charge to be read, afterward you may be heard.

The Charge was read as followeth:

The Charge read.

That the said Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited power to Govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise, and by his Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liberties, yet nevertheless out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; and to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of mis-government, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the peoples behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive Parliaments or National Meetings in Council, He, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of such Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in his and their wicked practices, to the same end hath Traiterously and maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the people therein Represented.

Particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and two, at Beverly in the County of York; and upon or about the thirtieth day of July, in the year aforesaid, in the County of the City of York; and upon, or about the Twenty fourth day of August in the same year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham, (when, and where he set up his Standard of War;)

1648

and also on, or about the Twenty third day of October, in the same year at Edgehill, and Keinton-field, in the County of Warwick; and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of November in the same year, at Brainford in the County of Middlesex; and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of August, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and three, at Caversham-bridge near Redding in the County of Berks; and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of October in the year last mentioned, at, or near the City of Gloucester; and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newberry in the County of Berks; and upon, or about the One and thirtieth day of July, in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and four, at Cropredy-Bridge, in the County of Oxon; and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of September, in the year last mentioned, at Bodmin, and other places near adjacent, in the County of Cornwall; and upon, or about the Thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newberry aforesaid; and upon, or about the Eighth day of June, in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of Leicester; and also upon the Fourteenth day of the same Month, at Naseby-field in the County of Northampton. At which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this Land, at several other times within the years afore mentioned: And in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and six, He, the said Charles Stuart, hath caused and procured many thousands of the free people of the Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections within this Land by Invasions from foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means; He, the said Charles Stuart, hath not only maintained and carried on the said War both by Land and Sea, during the years beforementioned, but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said War against the Parliament, and good people of this Nation, in this present year, One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Suffex, Middlesex, and many other Counties and places in England and Wales, and also by Sea; and particularly, He, the said Charles Stuart, hath for that purpose given Commissions to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other persons, many such, as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commission, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid; By which cruel and unnatural Wars, by Him, the said Charles Stuart, levied, continued, and renewed as aforesaid, much innocent Blood of the Free people of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation.

And for further prosecution of his said evil designs, He, the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters, associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatened, upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the said Charles Stuart.

1648

All which wicked designs of War, and evil practices of him the said Charles Stuart have been and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the publick Interest, common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom He was intrusted, as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth, That He, the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby. And the said John Cook, by protestation (saving to himself on the behalf of the people of England, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against the said Charles Stuart, and also of replying to the Answers which the said Charles Stuart shall make to the premisses, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of England, Impeach the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of England: And pray, That the said Charles Stuart King of England, may be put to Answer all and every the premisses, that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentences, and Judgment may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

The King smiled often during the reading of the Charge, especially at these words, Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy of the Commonwealth.

President. Sir, You have now heard your Charge, You find that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court in behalf of the Commons of England, that you Answer to your Charge, which the Court expects.

King. *I would know by what power I am called hither; I was not long ago in the Isle of Wight, how I came there, is a longer Story than I think fit at this time for me to speak: But there I entred into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much Faith as it possible to be had of any people in the World: I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say, but that they did very nobly with Me: We were upon a Conclusion of the Treaty: Now I would know by what lawful Authority (there are many unlawful Authorities, Thieves and Robbers on the High-way.) I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what sins you bring upon your own heads, and the Judgement of God upon this Land, think well upon it, I say, before you go on from one sin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to Answer. In the mean time, I shall not betray my Trust: I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful Descent; I will not betray it to Answer to a new unlawful Authority.*

Bradshaw, Pres. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court

at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority: which Authority requires you in the name of the People of England, of whom you are elected King, to answer them.

King. *I deny that.*

Bradshaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court they must proceed.

King. *I do tell them so, England was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom, for near these thousand years: Therefore let me know, by what lawful Authority I am called hither, I do stand more for the Liberty of my People than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority, and I will answer, otherwise I will not answer.*

Bradshaw. Sir, How really you have managed your trust, is known; your way of Answer is to interrogate the Court, which befits not you in this Condition; you have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. *Here is Lieutenant Colonel Cobbet, ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by Force: I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever; I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty on the Publick Faith? Let me see a lawful Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or by the constitutions of the Kingdom. I will not betray my Trust, nor the Liberties of the People: I am sworn to keep the Peace by that Duty I owe to God and my Countrey, and I will do it to the last breath in my body. As it is a sin to withstand lawful Authority, so it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any otherwise unlawful Authority.*

Bradshaw. The Court expects your final Answer, and will adjourn till Monday next: We are satisfied with our Authority that are your Judges, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that Peace you speak of, will be kept in doing Justice, and that's our present work.

So the Court adjourned, and the King was conducted back; They had so contrived it, that divers schismatical Souldiers and fellows were placed round about the Court to cry *Justice, Justice*, when the King was remanded, thinking all the rest of the people whould have bleated to the same tune, but they (almost all) cried God blefs him, and were (some of them) well cudgelled by the Souldiers, for not reviling and exclaiming after the mode of the Army; yet the Court took no notice hereof: so far was His Majesty already fore-judged and condemned to sufferings.

Monday, January the 22th. The King was brought again to his Tryal.

Solicitor Cook. *May it please your Lordship, I did at the last Court, in behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit, and give into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of England, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, He was not then pleased to give an Answer, but instead of answering, did dispute the Authority of this High Court: My humble Motion to this High Court in behalf*

1648

1648 *behalf of the Kingdom of England is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which, if he shall refuse to do, That the matter of Charge may be taken pro confesso, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You may remember, at the last Court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read against you, &c. You heard likewise what was prayed in behalf of the People, That you should give an Answer to that Charge: You were then pleaded to make some scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and said, you knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often Answered, That it was by Authority of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for those High and Capital Misdemeanors, wherewith you then were charged. Since that the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said, they are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied therewith too: And they do require that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge exhibited against you: they expect you should either confess or deny; if you do deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom to be made good against you; Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, and the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied therein, and you are to rest satisfied in it; and therefore you are to give a positive Answer.

King. When I was here last, it's true, I made that Question, and truly, if it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied my self with the Protestation I made here the last time, against the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any Superior Jurisdiction upon Earth: but it is not my case alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberties of the people of England, and (do you pretend what you will) I stand more for their Liberties than you; for if Power without Law may make Laws, and may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in England that can be sure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own; Therefore, when I came hither, I did expect particular Reasons to know by what Law, what Authority you proceed against me here, and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative (often) is very hard to do; I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can: All proceedings against any man whatsoever

Here the King was by Bradshaw interrupted.

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you: what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice: You are about to enter into argument and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an High Delinquent; you may not dispute the Authority of this Court, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit to it, &c.

King. Under favour, I do plead for the Liberty of the People of England more than you do; and therefore, if I should impose a belief upon any man without Reasons given, it were unreasonable.

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you: you may

not be permitted, you speak of Law and Reason, and there is both against you: Sir, the Vote of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, is the Reason of the Kingdom, and they are those that have given you that Law, according to which you should have Ruled and Reigned: Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, but by all the Laws that ever I heard, all men may put in Demurrers against any Proceedings, as illegal: and I do demand that; if you deny that, you deny Reason.

Bradshaw. Sir, Neither you, nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded; You may not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer; they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of England, and all your Predecessors, and You are responsible to them.

King. I deny that, shew me one President.

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. I say, Sir, by your favour, That the Commons of England were never a Court of Judicature, I would know how they came to be so.

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that speech, and these discourses:

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth;

Charles Stuart, King of England, you have been accused in the behalf of the People of England of High Treason, and other High Crimes, the Court hath determined that you ought to answer the same.

King. I will answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

Bradshaw. If this be all you will say, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. I do require that I may give my Reasons why I did not Answer, and give me time for that.

Bradshaw. Sir, It is not for Prisoners to require.

King. Prisoners, Sir? I am not an ordinary Prisoner.

Bradshaw. The Court have affirmed their Jurisdiction, if you will not Answer, we shall give Order to record your fault.

King. You never heard my Reasons yet.

Bradshaw. Sir, your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. Shew me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.

Bradshaw. Sir, We shew you it here; the Commons of England: and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court, and, it may be, their final determination.

King. Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

Bradshaw. Serjeant take away the Prisoner.

King. Well, Sir, Remember that the King is not suffered

1648 suffered to give in his Reasons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to have Liberty to use this Language; how great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all England and the world judge.

King. Sir, Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subjects that ever I took, I defended my self with Arms, I never took up Arms against the People, but for the Laws.

Bradshaw. The command of the Court must be obeyed, no Answer will be given to the Charge.

So the King was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cottons, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, Tuesday twelve a Clock.

The third days Trial of His Majesty. Tuesday, January 23. The Court sate again, seventy three Commissioners of those before named were present.

The King brought into the Court, sits down.

Solicitor Cook. 'May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, This is now the third time that by the Grace and Favour of the Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Barr, before any Issue joyned in this Cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, containing the Highest Treason that ever was wrought on the Theatre of England, That the King of England, trusted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath so to do, that had tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and in defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against the Parliament and People: And I did humbly pray in behalf of the People of England, That he may speedily be required to make an Answer to the Charge; But, my Lord, instead of making any Answer, he did then dispute the Authority of this High Court; your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day to put in his Answer, which day being yesterday, I did humbly move, That he might be required to give a direct and positive Answer either by denying, or confessing of it; But, my Lord, he was pleased to demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive Answer: My Lord, besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgement against him: I might press your Lordship upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Laws of the Land, if a Prisoner shall stand contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable Plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal, that by an implicit confession it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more Favour than the Prisoner at the Bar hath done. But besides, My Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact, That the House of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, that the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in

Truth, my Lord, as clear as Chrystal, and as the Sun that shines at Noon-day; which, if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding in the Peoples behalf, several Witnesses to produce, and therefore I do humbly pray, (and yet I confess, it is not so much I, as the innocent Blood as hath been shed: (the cry whereof is very great) for Justice and Judgement) and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy Judgement be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Council on behalf of the Kingdom against you; you were told over and over again, That it was not for you, or any other man to dispute the Jurisdiction of the Supreme and Highest Authority of England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute: yet you did persist in such carriage, as shews you have no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this High Court of Justice. Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not (being thus authorized by the Supreme Court of England) to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Justice, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage by these delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgement against you; yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalf, I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this charge that is against you, in plain terms, (for Justice knows no respect of persons) you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain English, whether you be Guilty or not Guilty of these Treasons laid to your charge.

King. When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of England, I was interrupted, I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have had the resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, that having such a Charge of so high a nature against you, your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge; when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best defence you can: But Sir, I must let you know from the Court (as their Commands) That you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other Discourses, till such time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the matter charged upon you.

King. For the Charge I value it not a Rush, it is the Liberty of the People of England that I stand for, for me to acknowledge a New Court that I never heard of before, I that am your KING, that should be an Example to all the People of England, to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws, indeed, I do not know how to do it: you spoke well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my People; the same Obligation you spake of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to him and to my People, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, therefore until that I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I can put in no particular Answer,

1648 Answer; if you will give me time, I will shew you my Reasons, and this

Here the King was interrupted. Here being interrupted, The King said again, By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me: How I came here, I know not: there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, made to me by the Two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representative of the Kingdom, and I had almost made an end of the Treaty when I was hurried away, and brought hither, and therefore

And here again. Bradshaw. Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour, Sir.

Bradshaw. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses; You appear as a Delinquent, You have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answer.

Clerk. Do your Duty.

King. Duty Sir!

The Clerk then reads;

"Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in behalf of the Commons of England, of divers High Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you; The Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer by way of Confession or Deniall of the Charge.

King. Sir, I say again to you, so that I may give satisfaction to the People of England of the clearness of my Proceedings, not by way of Answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a New Court against their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you must excuse me.

Bradshaw. Sir, This is the third time that you have publickly disavowed this Court, and put an affront upon it, how far you have preserved the Priviledges of the People, your actions have spoken; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom: But Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court. Clerk, Record the default; and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber, the Cryer (as at other times) crying, God bless the Kingdom of England.

The 4th. and last days Tryal of His Majesty. Saturday, 27th of January, 1648. The Court sat again in Westminster-hall, the President was in his Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commissioners answered to their Names; the King came in, in his wonted posture with his Hat on, a company of Souldiers and seditious Persons were placed about the Court to cry for Justice, Judgement, and Execution; the people not daring to cry, God bless Him, for fear of being again beaten by the Souldiers.

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court to make Answer to a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes exhibited against

him in the name of the People of England, to which Charge being required to Answer, He hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him Reasoning, and debated unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Higheft Court that appointed them to Try and Judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he still continued cantumacious, and refused to submit to Answer. Hereupon the Court (that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulness prevent Justice) they have considered of the Charge and of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise on that Contumacy. They have likewise considered the notoriety of the Fact charged upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole Matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against him; but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved to hear him: Yet Sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand (which you have been minded of at other Courts) that if that which you have to say, be to offer any debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of England, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self concerning the Matter charged, the Court hath given me in command to hear you.

King. Since I see that you will not hear any thing of debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call dearer to me than my Life, which is my Conscience and mine Honour: And if I had respect to my Life more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my Life, for by that, at leastwise, I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me; therefore certainly Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world (if that true zeal to my Countrey had not overborn the care that I have for my own preservation) I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now Sir, I conceive that a hasty Sentence once passed may sooner be repented of, than recalled; and truly, the selfe same desire that I have for the peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at last desire, that I having something to say that concerns both, I desire before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; whatsoever I say, if that I say be no Reason, those that hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have to say. If it be Reason, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure it is very well worth the hearing; there

1648 therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend (I hope it's real) the Liberty of the Subject, and peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any sentence passeth; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest that your fair shews of Liberty and Peace are pure shews, and that you will not hear your King,

The President said, *This was a declining the Jurisdiction of the Court, and delay*: yet the Court withdrew for half an hour, advised upon it, and sat again.

Bradshaw said to the King, *That the Court had considered what he had moved, and also their own Authority.*

The return from the Court, said he, is this, *That they have been too much delayed by you already, and they are Judges appointed by the Highest Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Justice, and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence, and to Judgement, that is their unanimous resolution.*

The King pressed again and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, with great earnestness, and was as often denied by Bradshaw: at last the King desired that this Motion of his might be entred.

Bradshaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, much aggravating the Kings offences, and misapplying both Law and History to his present purpose.

When Bradshaw had done speaking, Broughton the Clerk read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment to this effect.

The Sentence against his Majesty.

'That whereas the Commons of England in Parliament had appointed them an *High Court of Justice* for the Tryal of Charles Stuart King of England, before whom he had been three times convened, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors was read in behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c. which Charge being read unto him, as aforesaid, He the said Charles Stuart was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do, and so expressed the several passages at his Tryal in refusing to Answer; for all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That he the said Charles Stuart as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, shall be put to death, by severing of his Head from his Body.

After the sentence read, the President said, *This Sentence now read and published, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court.*

Here the whole Court stood up, as assenting to what the President said.

King. *Will you hear me a word, Sir?*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to be heard after the sentence.

King. *No Sir?*

1648 Bradshaw. No Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

King. *I am not suffered to speak, expect what Justice other people will have.*

The King not being admitted to reply, was taken by his Guards to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and the Court rose; as he passed down the stairs the Souldiers scoffed at him, and cast the smoak of their Tobacco (a thing very distastful to him) in his face, and threwed the Pipes in his way, and one more insolent than the rest, spit in his face, which he in great patience took no further notice of, than to wipe the spittle away; and as he passed further, hearing some of them by the instigation of their Officers cry out *Justice, Justice and Execution*, he said, *Alas poor Souls! for a piece of Money they would do so for their Commanders.*

The Court after the Judgment given, went into the Painted-Chamber, and appointed Sir *Hardress Waller*, *Ireton*, *Harrison*, *Dean* and *Okey* to be a Committee to consider of the time and place for the Execution: the King hearing thereof, requested an Officer of the Army to go to them, to desire that he might see his Children before his death, and that Doctor *Juxon* the Bishop of *London* might be admitted to assist him in his private devotion, and receiving the Sacrament; both which were granted to him upon a motion to the Parliament.

The King at his Tryal (as you have read) pressed earnestly to have his Reasons heard against the Jurisdiction of the Court, but was often denied, but that the weight of them may not be suppressed for a further manifestation of the impiety of his unjust Judges, we shall here insert them faithfully transcribed out of the Original Copy under the Kings own hand.

Having already made my Protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call me (who am your King) in Question as a Delinquent, I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion more than to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned: but the Duty I owe to God, in the preservation of the true Liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: for how can any free-born Subject of England call life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without right daily maketh new, and abrogate the old Fundamental Law of the Land, which is now to be the present case; wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds, which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in England, for I will not (like you) without shewing a reason seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.

There is no proceeding just against any man but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law; for

A Committee is appointed to consider the time and place for the King's Execution.

The Reasons the King intended to have given at his Tryal against the proceedings of the Court.

1648 for on the contrary, the Authority of Obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament, which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove, and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who can say unto him, what dost thou, Eccles. 8.4.* Then for the Laws of the Land, I am no less confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his Name: and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides the Law, upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new, if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when; but how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self, (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plowman, if you demand not his free consent, nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek, so far are you from having it. Thus you see, that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all my Subjects, which consists, not in sharing the power of Government, but living under such Laws, and such Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their Lives and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this must, or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this days proceeding doth not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith (I believe) that ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses, for all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddainly surpris'd, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just Right; But for any thing I can see, the Higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court.

Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in my thoughts; and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath

1648 flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawless, unjust proceeding against Me do good on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King my Father and my Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt, that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either clear reasons to convince my Judgment, shewing me that I am in an error, (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

The Report from the persons before named to consider of the time and place of the executing the Sentence against the King, was on *Monday* the 29th of *January* delivered in the Painted Chamber to the Commissioners then present, in these words, *That it is the opinion of the Committee, That the open Street before White-Hall is a fit place, and that the King be there executed to morrow.*

The Court approved of this Report, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose, which was presently Ingrossed, and Sign'd, and Seal'd by all the Commissioners present; in these words, (*viz.*)

At the High Court of Justice for Trying and Judging *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, *January* the 29th 1648.

Whereas *Charles Stuart* King of *England* is, and standeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of High Treason; and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court to be put to death by severing his Head from his Body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done. These are therefore to will and require you, to see the said Sentence executed in the open Street before *White-hall*, upon the morrow being the 30th day of this instant moneth of *January*, between the hours of ten in the morning, and five of the afternoon of the same day, with full effect, and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And these are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this Nation of *England* to be assisting unto you in this service: Given under our Hands and Seals, &c.

The title of the Warrant for executing the King.

To Colonel Francis Hacker,
Col. Huncks, and Lieutenant Col. Phayer.
John Bradshaw, &c.

This was signed and sealed by all the Commissioners whose names are before expressed; except such of them who are marked with this note, (*)

But of those that signed and sealed the Warrant, it must be remembered, that Colonel *Richard Ingoldsby's* Hand and Seal was against his consent put to it by *Oliver Cromwell*; but his early disclaiming

1648

claiming of the Fact, and his active and successful endeavours for the restoration of King Charles the Second to his Crown and Kingdoms, not only obtained his Pardon, but the Kings Favour with it, and the Dignity of Knight of the Bath, which was conferred on him at the ensuing Coronation.

Colonel John Hutchinson also for his conjunction with General Monk to reduce this Kingdom to its ancient Government, and his hearty repentance for what he had done in consenting to and acting in this impious Sentence, obtained his pardon for it.

The same day that the Warrant was signed and sealed, the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth were brought to the King, whom he most joyfully received, and giving his blessing to the Princess, He bid her remember to tell her Brother James, *when ever she should see him, that he should look no more upon Charles as his Elder Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Sovereign: And that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies: And then said unto her, Sweet Heart, you will forget this; No, said She, I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised him to write down the particulars.*

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his Knee, said, *Sweet Heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head, (upon which words the Child looked very wishfully on him) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off my Head, and perhaps, make thee a King: But, mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers Charles and James does live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut thy Head off too at last; and therefore, I charge you do not be made a King by them.* At which the Child, sighing said, *I will be torn in pieces first*—which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths own Hand.

What the King said to me the 29th of January last, being the last time I had the happiness to see him, 'He told me he was glad I was come, and 'although he had not time to say much, yet 'somewhat he had to say to me, which he had 'not to another, or leave in writing; because he 'feared their Cruelty was such, as that they would 'not have permitted him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment my self for him, 'for that would be a glorious Death that he should 'die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of the 'Land. He bid me read Bishop Andrews's Sermons, 'Hookers Ecclesiastical Polity, and Bishop Laud's 'Book against Fisher, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, he had forgiven all 'his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them 'also, and commanded us, &c. to forgive them. 'He bade me tell my Mother, that his thoughts 'had never strayed from her, and that his Love 'would be the same to his last: withall, He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to 'her: and bade me send his Blessing to the rest of 'of my Brothers and Sisters, with commendation 'to all his Friends. So, after he had given me his Blessing, I took my leave.

1648

'Further, He commanded us all to forgive those 'people, but never to trust them; for they had 'been most false too him, and to those that gave 'them power, and he feared also, to their own 'Souls. And desired me not to grieve for him, for 'he should die a Martyr, and that he doubted not 'but that the Lord would settle his Throne upon 'his Son, and that we should all be happier than 'we could have expected to have been, if he had 'lived. With many other things which at present I cannot remember.

On Tuesday the 30th of January, which was the fatal day on which the King was put to Death, The Bishop of London did in the Morning read Divine Service in his presence; to which Duty the xxvii. Chapter of St. Matthew, being the History of our Saviours Passion, was appointed by the Church-Calendar for the Second Lesson: but, he supposing it to have been selected on purpose, thanked him afterwards for his seasonable choice. But the Bishop modestly declining those undue thanks, told him that it came by course to be read on that day, which very much comforted His Majesty, who proceeded to the remaining Duties of receiving from the Bishop the Holy Sacrament, and the other preparations for his approaching Passion.

His Devotions being ended, about ten a clock he was brought from St. James's to White-hall by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying, and Drums beating (through the Park) part marching before, and part behind, with a private Guard of Partisans about him, the Bishop on the one hand, and Colonel Tomlinson (who had the charge of him) on the other bare-headed. The Guards marching a slow pace, as on a solemn and sad occasion to their ill-tuned Drums, He bid them go faster, (as his usual manner of walking was) saying, *That he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown, with less sollicitude than he had often encouraged his Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.*

Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery in White-Hall, where he used formerly to Lodge. There finding an unexpected delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had begun but that Morning, He past the most of that time (having received a Letter from the Prince in the interim by Mr. Seymour) in Prayer.

About twelve a Clock, His Majesty (refusing to Dine) eat onely a bit of Bread, and drank a glass of Claret; and about an hour after, Colonel Hacker, with other Officers and Souldiers, brought him with the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson through the Banqueting-House to the Scaffold, whereto the passage was made through a Window. A strong Guard of several Regiments of Horse and Foot were placed on all sides, which hindred the near approach of his miserable and distracted Subjects, (who for manifesting their sorrow, were most barbarously used) and the King from speaking what he had designed for their Ears: Whereupon finding himself disappointed, he omitted much of his intended Matter, but having viewed the Scaffold (which had Irons driven in it to force him

1648 him down to the Block by Ropes, if that he should have resisted) and the Ax (of whose edge he was very careful) having minded one present, of touching it with his Cloak.

Being upon the Scaffold, he looked very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Colonel Hacker if it could be no higher: and then spoke thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson.)

The Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

I shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word to you here. Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think, that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the punishment. But I think it is my duty to God first, and then to my Countrey, to clear my self both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my Innocency, and in troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this; For all the World knows that I did never begin a War with the Two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, unto whom I must shortly make an account, that I did never intend to inroach upon their Priviledges: They began upon me, it is the Militia they began upon: they confessed the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be short, if any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declaration, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So as for the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope that God will clear me. I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the Two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments between them and me, have been the cause of all this Blood-shed: so that as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; yet for all this, God forbid I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say Gods Judgements are just upon me: Many times he doth pay Justice by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary: I will say this, That unjust Sentence that I suffered to take effect, is punished by an unjust Sentence upon me: so far I have said, to shew you that I am an Innocent man. Now to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is † a good man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of my Death, who they are God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular, I pray God, with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge; and withall, that they may take the way to the Peace of the Kingdom, for my Charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul, († I see there are some here that will carry it further) that they endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. Sirs, I must shew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in the way. First, you are out of the way, for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, if in the way of Conquest, certainly this is an ill way; for Conquest, in my opinion, is never just, except there be a good and just cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you go beyond

† Pointing to the Bishop.

† Observing one to write.

the first Quarrel, that makes that unjust at the end, 1648 that was just at first: for if there be only Matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to Alexander, That he was a great Robber, himself was but a Petty Robber. An so, Sirs, I think, for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due, (that is, my Successor) and the people their due; I am as much for them any of you. You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to Scripture (which is now out of order.) And to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every opinion is freely heard. For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the People, truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomsoever: But I must tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their lives and theirs may be most their own; it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People into that Liberty, as I say, they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs, It was for this that now I am come hither, for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I need not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray to God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. In troth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have a little better digested this that I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me; I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take those courses, that are the best for the good of the Kingdom, and your Salvation.

Bishop. (Though your Majesties affections may be very well known to Religion) yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat thereof for the Worlds satisfaction.

King. I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it; In troth, Sirs, My Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the World, and therefore I declare before you all that I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest Man I think will witness it.

Then speaking to the Executioner, he said, I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands——let that be your sign:

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, Does my Hair trouble you? who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then the King turning to the Bishop, said, I have a good Cause and a gracious God on my side.

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one: But you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and

1648 and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.*

Bish. You are exchanged from a Temporary, to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well*, and took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying, *Remember.*

Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Waist-coat, he put his Cloak on again; then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir,

King. *When I put my hands out this way, stretching them out ——— Then do your Work.*

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King (thinking he had been going to strike) said, *Stay for the sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow severed his Head from his Body; the Head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the people, which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings at *White-Hall*; and from thence it was carried to his House at *Saint James's*, where his Body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, and laid there a fortnight to be seen by the people: and on *Wednesday* seven-night after, his Corps embalmed and coffin'd in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the Care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Mr. *Herbert*, Capt. *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers, Captain *Preston*, and *John Joyner*; (formerly Cook to his Majesty,) who with others in Mourning, accompanied the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-chamber: whence it was next day removed into the Deans Hall, and from thence by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, and the Earl of *Lindsey*, conveyed to *St. George* his Chappel, and the Corps there interred in the Vault, (as is supposed) of King *Henry the VIII.* and Queen *Jane*, with this Inscription upon the Coffin,

CHARLES KING OF ENGLAND.
M. DC. XL. VIII.

Of his Personage and Disposition.

THIS unfortunate Prince was of a comely Person, a firm and vigorous Health, a Body indefatigable. He was a great Lover, and as great a Master of all Manly Exercises; and yet withall no less skill'd in the Graces and Entertainments of a Court. So Temperate in his Pleasures, that he was never known guilty of any Excess. In his Devotions constant, regular, and intent. His Love to the Order, and to the Religion of the Church of *England*, was so eminent, that he seal'd and confirm'd

1648 it with his Blood; and at the same time, what he could not support with his Arms, he asserted with his Pen, beyond all Contradiction. His presence of Mind, in all extremes, was seen both in the Field, and upon the Scaffold. He was the best of Husbands, and (perchance) the best of Men. His general Insight in Arts and Sciences, both Liberal and Mechanical, was wonderful; nor was any Prince better instructed in the Principles of Government. His unhappiness was, that some times he trusted to other mens Counsels, rather than his own; and put so much power into his enemies hands, in hope of gaining them, that he was no longer in condition to defend himself. In Effect, He was too Good a Man to be a Happy Prince; and rather betrayed by his own Tenderness, than subdu'd by the force of his Adversaries; as appear'd by the ill use was made of it in several Treaties, Counsels and Battels. The Rebellion was in it self Barbarous; but the Formalities of proceeding against him, by Arraignment, Tryal, Sentence and Execution, fill'd all Christendom with Indignation and Horrour; and his Blood cries yet aloud for vengeance upon the Promoters, as well as the Instruments of that Execrable Murder.

Of Persons of Note in his Time.

FOR the first fifteen years of this Kings Reign, there was little Employment for Military men at home; but there were great numbers of his Majesties Subjects in the service of Foreign Princes and States: as Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *John Burroughs*; *Rutben*, *Lestly*, *Fleetwood*; *Douglas*, *Hamilton*, and many other Commanders of great Renown. In the following Troubles, among several thousands of the Nobility and Gentry, that Eminently served the Crown, there were the Marquisses of *Newcastle* and *Montrose*; the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Rocheſter*, *Northampton*, *Bristol*, *Caernarvan*, *Lichfield*: the Lords *Francis Villiers*, *Ashley*, *Capell*, *Goring*, *Hopton*, *Bellasis*, *Gerrard*, *Langdale*: Sir *Henry Gage*, Sir *Richard* and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liffle*; Col. *Charles Cavendish*, Major General *Hurrye* &c. whose Names and Actions are already honourably recorded in the Memorials of those times. There was also *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, who (though untimely and most invidiously cut off) was not yet inferiour unto any man of his time, either for his Faith to his Prince, or Abilities both Military and Civil. He left the Inheritance of his Vertues, as well as of his Honour and Fortune, unto his Son *William*; who doubled his Paternal Glories and his own, by Marrying (the worthy Daughter of two incomparable Parents) *Henrietta Maria*, the Daughter of *James* Earl of *Derby*, and *Charlotte* the Daughter of *Claude Duc de la Tremoille*, and *Charlotte* of *Nassau*, Daughter to *William* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Aurange*; an Illustrious Couple; and of whom we shall speak the more in this place, because the Story hath said little of them elsewhere.

James Earl of *Derby*, was one of the first with his Majesty at *York*, after the *London-Tumults*; from whence he was order'd back again into *Lancashire*, to prepare for the Kings Reception; upon a Resolution taken for the setting up of the Standard.

1648 *Standard Royal at Warrington.* Immediately upon his return he muster'd the County, on the three Heaths, by *Berry, Ormskirk and Preston*; where he had an appearance of at least 20000. men on each Field; intending the same course likewise in *Cheshire and North-Wales*, (by virtue of his Commission of Lieutenancy.) But in this interim, the place was changed from *Warrington* to *Nottingham*, to the great disappointment of the Kings Friends in those parts; and the no less encouragement of his Enemies, (to say nothing of several Indignities put (more particularly) upon the Earl himself, by the contrivance and ill Will of some Great Ones deeply interess'd in this Affair.) The Standard being now set up at *Nottingham*, and the Countreys not coming in so frankly as was expected, the King by an Express desired his Lordship forthwith to raise what men he could, and to come up to him: whose Answer was, That he would do his best, but that the Case was much altered of late, a great part of the Countrey being resolved now to stand Neuter, and others joyning with the Rebels, had already seized upon *Manchester*. This notwithstanding, his Lordship, among his own Tenants, Dependents, and private Friends, raised three Regiments of Foot, and three Troops of Horse, clothed and armed them at his own charge; and then posted to the King at *Sherburny*, for His Majesties Orders how to dispose of them. The King commanded him to return, and presently make tryal of one smart Assault upon *Manchester*, and whether he master'd the Town or not, to march up then to the Camp. Hereupon the Earl repaired to his Troops, drew up before the Town, and summoned it; and upon their refusal to treat, directed an Assault at Four next Morning, not doubting to carry it. But that very Night he was commanded away, and in two days brought up his three Regiments, and three Troops to his Majesty; which being disposed off to other Officers, his Lordship was desired to hasten back, and take the best care he could of the Countrey. Upon his Return, the Parliament did (now a second time) offer his Lordship the largest terms imaginable, if he would either joyn with them, or quit the Kings Service; but his Answer was to this effect, *When I turn Traytor, I may hearken to these Propositions, but till then, let me have no more of these Papers, at the peril of him that brings them.* By this time the Enemy had Garrison'd *Lancaster and Preston*, and in a manner commanded the whole Countrey; when his Lordship bethought himself of defending his own house at *Latham*: and, although divested of his Arms and Magazine, did yet make a shift (with the assistance of his Friends) to cut off three Companies at *Houghton-Common*, and after that to take in *Lancaster and Preston* by storm: in the former, leading on his men himself, with a half Pike in his hand (after one Repulse) to the second Assault, that did the Butinefs: and *Manchester* had in probability followed, if both his Auxiliaries and his own Forces too, had not been call'd away in the very nick of time when he was ready for the Attempt. Soon after this, upon information that the Enemy had a design upon the *Isle of Man*, he was ordered thither for the security of that place. And thither he went, having first made some necessary provisions of Men, Mo-

neys and Ammunition, for the protection and defence of his incomparable Lady, to whose charge he committed his Children, and his other *English* Concerns: and most particularly, the care of his Honour, in defending the House till his Majesty might send Relief, which he hoped would not be long first.

The Countess of *Derby* being left alone in the House, not as yet fortified, the Enemy look'd upon it now as their own already, little expecting from a Woman, a Stranger, and a place so unprovided (as they supposed that to be) any considerable resistance. So that a Commission was presently obtained for the reducing of it: which being made known to the Lady, she furnished her self with Men, Arms and Ammunition, with all the diligence and secrecy possible. The men being generally raw, and unexperienced, she caused them to be Lifted, and Trained under six Captains; viz. *Cap. Farrington, Charnock, Chisenball, Rawsthorne, Ogles, and Molineux Radcliffe*, who were to receive orders from *Capt. Farmer*, (as Major of the Garrison) and he from her Ladyship. Matters were carried so private, that the Enemy was advanced within two miles of the House, not so much as dreaming of any other opposition than from her own Servants. Febr. 28. 1644. there came to the Lady from *Sir Thomas Fairfax* a Trumpet, and with him a person of Quality, to desire a conference. To which the Countess agreed; and immediately *Sir Tho Fairfax*, and some Gentlemen with him were admitted; the Souldiers being first disposed of in such manner as might best advance the appearance and opinion of their number and discipline. Their Commission was to demand the delivery of the House; upon which condition they offered her an honourable and safe remove, with her Children, Servants and Goods, (Arms and Cannon only excepted) to her own House at *Knomsley*, and a Protection there, from any further molestation; and the one Moiety of her Lords Estate in *England*, for the support of her self and Children. To which the Countess answered, that she was under a double Trust; of Faith to her Husband, and Allegiance to her Sovereign; that without their leave she could not give it up, and therefore desired a Moneths time for her Answer; which being denyed, her Ladyship told them, that she hoped, they would excuse her, if she preserved her Honour and Obedience, though in her own Ruine. Hereupon *Sir Thomas Fairfax* departed; and upon the Question whether they should proceed by Storm or Siege, he gave his opinion for the latter: Which Advice was much promoted by an Artifice of one of the Earl of *Derby's* Chaplains, (the Reverend and Ingenious *Dr. Brideokers*, now Dean of *Salisbury*,) whose Integrity and Prudence was of singular Service to that Heroical Lady in all her Extremities. Some fourteen days after the former Conference, there came a peremptory Summons for a present surrender, and the Trumpet was dispatch'd away with this short Answer; *That the Countess had not as yet forgotten what she ow'd to the Church of England, to her Prince, and to her Lord; and that till she had lost either her Honour, or her Life, she would defend the place.* Upon this, *Sir Tho. Fairfax* gave order for

1648 for a formal Siege, and being himself commanded away to other service, left the management of it to Colonel *Peter Egerton*, and Major *Morgan*: the Countess on the other side, giving express Order not to fire a Gun upon the Enemy, nor to do any other act of Hostility, until they should have made four or five shot at the House.

The House stands upon a Flat, being a boggy, spumous Ground. It was encompassed with a Wall of two yards thick; without the Wall, a Mote eight yards wide, and two yards deep. Upon the Wall were nine Towers, flanking one another; on each Tower six pieces of Ordnance, that play'd three one way, and three the other. Besides these, there was in the middle of the House a high Tower, called the Eagle Tower; and the Gate-house was also a strong and lofty Building, in the entrance to the first Court. Upon the tops of these Towers were placed the choicest Marks-men, as Dear-men, Keepers, Fowlers, and the like, who shrewdly gall'd the Enemy, and cut off several of their Officers in the Trenches.

Upon *Fairfax* his departure, the Enemy fell presently to work upon a Line of Circumvallation: but to disturb them in their Approaches, the Lady order'd a Sally of 200 men, commanded by Major *Farmer*, who, March 12. 1644. beat the Enemy from their Trenches, up to their Main-guard, kill'd about 60 of them, and took some prisoners, with the loss only of two men. Upon this they doubled their Guards, and drew their Line at a great distance, but they were so plyed with Sallies, that it was fourteen weeks time before they could finish it. After this, they ran a deep Trench near the Mote, where they rais'd a strong Battery, and planted upon it a Mortar-piece, that cast Stones and Granadoes of sixteen Inches Diameter. The first Granado fell close to the Table where the Lady, her Children, and the Officers were all at Dinner; shiver'd the Room, but nobody hurt. The apprehension of these terrible Fire-balls, made them resolve upon a Sally, to attempt the taking of the Mortar-piece. *Molineux Radcliffe* had the Forlorn, *Chisfenball* the Body, and *Farmer* commanded the Reserve; who, after half an hours sharp dispute, possess'd themselves of all their Works, nail'd and overturn'd all their Cannon, or roul'd them into the Mote, and carried off the Mortar-piece into the House, continuing Masters of their Works and Trenches that whole day; which, with their utmost pains and diligence, they laboured to fill up and destroy. During this Combat, the Countess was at her Devotions, (no less eminent for her Piety than for her Resolution) it being her constant practise to begin all these Actions with publick Prayers, and to close them with Thanksgivings. This was April 26. the very day appointed for an Assault, and with Orders to put every Creature to the sword. It took the Enemy five or six days time to repair their Works; in which space they were thrice dislodged, and scattered by vigorous Sallies. These disasters gave Colonel *Rigby* (a malicious Enemy of the Earl of *Derbey's*) a pretence of laying the fault upon Colonel *Peter Egerton*, by which means he got a Commission himself to command in Chief; and for a proof of his Generosity, he would not suffer so much as a Midwife to pass into the House to a Gentlewoman in travail. For a matter of a Fort-

night he carried on his Works without much trouble, for want of Powder in the Garrison; but that defect being supplied by a Sally, the Countess propos'd a fresh Assault of all their Trenches, which was accordingly agreed upon; and *Ramstborn* had the Forlorn, *Farmer* the Battel, and *Chisfenball* the Reserve; who, behaving themselves with their wonted bravery, beat the Enemy from their Works, cleared their Trenches, nailed their great Guns, and kill'd 120 men, with the loss only of three Souldiers, and five or six wounded. After a four Months Siege, and the loss of above 2000 men (by their own confession) *Rigby* sent the Countess a huffing Summons, to which she returned an Answer becoming her Dignity and Virtue.

The Earl of *Derbey* being in the *Isle of Man*, and alarmed with his Ladies distress in *Latham*, hasteth forthwith to his Majesty, to beg Relief; who gave way, that Prince *Rupert* should take *Lancashire* in his way to *York*, whither he was then designed. His Highness entred *Lancashire* at *Stopford-bridge*, and *Rigby* hearing that he had forced the Pass, rais'd the Siege from *Latham*. May 27. 1644. and march'd to *Bolton*, a strong Garrison of the Enemies; where, with the addition of other Forces to 2000 of his own, he made up a Body of 2500 Foot and 500 Horse. The Prince understanding that *Rigby* had quitted *Latham*, and was fortified in *Bolton*, marched directly thither, and gave Order for an Assault, which his people very gallantly attempted, but were yet forced to give it off the first bout, with the loss of 200 men, the Enemy killing the Souldiers they took upon the Walls, in cold blood, before the Princes eyes. Upon a second Assault, the Earl of *Derbey* desired of his Highness the Command of two Companies of his own old Foot, and the honour of the Forlorn; which, upon his importunity, was granted him. All things being ready for a general Assault, the Town was, in less than half an hour, entred upon each Quarter; the Earl of *Derbey* himself being the first man that entred it. This was May 28. 1644. *Rigby* made his escape, but left 2000 of his men behind him, and was himself laid aside. There was one *Boote* a Captain in the Town, and formerly a Porter in *Latham*, who upon leaving the House, swore voluntarily, That he would never bear Arms against the King. This fellow being in the heat of the Storm encompassed with Souldiers, and seeing his Lord, begg'd Quarter of him; who gave him this Answer, *I will not kill thee my self, and I cannot save thee from others*. This mans death was afterwards falsely and villainously charged upon the Earl of *Derbey*, by *Bradshaw* (Brother to the President) and *Rigby* at his Tryal. The Colours that were taken, the Prince sent to the Countess of *Derbey*, by Sir *Richard Crane*, who received them as a singular Honour, and caused them to be hung up, as happy Remembrances of Gods Mercy, and his Highness's Generosity towards her.

The Princes next work was the reducing of *Liverpool*; and from thence he went to *Latham*, where he refreshed himself and his men for three or four days, and was entertained by the Lord and Lady of the place, answerably to his Illustrious Quality and Merit. The Prince, before his departure, gave directions for the repairing and fortifying

1648

tifying of the House, and at the request of the Countess of Derby, gave the Government of it to Captain Ramsthorpe, whom he made Colonel of a Foot Regiment, and two Troops of Horse, for its defence, by whom the Place was bravely defended full two years in a second Siege; and, at length, by the Kings Order delivered up; having cost the Enemy at least 6000 men, and the Garrison about 400, being one of the last places that held out for his Majesty in England.

After all these great things done and suffer'd by the Noble Earl, and his admirable Lady, who were at this time in the *Isle of Man*, the Saddest, and most glorious part of their Story is yet behind. When their Children were perfidiously seized, and made close Prisoners, and the Earl tempted with the promise of a peaceable enjoyment of his Family, and Freedom at his own House, and the one Moiety of his whole Estate, if he would deliver up the *Isle of Man*; what could be more Honourable than his magnanimous Refusal (even when the Cause it self was given for lost,) saying, *That he would never redeem his Children by his Disloyalty*. When he came afterwards from the *Isle of Man*, into *Lancashire*, by command to attend the King, (*Charles the Second*,) then on his march from *Scotland* to *Worcester*, upon Assurance that the *Presbyterians* would joyn with the *Royallists*, in order to his Majesties Restauration; and when he found their Ministers obstinately to oppose any Conjunction, unless he would take the Covenant; what could be more brave or pertinent, than his final determination, which he delivered to them in these Terms, *If I perish, I perish; But if my Master perish, the Blood of another Prince, and all the ensuing Miseries of this Nation will lie at your doors*.

This perfidious disappointment of theirs, was it that put him upon his next Misfortune, his Engagement in *Wigan-Lane*, where with 600 Horse he maintained a Fight for two hours against 3000 Horse and Foot, in a place of much disadvantage, in which Encounter he received seven Shot on his Breast-Plate, thirteen Cuts upon his Bever over a Steel-Cap, five or six wounds upon his Arms and Shoulders, and had two Horses killed under him. And yet through all these Difficulties he made out his way to the King at *Worcester*, and took his part too of that unhappy Battail. Upon the Rout he was taken prisoner by Major Edge, upon Condition of Quarter; and afterwards murdered by a pretended Court of Justice, contrary to the Laws of Arms and Nations. All these Outrages and Wrongs, he suffer'd with a most Religious Constancy of Mind, and his deportment still the same; even upon the very Scaffold, and at the Block it self. *Die I must* (sayes he) *and I thank God I am ready for it. Death would now be my Choice, had I the whole World in competition with it. I leave nothing behind me, which I care much for, but my King, my Wife, Children, and Friends, whom (I trust) the Never-failing Mercies of my God will provide for. I beseech God shew mercy to those who neither had Mercy nor Justice for me.*

(This upon the Scaffold; and then a while after, just before he made his Address to the Block; rising from his Prayers) *My Soul* (sayes he) *is now at rest, and so shall my Body be immediately. The Lord bless my King, and Restore him to his Rights in this Kingdom; and the Lord bless this Kingdom, and restore them to their Rights in their King—I die for the King, the Laws of the Land, and the Protestant Religion, &c.* In fine, never any man had a more Generous mixture in him of the Courage of a *Roman*, with the Faith and Resignation of a *Christian*.

These Calamities joyned with the Infinite Affection of his surviving Lady, would have broken any other Heart than hers, that was supported by a matchless, and in Truth, by a miraculous Virtue. But she (it seems) was still reserved for further Tryals, both of her Honour and Patience. Upon the Parliaments demand of the *Isle of Man*, she refused to deliver it without License from his Majesty: and that very night, a Wretch that had eaten of her Lords Bread from a Child, and been employed as a servant in places of great Trust and Advantage, having corrupted and prepared the Islanders for the Design, seizes his Lady and her Children, (together with the Island) and she was kept a Prisoner without any other Relief, than what came from the Charity of her impoverished Friends. And yet against these Sufferings too, she still held out, until she saw the happy and much desired Restauration of His Sacred Majesty *Charles the Second*; and afterwards died *March 22. 1664.* in her Joynture-House at *Knowsley* in *Lancashire*.

The most famous men of the Clergy for Learning in his time, were *Davenport* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Morton* Bishop of *Durham*, *Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Hall* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Prideaux* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*, and his Successor *Bramhall*, *Sanderson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Mr. Chillingworth* of *Trinity Colledge* in *Oxford*, and *Dr. Hammond* one of the Canons of *Christ-Church* in the same University; and *Mr. Mead* of *Christs Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and *Mr. Hales* of *Eaton*. But others there were of great Eminence; as *Lucius* Lord *Faulkland* Secretary of State, a great Master of all sorts of Learning; *Sir Henry Spelman*, *Sir Edward Coke* likewise, that famous Common Lawyer, and *Mr. John Selden* of the same Profession, a most renowned Antiquary, and *Thomas Hobbs* of *Malmsbury*, that excellent Mathematician and Philosopher, all flourished in his Reign.

Nor may we omit the Poets then famous, which excell'd or equall'd all that went before, and shall come after; such as were *Mr. Benjamin Johnson*, *Mr. Edmund Waller*, *Mr. Thomas Carew*, *Sir John Suckling*, *Mr. Thomas Randolph*, *Mr. Thomas Cartwright*, *Mr. Abraham Cowley*, and *Sir William Davenant*. The first whereof by his profound Learning and Judgement, shewed a Poet was to be as well made as born: And the later, though he wanted Learning, made as high and noble Flights as Fancy could advance without it.

1648

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.

In his first year, 1625.
 Sir Allen Cotton was Mayor.
 Thomas Weltram, Ellis Crisp died.
 Jo. Pool, and Christopher Cletherow after, Sheriffs.

In his second year 1626.
 Sir Cuthbert Hacket was Mayor.
 Edward Bromfield, Richard Fenn, Sheriffs.

In his third year 1627.
 Sir Hugh Hamersley was Mayor.
 Maurice Abbot, Henry Garraway, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year, 1628.
 Sir Richard Dean was Mayor.
 Rowland Backhouse, William Aiton Knight and
 (Baronet, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year, 1629.
 Sir James Cambell was Mayor.
 Humphrey Smith, Edmund Wright, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year, 1630.
 Sir Robert Ducie, Barronet, Mayor.
 Arthur Abdy, Robert Cambell, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year, 1631.
 Sir George Whitmore was Mayor.
 Samnel Crammore, Henry Prat, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year, 1632.
 Sir Nicholas Raynton, was Mayor.
 Hugh Perry, Henry Andrews, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year, 1633.
 Sir Ralph Freeman, and Sir Tho. Mouldston, Mayors.
 Gilbert Harrison, Richard Gurney, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year, 1634.
 Sir Robert Parkhurst was Mayor.
 John Heylord, John Cordel, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year, 1635.
 Sir Christopher Cletherow was Mayor.
 Thomas Soame, John Gayer, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year, 1636.
 Sir Edward Bromfield was Mayor.
 William Abell, John Garret, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year, 1637.
 Sir Richard Fenn was Mayor.
 Thomas Atkin, Edward Rudge, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year, 1638.
 Sir Maurice Abot was Mayor.
 Isaac Pennington, John Wollaston, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year, 1639.
 Sir Henry Garraway was Mayor.
 Thomas Adams, John Warner, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year, 1640.
 Sir Edmund Wright was Mayor.
 John Towse, Abraham Reynardson, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year, 1641.
 Sir Richard Gurney was Mayor.
 George Garret, George Clarke, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year, 1642.
 Isaac Pennington was Mayor.
 John Langham, Thomas Andrews, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year, 1643.
 Sir John Wollaston was Mayor.
 John Fowke, James Bunce, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year, 1644.
 Thomas Atkin was Mayor.
 William Gibbs, Richard Chambers, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year, 1645.
 Thomas Adams was Mayor.
 John Kendrick, Thomas Foot, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year, 1646.
 Sir John Gayer was Mayor.
 Thomas Cullam, Simon Edmonds, Sheriffs.

In his three and twentieth year, 1647.
 Sir John Warner was Mayor.
 Samuel Avery, John Bide, Sheriffs.

In his four and twentieth year, 1648.
 Sir Abraham Reynardson was Mayor.
 Thomas Vyner, Richard Brown, Sheriffs.
 Thomas Andrews Mayor, in room of Reynardson
 sent to the Tower.

The first Thirteen Y E A R S
OF THE
R E I G N
O F
King Charles the II.

1648

KING Charles the First being deprived of Life on the Thirtieth of January, One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the manner before-mentioned; his Eldest Son Prince CHARLES, by unquestionable Right succeeded to the Crowns of England, Scotland and Ireland, in the Eighteenth year of his Age. Proclamation and Coronation the usual Ceremonies attending Royal Succession could not now have their due course, nor are they in this Kingdom necessary Circumstances of our Monarchy; for by our Law (which admits of no Interregnum,) the Successor to the Crown has all the Rights thereof from the first moment after the death of his Predecessor. The Ruling part of the House of Commons who usurped the Government with violence on the person of the late King (as hath been related) knew they could not be secure if they rested there; so that immediately thereupon they published an Act even against Kingly Government it self, expressing therein;

An Act
against
proclaim-
ing the
King.

That whereas several pretences might be made to this Crown, and Title to the Kingly Office set on foot, to the apparent hazard of the Publick Peace. Be it Enacted and Ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, that no person whatsoever do presume to Proclaim, Declare, Publish, or any wayes to promote Charles Stuart (Son of the late King CHARLES) commonly called the Prince of WALES, or any other Person to be King, or Chief Magistrate of England or Ireland, or of any Dominions belonging to them, by colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the People in Parliament, first had and signified by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpose, any Law, Statute, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding: and whosoever shall contrary to this Act Proclaim, &c. the said Charles

Stuart shall be deemed and adjudged a Traytor, and suffer accordingly.

1648

Yet this Inhibition did not deter many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty; and on the second of February this year, the following Proclamation was Printed and scattered about the Streets of London.

We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Free-holders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and other Freemen of England, do according to our Allegiance and Covenant by these presents, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and Proclaim the Illustrious CHARLES Prince of WALES, next Heir of the Blood Royal to his Father King CHARLES (whose late wicked and trayterous Murder we do from our Souls abominate, and all Parties and Consenters thereunto) to be by Hereditary Birth-right, and lawful Succession, right-ful, and undoubted King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, and that we will faithfully, constantly, and sincerely in our several Places and Callings defend and maintain his Royal Person, Crown and Dignity with our Estates, Lives, and last drop of our Bloods, against all Opposers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to be Traytors and Enemies to his Majesty and his Kingdoms. In testimony whereof we have caused these to be published and proclaimed throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm, the first day of February, in the first year of His Majesties Reign.

A Procla-
mation
proclaim-
ing Prince
Charles to
be King of
England.

God save King Charles the Second.

Coronation which is the next Solemnity, the exclusion of the King by the malice of his Enemies made impossible at this time to be celebrated. The Army had been before modelled

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suitable

1648 *W* suitable to these Designs of changing the Monarchy of England and Ireland to a Commonwealth (for neither this alteration, nor the death of the late King could have been effected without a Military assistance) which was first discovered when Colonel Pride secluded or terrified from sitting near two hundred of the Members of the Commons House of Parliament, being those who had on the fifth of December before by Vote approved of the late Kings Concessions for a Peace at the Isle of Wight, and those that remained after this violation complied so far with the Army herein, that after a first seeming dislike of their proceedings, they resolved and decreed, never to readmit them, and such others who had given their Negatives to the said Concessions, were likewise Ordered not to sit in Parliament, till they had entred their dissent to them.

Monarchy and the House of Lords declared useless by the Commons. The House of Peers continued yet sitting, and in regard the Commissions of the Judges were determined by the Kings Death, they sent to the Commons for a Conference about that and other matters relating to the settling of the Government, but they without returning an answer, declared the Kingly Office to be unnecessary and burthensome, and that the Lords House was dangerous and useless, and therefore to be laid aside; but that they might not be totally excluded from Government, they declared that they might be capable of Elections into the House of Commons, of which afterward three of them only accepted, namely the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and the Lord Howard of Estrich, but the Peers in general very much resented these indignities put upon them by a small part of the House of Commons, and in a Protestation by them published in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm.

The Protestation of the House of Lords against the proceedings of the Commons. "They asserted their own Priviledges, and the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and disclaimed and protested against all Acts, Votes, Orders or Ordinances of the said Members of the Commons-House, for erecting of new Courts of Justice, to Try or Execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of this Realm, for altering the Government, Laws, Great Seal, Ancient forms of Writs, or legal Process, raising new Forces, and imposing new Taxes, or Oaths, granting Commissions, or making Officers; as likewise against the traitorous Murdering of the late King, and the dis-inheriting of his Son the Prince of Wales, and particularly against that Insolent and Frantick Vote (as they call'd it) of February the sixth, concerning their abolishing the House of Peers as useless and dangerous, all which Acts, Votes, and Orders they declared to be not only illegal, and therefore void, but likewise detestable and destructive to the Rights and Beings of Parliaments, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the People.

This made little Impression upon the Commons, and to prevent the assembling of the Lords, the Army by their appointment or connivance set a Guard upon the Doors of their House; and in further prosecution of their former Votes against Monarchy, they formed and passed *An Act* for

the Exheredation of the Royal Line, the Abolishment of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up of a Commonwealth; which they ordered to be Published and Proclaimed in all parts of the Kingdom.

Alderman Reynolds the then Lord Mayor of London, a person of great Integrity and Loyalty, refused to publish this Act in London, and was therefore discharged from his Office, and with three of the Aldermen that were of his Judgment committed Prisoners to the Tower of London, and one Andrews was by a Common-Hall chosen in his place, who with Pennington, Atkins, Wollaston, Fowk, Edmonds, and Pack, then Aldermen of London, and some others, Proclaimed this exorbitant Act in several places of the City. But this great Alteration so much amused the generality of the People, that the Parliament thought fit to give them some satisfaction, which was endeavoured by a Declaration, to shew the Reasons of their Proceedings; wherein many plausible Pretences were exhibited, the chiefest whereof imported, *A Promise of deliverance from the Bondage introduced by the Norman Conquests, and of maintaining the Ancient Laws* (which they extolled for their Excellency and equality) adding, *That they might well consist with the present Government of a Republique upon some easie alterations of Form only, leaving the substance entire, and reforming the abuses thereof.* They promised likewise, *The establishment of a firm and safe Peace, the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the liberal maintenance of a Godly Ministry; the settling of Treaties and Alliances with foreign Princes and States, the encouragement of Manufactures for the increase and flourishing of Trade, and the maintenance of the Poor in all places of the Land.*

About the time of publishing this Declaration to compleat the Model of their Government, they abolished all the Ancient Forms of Sovereignty, in the Style and Teste of Writs, Commissions, and other publique Instruments, and ordered for the future, all of them to be issued, *In the names of the Keepers of the Liberties of England by Authority of Parliament;* and likewise they caused the Old Great Seal to be broken, and a New one to be made, having on one side a Red Cross and Harp, as the Arms of England and Ireland, with this Inscription, *THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND*, and on the other the Picture of the House of Commons, with these words, *viz. IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM BY GODS BLESSING RESTORED, 1648.* And as another Ensign of their Dominion, they appointed that all the Money which from that time was to be coined, should, instead of the Kings Impression, bear the Cross and Harp, with this Motto, *GOD WITH US.* Those Clauses in the first of Queen Elizabeth, and the third of King James, which enjoyned the taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to the Kings and their Successors, were repealed by them, and a new Oath was framed to be tendered to all that were to be put into place of publick Trust, or made Freemen of Corporations; the Ancient Judicial, and Legislative Power of the King, and both Houses of Parliament, they assumed

1648 *W* An Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government. Alderman Reynolds the then Lord Mayor committed to the Tower. Andrews chosen in his place.

A Declaration for justifying their proceedings.

The Style of publick writings, the Great Seal and the Stamp of Coyn altered.

1648 to themselves; but the Executive part of Government, they committed to a Council of State erected by Act of Parliament, which consisted of forty persons of the Chiefs of the Army, and others of desperate Fortunes of the most active in these Alterations.

A Council
of State
erected.

The Parliament of Scotland did by their Commissioners protest against these Actings in England, and particularly they disclaimed the proceedings against the late King, but the New English States resolutely answer'd,

That they of Scotland were at liberty to act in their own affairs, but were not to limit or impose upon others, with many extravagant expressions to justify their actings; but in the close they invited them to a resemblance with themselves, saying, That if Scotland thought fit to vindicate their own Freedom and Liberty, they should be ready to afford them all neighbourly assistance.

Before this Answer could arrive in Scotland, the Scots had taken other Resolutions; for on the third of February in this year, the King was proclaimed at the Cross at Edinburgh; The Chancellour of Scotland dictating to Lyon King at Arms, the Words of the Proclamation as followeth:

The Pro-
clamation
for pro-
claiming
the King
in Scot-
land.

The Estates of Parliament presently convened in this Second Session of this Second Triennial Parliament, by virtue of an Act of the Committee of Estates, who had Power and Authority from the last Parliament, for convening the Parliament; Considering, that forasmuch as the Kings Majesty, who lately Reigned, is contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of this Kingdom, removed by a violent Death; and that by the Lords Blessing, there is left unto us a Righteous Heir and lawful Successour, Charles Prince of Scotland and Wales, now King of Great Britain, France and Ireland; We the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully in recognition and acknowledgment of his just Right, Title and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, hereby proclaim and declare to all the World, That the said Lord and Prince Charles, is by the Providence of God, and by the lawful Right of undoubted Succession, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, whom all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound humbly and faithfully to obey, maintain and defend, according to the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods, against all deadly Enemies, as their only Righteous Sovereign Lord and King. And because His Majesty is bound by the Law of God, and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to rule in Righteousness and Equity; to the Honour of God, the Good of Religion, and the Wealth of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exercise of his Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to the Kingdom in those things that concern the Security of Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant; for which end we are resolved with all possible expedition, to make our humble and earnest ad-

dresser to his Majesty; for the Testification of all which, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, publish this our Acknowledgement of his just Right, Title and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, at the Market-Cross at Edinburgh, with all usual solemnities in like cases, and ordain his Royal Name, Portrait and Seal to be used in the publick Writings and Judicatories of this Kingdom, and in the Mint-house, as was usually done to his Royal Predecessors; and command this Act to be proclaimed at all the Market-Crosses of the Royal Burghs, and to be Printed that none may pretend Ignorance.

The Scotch Commissioners here, were about this time call'd home, but just at their departure, they sent an Expostulatory Declaration to the sitting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in mind of all their Vows, Oaths, and Protestations for the maintenance of the Kings Person and just Rights; and upbraided to them their shameful abjuration and infringement of them by what they had lately acted.

This was so ill received by the Parliament, that they imprisoned the Messenger that brought it, and voted the Paper scandalous and seditious, and all such Persons Traytors as should joyn with or adhere to the Subscribers; they also sent after the Commissioners, and secured them till a Copy of the Paper was sent into Scotland, to know if the Parliament and Estates there would own the same, upon which a Messenger was sent from Scotland to our States to justify what their Commissioners had done, and to complain of the Imprisonment of them, as a thing contrary to the Law of Nations, and thereupon the Commissioners were released and returned home: but these proceedings on either side increased the distrust and jealousies of each other.

In the Sumtner of this year, several Loyal Persons unsuccessfully in many places attempted by Arms to free the late King from great oppression and imminent danger, under which he then lay, as was shewed in the History of that time; of which number the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Holland and Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen were about the latter end of February, or the beginning of March following, tried and condemned by a high Court of Justice erected for that purpose, (a Copy of that fatal Original made for the destruction of the late King) of which the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel were executed the 9th of March; but the Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were pardoned: The Earl of Norwich upon an equal division of the House of Parliament in a Vote for his life, was saved by the casting Voice of Lenthall the Speaker; but Sir John Owen had on his behalf the suffrage of many more voices than those against him, which was reported to be done at that time in a kind of popular generosity; for that the Noblemen had all great intercession made for them by those of their Allies (in favour with some Grandees in power;) but Sir John Owen a Commoner coming from a remote part had none that interceded on his behalf.

1648

The Scots
Commis-
sioners
send the
Parlia-
ment an
Expostu-
latory de-
claration.

They are
stop'd in
their jour-
ney home
and se-
cur'd. They
are justified
by a Mes-
sage sent
from the
Estates of
Scotland.
They are
released.

Duke Ham-
ilton,
Earl of
Holland,
Lord Ca-
pel, &c.
tried by a
High
Court of
Justice.

The Earl
of Nor-
wich and
Sir John
Owen par-
doned

Duke

1648
The substance of
Duke Hamilton's
Speech
before his
Execution.

Duke Hamilton who first came upon the Scaffold, in his Speech declared his Affection to this Kingdom, and the Reason of his coming into *England* with an Army, that is to say, his being commanded thereunto, by the peremptory Command of the Parliament of his own Countrey, which if he had disobeyed, he had suffered the same penalty he was to suffer here for obeying. He said many things in vindication of himself from the imputation of having been inconstant in his Religion, or false and unfaithful in his Actions towards the King his Master; he seemed also to intimate a readiness to serve them in what they so much desired of him; namely, the discovery of those who were the Inviters of him in, so that his Life might have been spared; with other things which concerned his condition as a dying man.

Of the
Earl of
Holland.

The next that came after him was the Earl of *Holland*, who touch'd upon the Honour of his Family, and the Nobleness of his Education, profess'd his sincere and constant adherence to the true Protestant Religion, justified himself as to the matter for which he was condemned, alledging his defection from the Parliament, not to have been out of any ill design against the State or Kingdom, or any abjuration from his first Principles, which led him faithfully to serve the Parliament, whose service he should not have deserted, had not the changes and alterations among them carried them beyond what was reasonable, or what perhaps they themselves at first intended. He prayed God to bless this Kingdom, and to settle it in the ancient way of Government by the King, Lords, and Commons, and wish'd the present change might not bring confusion upon it, he wish'd that the Kings Posterity might be look't upon, and owned by the People, and re-establish'd in their Native Rights without Blood-shed, that his Blood might be the last that might be spilt, and concluded, as he was Chancellour of *Cambridge*, with his Prayers to God for a blessing upon that Univerlity.

The substance of
the Lord
Capels
Speech.

The last of the three that suffered, was the Lord *Capel*, who having made a very able and substantial defence for himself, both from the ancient Laws and Priviledges of the Nation, and from their own Acts and Consults, (though all in vain) behaved himself at his death, like what he had shewed himself all along to be, in his resolute acting for the Kings service, a person of a high Spirit, and Heroick fortitude, and delivered what he had to say with a fearless and undaunted Deportment, wherein after an ample Account of his Religion, professing his hearty zeal and devotion to the true Protestant Religion, as it was established in the Church of *England*, he took the liberty to urge the unjustness of his Execution, as contrary to the Law of Arms, to Honour, and the word given him at his rendring of himself, against the Justice of the known Laws of the Land, and for no other cause, than his maintaining the fifth Commandment: he exprest much trouble and repentance, for having been one of those that gave their Vote to the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*, and manifested to the world the high opinion, and venerable Remembrance he had of the late Kings transcendent Virtue, Nobleness of Mind, and ability of Parts: Next he prayed hear-

tily for the King that now is, for his happy Restauration, long life, and continued prosperity, recommending to the People the hopes they were to entertain in him of a most accomplished person, and most excellent Prince, from the several years experience he had of the greatness of his Apprehension and Understanding, the Honour of his Nature, and the Generosity of his Inclinations. And so shut up all with what they all three generally consented in, viz. a chearful readiness to forgive his Enemies, and those that had been the occasion of bringing him to that place.

The Blood of these Noblemen did not satiate those that caused the effusion of it; for some others were cut off about the same time for the like offences, though not by the same manner of Tryal, as Lieutenant Colonel *Morrice*, and Colonel *Blackbourn*, who was hanged and quartered at *York* by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer for the surprizing of *Pontfract*; one *Beaumont* a Minister was hanged at *Pontfract*, by Sentence of a Court Marshal; and Major *Monday* was shot to death at *Lancaster* by the like Sentence; Colonel *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, three worthy endeavourers in the Kings service in *Wales*, were also by a Court Marshal sentenced to cast Lots for their Lives, and the fatal chance falling on *Poyer*, he was shot to death in *Covent-Garden*.

Sir *John Stowel*, and Mr. *David Jenkins* (a Judge formerly in *Wales*) had better fortune; for being both arraigned at the Kings Bench Barr as Traytors against the Government, for their Loyalty to the King, though they never owned the Jurisdiction of the Court, the Judges would not give Sentence against them, nevertheless their Estates were seized, and the later of the two was long imprisoned.

The Parliament of *Scotland* had sent two Gentlemen to acquaint the King, being then at the *Hague* in *Holland*, with their proceedings on his behalf, who, after being long at Sea, were beaten back by contrary winds, so that he had no publick notification of what was done there, though he wanted not private advertisement of it: they resolved to invite him to that Kingdom, and were in preparation of Propositions to be sent to him in order thereunto, but they were so much diverted by several disorders in the Countrey, that the progress in them was very slow.

Middleton and *Monroe*, two Major Generals, together with the Lord *Rea*, the *Gordons*, and those of the *Clan* of *Makenzey*, being jealous that the *Covenanters* (for so they called the *Scotch* Parliament) would impose so much upon the King, that he could not with honour and safety yield to them, drew many Forces together in the North of *Scotland*, and seized on the Town of *Inverness* in the Kings name, expecting many others to come in to them, intending so to moderate the Counsels of the Estates at *Edinburgh*, that the King might be admitted to his Government without any previous conditions. This rising in the North was not so privately managed, but the *Scotch* Parliament had advice of it some time before it was put in Execution, and they thereupon made Levies of about 6000 Horse and Foot upon other pretences, so that upon the first alarm, they dispatch'd a good party towards

1648
Several others tried and executed.

Judge *Jenkins* and Sir *J. Stowel* tried at the Kings Bench Bar.

The Messengers sent from the Scots to the King at the *Hague*, are driven back by Storm.

A rising for the King in the North of *Scotland*.

1648 wards them under the Colonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, who marched with so much expedition, that they prevented any considerable conjunction of Forces, and dispersed those that they had got together.

This breach in *Scotland*, and the suppression of it, made the Governours at *Westminster* believe it not unseasonable to make some overtures to the Estates at *Edinburgh*, to tempt them to a breach with the King, with an offer of their utmost assistance against him and all his adherents, but they could not prevail.

The King being now at the *Hague*, had Intelligence from time to time of the Counsels of *Scotland*, and resolved to go into *France*; that from thence he might more easily pass to some part of his own Dominions, to receive their Commissioners: in prosecution of which intentions he left *Holland*, and came to *St. Germans* near *Paris*, where the Queen his Mother then was, and all the way as he passed both through the Cities of the United-Provinces, and the Spanish Netherlands, he was very splendidly entertained. The Duke of *Lorain* met him on the Frontiers of *France*, and at *Campeigne* the King of *France* received him and accompanied him to *Paris*, and from thence to *St. Germanes*, where he staid a few months together with the Duke of *York*, who repaired to him out of *Holland*.

In the midst of this prosperous fortune of the established new Commonwealth, there was so great a disturbance made by a Party in the Army, called Levellers, that if it had not been suppressed, all their Buildings had been tumbled down. For the better understanding whereof we shall shew how this name came to be applied to them, and then briefly set down the disorders that hapned.

They were formed out of those Agitators mentioned in the Reign of the late King, and were termed Levellers upon a pretended Principle which they espoused, to endeavour to obtain such an equal righteous distribution of Justice in Government to all degrees of people, that it should not be in the Power of the highest to oppress their inferiours; nor should the meanest of the people be out of capacity to arrive at the greatest Office and Dignity in the State. This was very pleasing to the Inferiour Officers of the Army and Souldiers, but those that influenced them were a more considerable sort of Persons, who to gain Power and Authority to themselves, found out means by heightning this distemper, to arraign and disgrace the Administration of others, and to be pleased with nothing that was done by the Parliament or the Chiefs of the Army, and now the infection was spread among some of the Superior Rank of Officers, who in a jealousy of the aspiring greatness of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* (though they appeared not openly themselves) spirited the private Souldiers to begin a defection in the Army upon these Levelling principles.

These to countenance their proceedings insinuated, that there appeared a general self-seeking in the Magistrates, and chief Officers of the Army, whereby that Reformation for which they contended, was not thoroughly pursued as it ought, either in Spirituall or Civils. *Cromwell* endeavoured to suppress this in the beginning, and

caused Orders to be issued to forbid their private Meetings; but not succeeding herein, several of the Souldiers were seized on, and tried and condemn'd at a Court Martial, and one *Lockier* a busie Actor in the business was shot to death, and 11 Regiments were immediately by Lot drawn out to be sent into *Ireland*. But this did rather incense than allay the heat; for many of the Souldiers were so practised with, as to be much discontented with their being allotted to the *Irish* Service; alledging, *It was a contrivance to divide them, That they were not Mercenaries, but persons that took Arms upon righteous Principles of Reformation of Government, and that till they saw such a settlement established as might answer the ends of their first Engagements, they would not divide.* And hereupon many Regiments revolted from their Officers and if some Great Ones that seemed to approve their actions, had not betrayed them, the Parliaments Authority then, and the following Greatness of *Cromwell* had been subverted and prevented.

At *Burford* five thousand Horse and Foot of these Dissenters were drawn together, and staid there as they pretended, in order to a Treaty under the Faith of *Cromwell's* word, that no part of the Army should draw nearer to them than the distance of ten miles, whereby they were less vigilant; and in this their security, Colonel *Reynolds* (one accused by them to have discovered their Counsels) fell in upon them with a greater Body than they had, and quickly routed them, taking nine hundred Horse, and four hundred Foot Prisoners, whereof one *Thompson*, and two or three principal Leaders were immediately shot to death, and the rest by *Cromwell's* freeness or mediation pardoned; And after this great preparations were made to be sent into *Ireland*.

But these Commotions gave the Marquess of *The Marquis of Ormond*, and those that acted for the King under his Lieutenantcy in that Kingdom, a fair opportunity of reducing it to the obedience of the Crown, wherein he was so prosperous, that the King had some thoughts of going thither, and a peace was made with the most considerable of the confederate *Irish*; but contrary to their Faith and Promise, the Popes Nuntio by the interpositions of some of the Popish Clergy prevailed with the *Ulster-Irish* under *Owen Roe O'neal* to refuse to come under the Kings Authority.

Nevertheless, the Lord Lieutenant with the conjunction of the several Forces under the Marquis of *Glanrickard* President of *Connaught*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, the Lord *Inchequin* President of *Munster*, the Lord *Moor*, Colonel *Mark Trevor*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, the Lord *Taaf* and General *Preston* had made up a very powerful Army, and had reduced to the Kings Authority all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, except *Dublin* and *London-derry*; and *London-derry* was besieged by Sir *Robert Steward*, and Colonel *Audly Mervin* with a good Brigade, and *Owen Roe* likewise was by Colonel *Trevor* with his Army a little before defeated. The Lord Lieutenant being thus strengthened, determined with the whole or the greatest part of his Army to march before *Dublin*, and came before the middle of *June*, to a Village called *Finglas*, about two

1649 two Miles distant from it on the North-side of the River.

Dublin besieged by the Marquis of Ormond.

Colonel *Michael Jones* was Governour of this City of *Dublin*, a man of Courage, but bred to the Laws; and as he was a person of great Capacity, (by the experience he had gained in the active Wars of *Ireland*) he acquired a very good knowledge and Conduct in matters of War. The Lord Lieutenant attempted by all fair means he could to gain him to a compliance with the Kings affairs, but could not effect it. After a day or two, skirmishes were very frequent between the *Dublin* Horse, and those of the Army; in which those of the City alwayes prevailed, whereby they were much encouraged, and in one of those skirmishes Sir *Walter Dungar* a valiant Commander of the Army was taken prisoner, whilst they lay at *Finglas*: but the Lord Lieutenant perceiving the station of the Army, as it then lay, inconvenient for a close siege, drew it over the River (which was every where fordable above the Bridge) to a place called *Ramines*, and whilst he lay there, it was resolved at a Council of War to raise some Fortifications at a place called *Baggetrath*, near the Colledge of *Dublin* (where there was an old Castle moted) thereby to prevent any relief to the besieged by Sea. This design much alarm'd those in the City, and the Governour was resolved to do what he could to hinder the Fortification, and for that purpose he resolved to give Orders for some Companies to sally out to beat them from the place. The Garrison had been reinforced a little before with a Regiment of Horse under Colonel *Reynolds*, and two Regiments of Foot under the Colonels *Venables* and *Hunks*, and many other parties of Horse and Foot from the Garrisons that surrendered in several parts of the Realm, which additional Forces were to the number in all of Three thousand or thereabouts; besides that, with those from *England*, good store of provisions of all sorts were put into the City, so that the Souldiers were in good heart; the Governour was very private in his design of the sally, which was in this manner perform'd.

The night before he appointed all the Horse and Foot, except such as were employed on the necessary Guards, (which were to the number of 5000.) to be drawn together very early in the morning in the Colledge-Green and Grounds adjacent, within the Works, without sound of Trumpet, or beat of Drum, and with their Colours and Arms trailed; and the Ports were not to be opened till the Forces were all at their Rendezvous, and Centinels were set all along the Line to prevent the going over of any to give intelligence. After all things were thus set in order, about eight in the Morning, the Forlorn-Hope march'd out to *Baggetrath*, consisting of an Hundred Fire-locks, and after these a party of Horse followed, commanded by Colonel *Theophilus Jones* (the Governours Brother) and Major *Meredeth*, and all the rest of the Troops and Companies went after as fast as they could march with Order and convenience. There was a Ditch made cross the High-way betwixt the Town and the Castle to interrupt the passage to it, which was guarded by a party of Souldiers, but these were

presently disperfed by the Forlorn-Hope of Fire-locks, who march'd immediately up to the Castle, and took it by Storm, putting all that were in it to the sword. Encouraged by this success, and some more force being come up, they advanced towards the main Camp, betwixt which and the Castle at *Baggetrath*, they were met with by Sir *William Vaughan* with a party of Horse, who made some considerable resistance (and indeed all that was made;) but he was slain, and all his party routed; and from thence they followed on to the main Camp, which was by this time in so much confusion, that they made no resistance, but were discomfited, notwithstanding that the Forces from *Dublin* march'd only in single Troops and Companies, having not time to draw together in Battalia. My Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to make a stand, but being not able to prevail, he with most of the Horse retreated, and march'd off; some of the Foot that were got within the Walls of *Ramines*, made Conditions for their lives, and had Quarter.

This easie Victory was much admired, but the occasion thereof was said to proceed from the great animosities amongst the *English* and *Irish* in the Lieutenants Army, whereby ensued a manifest carelessness and indifferency amongst many of them; and partly by a consternation amongst the Common Souldiers. Moreover, *Inchiquin* march'd from them, a Fortnight after they came before the place with a great Body of the *English* to secure the Province of *Munster*, where *Cromwell* (lately made Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the Parliament) was designed to land with his Army consisting of seven Regiments of Foot, and four of Horse, and one of Dragoons.

About the time that this happened, or shortly after, in the like manner Sir *Robert Steward* and Colonel *Mervin* were beaten from the siege of *London-Derry*, by a resolute sally out of the Town made by Sir *Charles Coot* the Governour thereof for the Parliament. Upon the News of this good Fortune in *Ireland*, *Cromwell* with his Son-in-law *Ireton*, (next to him in Chief Command of the *Irish* Army) altered their purpose of landing in *Munster*, and with all imaginable haste transported their Forces to *Dublin*, near to which City in a short time after the Victory they landed; and after a little stay to refresh the Souldiers, *Cromwell* marched the Army to the Town of *Drogedah*, which a little after the defeat near *Dublin*, had been strengthened with an addition of Five and twenty hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse, with many stout and resolute Officers, Sir *Arthur Ashton*, heretofore Governour of *Reading* and *Oxford* for the late King, was Governour of the place, a person in whose Courage and Conduct great confidence was plac'd. As soon as *Cromwell* came in sight of the Town, he sent a Summons, which being refused, he immediately began his approaches, and was very active at the Siege, making many furious onsets on the Town, with great loss to his Army; but at last he carried it by storm, and to strike a terror in the other Towns, and the rest of the Forces that held for the King, all that were found in Arms were put to the sword; amongst which the Governour himself

1649

The Siege raised by Jones, with the utter defeat of the Marquises Army.

Cromwell Lieutenant of *Ireland* for the Parliament sent thither with an Army.

The Siege of *London-Derry*, raised by Sir *Charles Coot* sallying out of the Town.

Cromwell takes *Drogedah* by storm, and puts all in it to the sword.

1649 and Sir Edmund Varney, and the Colonels Warren, Tempest, and Finglass, with many other Commanders of note were slain, and though the Orders of Cromwell were limited to such as were in Arms, yet the rage of the Souldiers was so great, that many of the Inhabitants were slain in the heat of the Fight, without respect to either Age, Sex, or Condition.

Ireland subdued to the Parliament.

After the taking of Drogheda, in less than a year, most of the Cities and Towns in Ireland were taken, and that whole Kingdom in a manner subdued to the power of the Commonwealth of England, and the Marquess of Ormond, and all those that opposed their Authority were withdrawn.

The King removes from France to the Isle of Jersey.

The King with the Duke of York about the beginning of September repaired to the Isle of Jersey, where in a few days they safely landed with about three hundred persons in their Retinue. Upon his first arrival he was very solemnly proclaimed King, and after he had settled the Affairs of that Island, he had an eye upon the reducing the Island of Guernsey, which was then under the Parliaments power; but Castle Cornet the chiefest Fort thereof, was under his Authority.

Sir John Berkley & Colonel Slingsbey apprehended in Cornwall.

A very gracious Declaration after several insinuations was sent into the Island, but it proved ineffectual, for Russel the Governour for the English Commonwealth, had got five hundred fresh men into it; and with as bad success Sir John Berkley, Colonel Slingsbey, and some others attempted to raise Forces for the King in the Western parts, from whence Intelligence came to Jersey, that Dartmouth and several other places would be put into their hands, and a part of the Army joyn with them; but the watchfulness of their Adversaries prevented all these designs, and Sir John and the Colonel as they lay privately in Sir Charles Trevannions House in Cornwall, were by a Country Fellow discovered to the Committees of that County, and by their Command apprehended, and sent Prisoners to Truro.

Mr. Windram sent with a Message to the King at Jersey from the Estates of Scotland.

During these transactions, the Committee of Estates of Scotland had been convened at St. Johnstons, and fate some time, where they resolved upon a Message to be sent to Jersey to the King, in preparation to a Treaty to be had at Breda; for they were unwilling (in regard of the distance and hazard of the way) to Treat in that Island; Mr. George Windram of Liberton was on the twenty fifth day of September dispatched with an Express to him on this Errand; but so long was he on his Journey, and the King not advised of his coming, that he became very doubtful of their Counsels in Scotland, and had given the Marquess of Montross a Commission to make some Levies of men to land in that Kingdom, with Orders to draw together his Friends, hoping thereby the Committee of Estates would be induced the sooner, and with more moderation to a Treaty with him.

Mr. Windram landed not at Jersey in many weeks after his departure from Scotland, but when he came thither, the King received him very well. The substance of his Message was:

That the King would be pleased to acknowledge for lawful their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly, which being obtained, they offered to Treat of the means to re-establish Peace and Obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom.

This Overture admitted of great Debate in the Kings Council, for as yet the desperate condition of his Affairs in Ireland, and other Parts was not known to him; some that had no good opinion of the Scots, from their experience of their Dealing with the late King, expected very small fruits of a Treaty with them, and rather advised to rely upon the endeavours of Montross, and the other Confederates; but others reasoned, That these in Scotland now in Power being the most prevalent Party of that Kingdom, and having with them the conjunction of the Kirk (by which the people of Scotland are alwayes much influenced) were more likely to assist him in the obtaining the Crown of England (if he agreed with them) than any others, whose Designs were full of hazard and uncertainty.

The result was, that Mr. Windram should return into Scotland with a Letter to the Committee of Estates, in the words following:

CHARLES R.

We have received your Letters lately presented unto Us by Mr. Windram of Liberton, and We accept graciously all the Expressions of Affection and Fidelity therein contained towards Us, with your tender resentment of Our present Condition, and the just indignation which you profess to have against the execrable Murder of our Father: and we believe that your intentions are as full of Candor towards us, as we are, and always really have been desirous to settle a clear and right intelligence between us and our Subjects of our ancient Kingdom of Scotland, which may be an assured foundation of their happiness and peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the seeds of Animosities and Divisions caused by these late Troubles, and also to re-unite the Hearts and Affections of our Subjects one to another, and of them all to Us their King and lawful Sovereign; to the end that by their obedience to our Royal and Just Authority, we may be put into a condition to maintain them in Peace and Prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty, as it appertains to Us, according to our Charge and Office of a King. And as we have always resolved to contribute whatever is to be done by Us to obtain these good effects, and for the just satisfaction of all our Subjects in this Kingdom, We have now thought fit upon the return of Mr. Windram; to Command and desire you, to send unto us Commissioners sufficiently Authorized, to Treat and agree with us, both in relation to the Interest and Just satisfaction of our Subjects there: as also concerning the aid and assistance, which in reason we may expect from them, to bring and reduce the Murderers of our late most dear Father of happy Memory, to condign punishment, and to recover our just Rights in all our Kingdoms. And we will that they attend Us on the Fifteenth day of the moneth of March, at the Town of Breda, where We intend to be in order thereunto. And in confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you, and to all the World, that We desire to be agreed; We have resolved to address these unto you, under

1649 The substance of Windram's Message to the King.

The Kings Letter to the Committee of Estates in Scotland.

1649 *the Name and Title of a Committee of Estates of our Kingdom of Scotland; and will and expect that you use this Grace no otherwise for any advantage to the prejudice of Us, or Our Affairs, beyond what We have given this Qualification and Title for, namely, only for the Treaty, and in order to it; although We have consideration sufficient, and very important to dissuade, and oblige us to do nothing in this kind antecedently at this time. Also We hope the confidence which We declare, to have in your clear and candid intentions towards Us will furnish you with strong Arguments to form in your selves a mutual confidence in Us, which by the blessing of God Almighty, by your just and prudent moderation, and by that greatest desire that We have to oblige all Our Subjects of that Kingdom, and by the means of the Treaty which We attend and hope for, may be a good foundation of a full and happy peace, and an assured security to this Nation for the time to come, which We assure you is wished of Us with passion, and We shall endeavour by all means in Our power to effect.*

To the same effect also was a Letter to the Committee of the Kirk.

Montrose
solicits
foreign
Princes
to send
the King
Aid.

Montrose in the mean time was very busie, soliciting the King of Denmark, the Queen of Sweden, and other Princes for Money, Arms, and Men to be employed in the Kings service, but yet he was so generous, as to write to the King, To make an Agreement with the Estates of Scotland, so that he might be honourably and with safety restored to his Rights and Dignities, and rather than break off with them, to give consent to have him banished the Kingdom, that so he might receive no prejudice for his consideration.

The King
informs
Montrose
of what
had passed
between
him and
the Estates
in order
to a Treaty.

But the King would by no means yield to his requests herein, declaring that he had found him so faithful all along, and to have performed such eminent Services, both to his Father and to himself, that he could not in Justice or in Honour leave him. And by a Letter which he sent to him on the thirtieth of January, he gave him a full account of the Address to him from Scotland, and the progress made towards the Treaty according to the tenour of his Letters by Windram, wherein he informed him,

That he licensed the Authority of the Committee of Estates for this Treaty onely, and that both for their own proper satisfaction, and to make known to all the World, that he desired to bring back his Subjects to their Duty rather by way of Sweetness and Amity, than by the rigour of Arms (if their obstinacy and the injustice of their Demands should constrain him to recover it by force) adding nevertheless, that he gave him full power to proceed very vigorously in his Enterprizes, not doubting but all his loyal Subjects of Scotland would joyn themselves with him, and by that means those that were otherwise disposed would submit themselves to Reason in the Treaty which he now accepted, or should be forced to it by Arms.

The Parliament
forces the
King to
leave Jersey
and go into
France.

The Parliament of England, not willing to let the King be in quiet in Jersey, sent a considerable part of the English Fleet at Portsmouth, with store of Provision in order to the attacking of that Island, which put the King upon a speedy remove from thence to France; where he resided till the time appointed for the Treaty

at Breda, drew near, and then he repaired thither.

Sir John Windram made all the haste he could to Scotland, and as soon as the Committee of Estates and Assembly of the Kirk, who sat apart, were met, he delivered his Message and Letters to them from the King.

The Committee of Estates upon perusing the Letter, chose out of themselves a sub-Committee of nine Lords and Burgeses, to consider what was most expedient to be done therein, and to present their opinions thereupon to the Committee of Estates, which was done; and thereupon they prepared a state of the Matter, and reported it to the Parliament at their first Meeting, which was in a while after; and the Parliament upon that Report chose a Committee of the Estates to meet with a Committee of the Kirk to consider of all Matters in order to the Treaty, and to nominate Commissioners for it, where after some Consultations, a Report was agreed on to be made by one part to the Committee of Estates, and by the other to the Assembly of the Kirk; and immediately the Commissioners were chosen.

Those for the Estates were the Earls of Cassels and Lothian, and the Lord Burley, and Sir John Windram of Liberton; and those from the Kirk were Mr. John Leviston, Mr. James Wood, and Mr. Broady, who were with all convenient haste dispatched to Breda, where they arrived a day before the King, and the next day after they went to meet him at Berghen op Zoom, and they came thence together to Breda on the sixteenth day of March, where the Commissioners, after two or three days of rest to compose themselves, and receive their Visits from their Friends, were conducted to their first Audience in the Presence-Chamber by my Lord Wentworth, Captain of the Kings Guards, who was sent with the Kings Coach to receive them. The Earl of Cassels addressed himself to the King in the name of the Commissioners of Parliament in a short Speech to this effect.

The Commissioners
to treat
with the
King at
Breda.

"That the Kingdom of Scotland upon his late Message, together with the consideration of all former Overtures with him, have now again sent to him these Propositions, which they humbly tender to his Majesty; not that they have thought to force him to a Compliance, through his Necessity, to his prejudice, or weary him by Importunities; but by making their humble submission, in which their desires, they hope, will appear so reasonable and just, that he will soon condescend unto them, which they humbly beg at his Hands. Assuring him, that by that means he will be most powerfull in the advancing and establishing his Throne; it being the nature of his Loyal Subjects, and all truly Noble Minds to be soonest overcome with such allurements. That in these humble Addresses they did manifest to the World their Loyalty and Constancy to him, neither was it their purpose to flatter, but to be faithful and free; that if he would please to condescend to what was propounded by the Kingdom of Scotland, it would make him happy, and give them some hopes to live at peace, under the shadow of the wings of his Government."

The Earl
of Cassels
Speech to
the King
in behalf
of the
Commissioners
of Parliament.

And

1649
Mr. Levi-
ston's
Speech
for those
of the
Kirk.

And as soon as he had ended, the Commissioners of the Kirk having presented themselves to him, Mr. John Leviston made a Speech, wherein, He prest His Majesty to hearken to the joynt desires of the Estates and Kirk of Scotland, that so he might enjoy the Blessing of God, and be received by his People in comfort and peace to promote the work of the Lord, and make them happy.

After these Speeches, they produced their Commissions, and delivered their Letters, together with the Propositions from the Estates and Kirk of Scotland.

The Propositions were immediately read, which were as followeth:

Proposi-
tions from
the E-
states and
Kirk of
Scotland
to the
King.

1. "That all those who have been and continue excommunicate by the Kirk of Scotland, may be removed from having any access to the Court.

2. "That he would be pleased to declare, that he would by solemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, allow the National Covenant of Scotland, and the solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England and Ireland, and that he would prosecute the ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. "That he would ratify and approve all Acts of Parliament, enjoying the solemn League and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechism in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the general Assembly of the Kirk, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom. And that he would give his Royal Assent to the Acts of Parliament, enjoying the same in the rest of his Dominions; and that he would observe the same in his own Practice and Family, and never make opposition therein, or endeavour any change thereof.

4. "That he would consent and agree, That all matters civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all matters Ecclesiastical, by the ensuing general Assemblies of the Kirk, as was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late Father. After the King had heard them, he demanded whether these Papers they had delivered to him, contained all particulars which they had to propound or desire; whether they had power to recede from any particular proposed, or to be proposed, also if they had any thing to offer for the carrying on of his service against England.

To which they answered, That they had acquainted him with the utmost of their Power and Instructions.

A few days after, the Treaty began, wherein the King found many difficulties in every Article; for though that which related to the prohibiting all whom the Kirk had excommunicated from access to the Court, would deprive him of the service and attendance of the Earl of Montrose, and many other of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, he thought not fit to break with them for that, not doubting when he should

have obtained the Kingdom he might by degrees make them sensible of their mistaken zeal in their acting towards such persons, and win them to a relaxation of their rigour of that injunction; But that which most prest him, was the cause of Religion expressed in the severity of those Propositions which were required of him by solemn Oath under his Hand and Seal to allow the Covenant, and to establish the Presbyterian Government, wherein they insisted so much as to deny him the use of the Liturgie to his own person; The King urged, That there was no reason why he should relinquish the Religion for which his Father had died a Martyr, and that whilst he was willing to permit to his Subjects Liberty of Conscience, it would be very inconsistent with their so earnestly pretended desires of Peace and Agreement, to deny him the same Privilege which he was so ready to give them. That the Covenant by them tendered, is the Subjects Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to swear to himself; so that he thought it sufficient to pass an Act for his People to take it. He likewise offered to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland; provided that he himself might have always three Chaplains with him of his own Election.

During this Treaty, the Earl of Canworth and Mr. Murray arrived at Breda with new instructions to the Commissioners concerning the Militia, which put a further demur to the conclusion of it; and indeed it was said, The King was willing to admit of a little delay in expectation of what he might obtain from the endeavours of the Marquess of Montrose, who was after many discouragements (of which some mention shall be hereafter made) about this time embarked for Scotland, and about the midst of April landed in the Isles of Orkney, accompanied with the Lord Trendrught, the Master of Pitsfodder, Sir John Urry, Henry Graham (his natural Brother,) Colonel Johnson, George Drummond of Ballach, and other persons his Friends and Confederates, with two Ships and a small Frigate of 14 Guns, 1500 Arms, and 500 German Souldiers; Colonel King had promised to come up to him with some Horse from Sweden, but did not do it; Colonel Ogleby, and Colonel Cockrain, who were trusted with certain sums of Money for the raising of men and arms, (the one in Amsterdam, and the other in Poland) fail'd in their duty, and converted the money to their own use; and two of four Ships which he had, (wherein were about 200 German Souldiers, and many Implements of War) were cast away upon the Rocks a little before his landing; but these disasters which might have shaken a great resolution, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity.

The Estates of Scotland had no Forces in any of these Islands, whereby he had a good opportunity to raise men to form a little Army for his landing on the Main: the people were raw and undisciplin'd, much fallen from that Courage for which the ancient Inhabitants of these Isles have been fam'd; but nevertheless, he was forc'd to make as good a shift as he could with them; and whilst he was busied here in his Levies, the Laird of Pluscardy endeavoured to raise two thousand Men for his assistance in the Earl of Seaforth's Territories.

1649

1650

The Earl of Canworth and Mr. Murray arrive at Breda, with further instructions to the Scots Commissioners. Montrose lands with Forces in Scotland.

1649

And now having got together as many Souldiers as he desired of this sort, hee left Colonel *Johnson* and *Henry Graham* to keep *Kirkwall* in *Pomona*, the chief Isle of the *Orcades*, and transplanted all the rest of his men to *Cathnes*, which is the utmost point of Land in the Northwest part of *Scotland*; here he hoped to meet *Pluscardy*, with the two thousand men he promised to raise, but they came not; for the Parliament of *Scotland* was so vigilant, that they sent into most places where they thought he had any correspondence to prevent the getting men together for him; and very suddenly after the News of his arrival was known, an Army of seven thousand Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse was sent to oppose him. The Horse were commanded by *David Lesley*, and the Foot by Major General *Holborn*, of these they sent three hundred in the Van under the command of Colonel *Straughan* consisting of his own Troop, and three Troops more commanded by Colonel *Montgomery*, Colonel *Ker*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket*, and indeed there needed no other Army; for all that *Montrose* was able to do at that time towards the strengthening himself, was little or nothing more than the taking of *Dunbeth-House*, which was soon surrendered to Colonel *Urry* upon demand, the Lord thereof being fled to *Edenburgh*: The Earl of *Sunderland* was a sore *Remora* in his way; for though he had not force enough to encounter the Marquess, yet the power and sway he bore in all those adjacent parts about where *Montrose* had to do, both kept back the Countrey from coming in to him, and hindred several of the Gentry from appearing, who otherwise were inclinable enough to have given their assistance; so that *Straughan* surprising the *Montrosians* with the speed and unexpectedness of his appearance, and finding them much disorder'd and tir'd with seeking to recover a certain Pass, (which they fail'd of obtaining,) improved his advantage, and after some repulse at first, redoubled with such fury upon them, that the unseason'd *Orkney* men immediately yielded themselves, and in a short time (though not without much resolution shewn in their resistance) the *Germans* also. Thus was *Montrose* his vigorous and loyal undertaking for his Sovereigns service, the labour of much time, and carried on with incredible pains, difficulty and danger, dissipated in a moment by a Party far inferior in number, and doubtless no whit superior in skilful and valiant Leaders (not to mention *Montrose*, who was accounted, and worthily, the greatest Captain of his Age:) such was the misfortune of this at least bravely attempted enterprise, occasioned chiefly from the great disadvantage wherein *Montrose* his men were set upon; and their necessities and despair of succours and supplies in a Countrey surrounded with Enemies, or perhaps from a kind of surprisal or pannick fear among the generality of the Common Souldiers, upon an apprehension that *Lesley's* great Army had been come up against them: However it were, so great was the defeat, that of the whole Body of the *Montrosians* who engaged in this Battle, there escaped not above an hundred from being either taken or slain: Among the prisoners were Sir *John Urry*, Major General of *Montrose's* his Army, the Lord *Fendraught*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgetie*, Colonel *Hay* of *Noughton*, Colonel

Montrose
defeat-
ed by
Straughan

Grey, Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, with other considerable Officers: *Montrose* himself made a shift to escape for the present, by quitting his Horse, together with his Belt and his Coat with the Star, and shifting himself into an ordinary *Highlanders* Apparel. In this Fight the Royal Standard was taken, upon which was portraicted the Head of the late King lying a bleeding, and severed from the Body, and this following Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cause, O Lord*. And the Lord *Pisfoder's* Son who was Standard-bearer was slain, Colonel *Straughan* received a shot upon his Belly, but in regard it lighted upon the double of his Belt and Buff-Coat, he had no harm thereby.

So welcome was the News of this Victory to the State and Kirk of *Scotland*, that they bestowed as a reward upon *Straughan* a thousand pounds *Sterling*, and a Chain of Gold: upon Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket* a thousand Mark *Sterling*. But that which crowned this Victory to them with the highest joy and satisfaction, was the getting of *Montrose* his person into their Power: as indeed it was impossible for him to make his escape, so narrowly was he way-laid all the Countrey round, and so strict a search and enquiry was ordered to be sent after him, besides a large reward promised to whomsoever should be his apprehender: yet for the space of three or four dayes he kept himself undiscovered, by wandring up and down in the open Fields with one Associate only in his misery, till being very near famished with hunger, it was his fortune in the end to fall into the hands of the Laird of *Aston*, a person who had formerly adhered to the Marquess, and had been befriended by him, and of whom upon that consideration, he doubtless hoped for the favour of not being discovered by him, if not of assistance towards his concealment: But *Aston*, for fear of what he must have suffered if he had been known to have concealed him, or for want of opportunity, in regard of his Followers that attended him, or setting his thoughts upon the proposed reward (as the regard of gain, for the most part outballances that of friendship) was not to be perswaded or induced by any respect of old Friendship or Relation to suffer him to escape; so that being seized and secured by a strong Guard, (and having in vain supplicated for death by the hands of those that took him) he was presently sent and delivered up to the Custody of *David Lesley*, and by him hurried away with all speed to *Edenburgh*, where he was much insulted over in the several places he came through, onely the people of *Dundee*, (though none more endamaged by his Souldiers in the former War) were very civil to him, furnish'd him with all things necessary, and were so far from insulting, that they very much commiserated his condition: the chief favour he obtained in his journey, was the permission to call in, as he came along, at the house of his Father-in-law, the Earl of *Southesk*, to see two Children of his that were there. At *Leith* he was met by the Magistrates of *Edenburgh* in a kind of fatal pomp; and as it were to welcome him to the satisfaction of their revenge, he had the reproachful Honour, while the rest of the Prisoners went by him on foot, to be mounted on a Cart-horse (for the better advantage of exposing him to the gazing and scorn of the people: till

1649

He is taken
Prisoner.

Brought
to *Edenburgh*.

1650 till he came to the end of the Canon-Gate-Street, where the Executioner in his Livery-Coat, and several other Officers, attended with a Cart, having a high Chair placed in it like a *sella Curulis*, wherein (though he himself the Captive fast bound and bare-headed, while the Executioner had his Bonnet on) he rode as in a Triumphal Chariot, the disgrace which his Enemies intended him, turning to his Honour, by representing the Heroick Magnanimity of his Nature, which could not chuse but triumph in the midst of Captivity. In this manner reproached of many, (as it is usual when men are in adversity) pitied of others, even some of them who were engaged in the general enmity against his designs, whom yet the Majesty of his presence, and the undisturbed patience and constancy wherewith he demeaned himself, melted into a sensibility of the misery of his condition. He was conveyed to the *Tolbooth* the place of his Imprisonment, where the next day being Sunday the nineteenth of May, he received new matter for the tryal of his patience, by the troublesome visits of divers of the Ministry and Parliament, who, while they began to persecute him with their pretended Exhortations, which served but to aggravate the sense of his affliction, he told them, that whereas they thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a Cart, he esteemed it the most Honourable and joyful Cavalcade that ever he made; God having all the while most comfortably manifested his presence to him, and furnished him with resolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whose Cause he suffered. The next day being summoned to appear before the Lords, Barons, and Burgeesses assembled in Parliament, he came into the House apparelled in a very rich suit, thick overlaid with costly Lace, and over it a Scarlet Rocket, and on his Head a Beaver Hat with a very rich Hat-band upon it, with Carnation Silk Stockings, Garters and Roses, with other Habiliments suitable, all which he had caused to be made for him immediately upon his coming to *Edenburgh*, as if he had been going rather about some Festival than Tragical Affair. As soon as he was brought to the Barr of the House, the Lord Chancellour (who according to the custome of that Kingdom is alwayes Speaker) told him first, That he must kneel at the Barr. Whereunto he answered, *My Lord, I shall with all my heart observe any posture you shall appoint me to appear before you in, whereby I may manifest to you, that I freely submit to the Authority of Parliament, and to this present Parliament in a more especial manner, because you have concluded so near a conjunction with his present Majesty my Master in the late Treaty.* Then the Chancellour made a Speech to him, the substance whereof was this.

S I R,

The Lord Chancellours Speech to him. I am commanded to mind you of the last judgement of God befallen you for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might justly provoke God thus to divert your Counsels and Affairs, for having been so eminent an Author and Actor of mischief against this Nation; you abandoned the Covenant, and despised the Oath of God, and did invade your Native Countrey, and with most inbu-

mane and barbarous cruelty did burn and waste divers parts thereof, and have spilt much Blood of his Majesties good Subjects, taking advantage of that time, when the prime Commanders and Forces thereof were employed elsewhere. For these Crimes you were excommunicated by the Church, and fore-faulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet still continued in the highest contempt against God, under that fearful Sentence of Excommunication: and to this day have you remained without the smallest shew of Repentance. And God by his Providence hath now justly brought you hither to receive the Sentence of your Condemnation.

Hereupon Montrose humbly desiring to know of his Lordship, whether it were the Parliaments pleasure that he might be permitted to speak what he had to say for himself, and humbly craving that liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellour, that the Estates in Parliament did give him free liberty to speak what he could say for himself. Then Montrose.

My Lord, said he,

"I am glad that I may have liberty to answer His An^d for my self, though I am here your Prisoner, yet swer.
"my Cause is good, nor is there any breach of
"the Covenant on my part, in which I swore to
"be true to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors.
"Concerning what I have acted in relation to the
"Wars and Affairs of this Kingdom, I had not
"only a general Commission, but particular Orders for what I have done from His Majesty,
"which I was engaged to obey by the said Covenant. And concerning my coming over now,
"I was ascertained that you had professed to comply with his Majesty in the present Affairs, in
"which he hath employed me; and upon that account it was that I have acted. I desire to refer
"my self, and do submit unto this present Parliament, and the Authority thereof, to be my
"Judges in this case, whom I own as a true Parliament by Authority from his Majesty, and I
"shall be content, however it shall please God to
"deal with me. As for my life, if you take it away
"by this Authority, it is well known unto all the
"world, that I regard it not: Death is a Debt
"which all owe, and must once be paid by every
"one: And I shall be willing and much rejoyce
"to go the same way which my Master went before me, and it is the joy of my heart not only
"to do, but also to suffer for him.

Moreover, he added to this effect, "That he
"appeared before them with so much the greater
"respect and reverence, by reason of the agreement he heard they had made with his Majesty,
"that he was never engaged in the League and
"Covenant, and therefore was not justly to be
"condemned for opposing it, since he was sensible of how sad consequence it had proved to
"these distressed Kingdoms, and the welfare of
"his late Majesty, against whom those that rose
"up in Arms in England were plainly assisted
"and upheld by a faction of this Kingdom: that
"as he had never been the occasion of shedding
"Blood but in Battel, and by the necessity of
"War, so he had been ever careful to prevent all
"disorders as much as could be, and to save as
"many lives as possibly lay in his power. That
"what

1650 "whatever he had acted formerly against them
 "to make a diversion of those Forces that were
 "going from thence against his late Majesty, was
 "merely in obedience and zeal to his Majesties
 "service, at whose Command he as readily sub-
 "mitted to lay down his Arms and retreat, as he
 "had before cheerfully taken them up in his Ma-
 "jesties defence. That as for his coming in at
 "that time, it was in order to the accelerating of
 "the Treaty betwixt his present Majesty and
 "them, to the end that his Majesty being not dri-
 "ven to rely wholly upon their assistance, might
 "be enabled to make the better Conditions with
 "them. That since he had done nothing but
 "what became a good Christian, a good Subject,
 "and a good Neighbour, he desired them not
 "to be rash and partial in their Judgement, but to
 "judge him according to the Laws of God, of
 "Nature, of Nations, and of the Land, as they
 "would answer the contrary to the righteous
 "Judge of the World.

After he had been thus examined and tried, he
 was commanded to withdraw; the Parliament
 were not very long debating the matter, ere they
 unanimously resolved to proceed to Sentence of
 Condemnation; which, (he being called in again)
 was denounced against him in this Form.

The Sen-
 tence pro-
 nounced
 against
 him by
 the Parlia-
 ment.

*You are to be carried back to the place from
 whence you came, and from thence you are to morrow,
 being the One and twentieth day of May, 1650. to be
 carried to Edinburgh-Cross, and there to be hanged
 upon a Gallows thirty Foot high, for the space of
 three Hours, and then to be taken down, and your
 Head to be cut off upon the Scaffold, and hanged on
 Edinburgh-Tolbooth, and your Legs and Arms to
 be hanged up in other publick Towns in this Kingdom,
 and your Body to be buried at the place where you shall
 be executed, except the Kirk shall take off your Ex-
 communication, then your Body shall be buried at the
 common place of Burial.*

After the denouncing of the Sentence, at which
 he altered not his countenance, or seemed in the
 least manner to be moved, he was again guarded
 back to Prison, where being again haunted and
 importuned by the Ministers, he expressed how
 much he was beholding to the Parliament for the
 honour they had put upon him; for that he ac-
 counted it a greater honour to have his Head
 stand upon the Prison-Gate for this Quarrel, than
 to have his Picture in the Kings Bed-Chamber;
 and lest his Loyalty should be forgotten, they had
 highly honoured him in designing lasting Monu-
 ments to four of the chiefeſt Cities to bear up his
 Memorial to all Posterity, wishing he had had
 Flesh enough to have sent a piece to every City in
 Christendome to witness his Loyalty to his King
 and Countrey.

He is
 brought
 to Execu-
 tion and
 hanged
 upon a
 Gallows
 30 Foot
 high.

The next day being the One and twentieth day
 of May, the day appointed for his Tragedy, he
 was led forth to his Execution, at which time, so
 winning was his deportment, and his Speeches
 so powerful, that they made a very great impres-
 sion upon the Spirits of the people, inſomuch
 as some who observed the passages of his Death,
 were of opinion, That he had drawn away more

more from the Kirk-party by his manner of dy-
 ing, than he could have vanquished in the Field by
 force of Arms.

Upon the Scaffold he delivered his mind to the
 people in this following Speech:

"I am sorry if this manner of my Death be His
 "scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not Speech.
 "often happen to the Righteous according to the
 "wayes of the Wicked, and to the Wicked ac-
 "cording to the ways of the Righteous? doth not
 "sometimes a just Man perish in his righte-
 "ousness, and a wicked Man prosper in his malice?
 "they who know me, should not disesteem me
 "for this; many greater than I have been dealt
 "with in this kind, yet I must not say, but that
 "all Gods Judgements are just; for my private
 "sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God, I
 "submit my self to him; but in regard of man, I
 "may say they are but Instruments: God forgive
 "them, I forgive them; they have oppressed the
 "Poor, and violently perverted Judgement and
 "Justice; but he that is higher than they, will
 "reward them. What I did in this Kingdom,
 "was in obedience to the most just Commands of
 "my Sovereign, for his defence in the day of his
 "distress against those that rose up against him.
 "I acknowledge nothing, but fear God, and ho-
 "nour the King, according to the Commandments
 "of God, and the Law of Nature and Nations;
 "and I have not sinned against Man, but against
 "God, and with him there is mercy, which is
 "the ground of my drawing near to him. It is
 "objected against me by many, even good peo-
 "ple, that I am under the Censure of the Church,
 "this is not my fault, since it is onely for doing
 "my duty, by obeying my Princes most just com-
 "mands, for Religion, his Person and Authority:
 "yet am I sorry they did excommunicate me,
 "and in that which is according to Gods Laws,
 "without wronging my Conscience or allegiance,
 "I desire to be relaxed; if they will not, I ap-
 "peal to God, who is the Righteous Judge of the
 "World, and who must and will, I hope be my
 "Judge and Saviour. It is spoken of me, that I
 "should blame the King, God forbid; for the
 "late King, he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr;
 "I pray God I may so end as he did: If ever I
 "should wish my Soul in another mans stead, it
 "should be in his. For His Majesty now living,
 "never people, I believe, might be more happy in
 "a King; his commands to me were most just,
 "in nothing that he promiseth will he fail, he
 "dealeth justly with all men, I pray God he be so
 "dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under trust
 "as his Father was. I desire not to be mistaken,
 "as if my carriage to you at this time, in relation
 "to your ways were stubborn; I do but follow
 "the light of my own Conscience, which is se-
 "conded by the working of the good Spirit of
 "God that is within me. I thank him, I go
 "to Heavens Throne with joy, if he enable me
 "against the fear of death, and furnish me with
 "courage and confidence to embrace it, even in
 "its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my
 "end, though it were in my condemnation; yet
 "I say not this out of any fear or distrust, but out
 "of my duty to God, and love to his People. I
 "have no more to say, but that I desire your cha-
 rity

1650

"rity and prayers, I shall pray for you all, I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my Prince, my Good will to my Friends, and my Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly I have exonerated my Conscience.

Having concluded his Speech, and afterwards with closed eyes and lifted up hands spent a good while in private, *In pouring forth his Soul to God, and recommending his Spirit into his Hands, who was pleased (as he said) to give him a full assurance of his Mercy in Jesus Christ.* He received from the Executioner a certain Cord, by which hung his Declaration and History to hang about his neck; affirming, *That he thought not himself more honoured by the Garter, which honourable Order his present Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him, than by that Cord and Book, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much Joy and content as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold, adding, that if they had any more Dishonour (as they conceived it) to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* And then presently with a chearful resignation, submitted himself to the Execution of the Sentence:

Thus was this famous, but unfortunate man, sacrificed to the revenge of his Enemies after a most shameful and despicable manner, even at that very time when they were treating with the King, whom they knew full well to have a very great regard and affection for him. Together with *Montrose*, though not in so disgraceful a way, were executed Sir *John Urry*, and Colonel *Spotswood* Laird of *Darey*, (who had both the Favour to be beheaded) with some others of Note that came with the Marquess into *Scotland*.

The Treaty was now near a conclusion; for whatever the Kings just resentments were, his Council perswaded him to comply and accord with the Kirk in the exigence of his present condition: and as for the Militia, he offered to confirm it in the Hands of the Estates for five years: but whilst matters were in this nearness of composition, news was brought of the defeat and execution of *Montrose*, which much surprised the King, considering the time of doing it; and though he omitted not in an express by Mr. *Murray* to manifest his great dislike of the Action; (for he was much afflicted at it) yet he was prevail'd on with much regret not to urge it so far as to a rupture; He told them in his Letter,

The Kings Letter to the Scots about their severe proceedings against Montrose and others

"That he was very sorrowful and grieved to hear a report which came to him by credible Persons, that notwithstanding those hopeful overtures lately made between him and them, tending to their Peace: Yet that there hath been some Blood shed of his good Subjects of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the manner and result thereof according to the report he had heard of it did very much trouble him; but that he might know the particulars more certainly, he desired to understand the business fully from themselves, of whom he required an account.

A while after, the Treaty being ended to the satisfaction of the Estates, They sent a solemn

Message to invite him to *Scotland*, and in answer to what he writ about *Montrose*, they besought him *Not to stumble at it, assuring him that there was nothing in what they did, but to accomplish his ends, and to serve his Interests to the best Advantage.* They likewise requested him, *To make all possible speed in coming to them, protesting they would with their Lives and Fortunes assist to establish him in the Throne of his Kingdoms.*

The rigorous Prosecution of *Montrose* in that violent manner, was chiefly from the instigation of the Kirk, who at that time had great Authority, and did so much influence the People, that it was almost impossible to appease the storm they raised against him. He had been excommunicated long before, and in that Church, Excommunication is so terrible, that few will have any manner of conversation with a person excommunicated; and the generality of the people, when they see a man whom their Ministers declare to be excluded from Heaven, are easily induced to think him unworthy to live on Earth. Many, if not the greater part of those that pursued his life, were earnest for the admission of the King, but so much did their Zeal exceed their Discretion, and so strongly were they intoxicated with the Covenant, and seduced by the Inventors and Assertors of it, that they believed neither their Laws nor Religion in safety whilst he lived.

The King upon the Message sent to him, prepared for his journey to *Scotland*, and about the beginning of *June* took Shipping at *Scheveline* in *Holland*, and after a happy evasion of double danger that threatned him in his Voyage, one from a sudden storm which arose and cast him upon certain *Danish* Islands, (yet without any loss or shipwreck, but on the other side much respect and civil usage from the Inhabitants;) the other from a Fleet of Parliament-Vessels, which were sent out under *Popham* to intercept his passage, he landed safe at a place called the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*. The Estates and Parliament of *Scotland* in the mean time employed their consultations about the forming of an Army for the service of the King, as they pretended, and an Act was published for the rating of every fourth man through the Kingdom, who was capable to bear Arms: The Earl of *Leven* was made General of the Foot, and *Holborn* Major General, *David Lesley* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Montgomery* Major General. the supreme command of the whole Army being reserved for the King himself, whom at his first Arrival they entertained with high Complements, and much Acclamation, and seemed to congratulate his coming with great demonstrations of joy and affection: and on the fifteenth of *July* they again solemnly proclaim'd him King at *Edinburgh Cross*, and had design'd (had not certain obstacles come in the way) to have crowned him the following Month: but he had not been long among them, ere they began to discover their native Rigour, imperiously to take upon them according to their usual manner of Kirk-Authority and Discipline, and to obtrude upon the King such curbing conditions, as but very ill suited with Regal Dignity.

1650

The Treaty concluded
A Message of the
Kings to invite the
King with their Answer
to the Kings Letter.

The King lands at the Spey in the North of Scotland.

He is proclaimed King at Edinburgh Cross.

And

1650

And not long after when the City of *Aberdeen* presented him with Five hundred pounds *Sterling*, the Committee of Estates seemed displeased thereat; and lest other Cities and Towns should in the like manner testify their Duties to him, they declared, *That what Money or Plate any had a purpose to bestow on the King, should be brought into the Publick Treasury*; and in conformity to this dealing towards him, they proceeded to reform (as they called it) his Retinue, interdicting all whom they styled Malignants (which were most of his faithfullest Servants) from all employment both about his person and in the Army.

The Commonwealth of England send an Army against Scotland

The Commonwealth of *England* had sufficient Intelligence from the beginning of all these Occurrences, and of the Engagement of the *Scots* to establish the King in the Thrones of all his Dominions, and that they might not be surprized by them, they drew many Troops and Regiments together, and formed an Army which they sent to the Borders of *Scotland*.

Cromwell is made General of the Parliaments Forces in stead of Fairfax.

The Scots raise an Army.

Fairfax, who was to command this Army, refused to accept the charge, notwithstanding that they offered him a Commission with larger power than that by which he had formerly commanded their Armies, excusing his refusal by reason of great indisposition of health occasioned by his wounds and other incommodities of the late War. Upon this, *Cromwell*, who was newly returned from *Ireland* (where he had been very victorious) had the Chief Command of the Army conferred upon him, which he (after some little formal shew of denial) accepted of, and about the later end of *June* he marched towards *Berwick* in order to his advance into *Scotland*. The *Scots* whilst this preparation was making, sent many expostulatory Letters to Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* then at *Newcastle*, urging the breach of *Covenant* and the *Union* between the two Nations, which availed nothing; yet they did not neglect the raising an Army for their defence, for matters were at this time grown to a greater height than to be decided by the Pen.

Cromwell upon repair to the Borders, published a Declaration in the name of the Parliament of *England* to justify their proceedings in this manner towards the *Scots*, and to reproach a perverted part of them for that breach of the *Union* betwixt the two Nations, which they imputed to the English, (for they would not lay the blame of their imputations on the whole Nation) but so great was the affection of the generality of the people of *Scotland* towards the King, that this Declaration made little impression on them, though some privately kept intelligence with *Cromwell*, to the ruine of themselves and their Countrey.

About the end of *July* the English Army to the number of sixteen thousand effective, Officers and Souldiers, marched into *Scotland*, and came after little resistance (in the defence of some Passes) to *Mordington*; most of the *Scots* who inhabited the Borders had left their habitations, which put the Army into more streights for subsistence than they expected, but a Fleet of English Ships waited on their motions on the coasts of *Scotland*, yet *Cromwell* pretending to commiserate the condition of

the Scotch people, set forth a Declaration, promising Protection of their persons and goods to all that would return to their Dwellings, with a strict prohibition on pain of death to any of the Souldiers to molest or do them any harm, or take from them any Victuals or other necessities without full recompance in money for the same.

From *Mordington* the English Army marched to *Haddington*, and the Scotch Army lay encamped betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, consisting of six thousand Horse and Dragoons, and fifteen thousand Foot; *Cromwell* marched from *Haddington*, and came in view of the Scotch Army, where he observed them to be too strongly entrenched to be forced, and after he had fac'd them a day and a night without being able to draw them from their entrenchments, he marched away towards *Musleburgh*: The *Scots* upon this retreat drew out all their Horse, and fell into the Rear of the English Army, which was commanded by *Lambert*, and made so brisk a Charge, that *Lambert* himself was wounded, and like to have been taken Prisoner, but *Cromwell* came to his relief, and drove them back to their Camp, not without some loss. The next day betwixt three and four in the morning fifteen Coronets of the Scotch Horse commanded by Major General *Montgomery* and Col. *Straughan*, came out of their Line with design to beat up the Quarters of the English about *Musleburgh*, they surprized the out-Guards, and routed the first Regiment that appeared to oppose them, and advanced to another Body, which was drawn together to succour the others; but there they met with so great resistance, that *Montgomery* was wounded, and the whole Party put to great disorder and confusion, and pursued to their Army, and the Camp had been in danger of surprisal, had not the King himself (appearing unexpectedly amongst them) opposed the hazard of his Person, and the Authority of his Name against their precipitated flight. Of the *Scots* in this Engagement seventy four were taken Prisoners and many slain, and *Straughan* himself was once taken, but got off again.

1650

The Scots routed at Musleburgh.

The pretended Parliament at *Westminster* were no less active there than *Cromwell* was in *Scotland* to carry on the designs and interest of the Republicque, proceeding with all imaginable rigour against all persons that they could discover in any manner acting against their tyrannous Usurpation. And about this time one Doctor *Levens*, a Doctor of the Civil Law being apprehended with some Commissions of the Kings, which he had intention to disperse for his Service, was therefore arraigned at a Court-Marshal, and condemned and executed by hanging by the neck till he died, on the thirteenth day of *July*, over against the *Royal Exchange* in *London*.

Dr. Levens hanged over against the Royal Exchange for his Loyalty.

But in further manifestation of their Impiety, they were not contented to have inhumanely murdered the King, and seized on, and disposed of all his Goods and Revenues, but they insulted over those Statues which his Vertues had caused to be set up in the *Royal Exchange*, and the West end of *St. Pauls Church*; the first of these they ridiculously (in imitation of their barbarous cruelty) decollated, and Ordered it to be taken out of the Nich, and under the Basis thereof these words

The Kings Statues destroyed by Order of Parliament.

1650 words were written, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, Annoque Domini 1648.* which remained many years a testimony of their guilt, and a memorial to strangers of their bold-fac'd Treason, which gave not only Truth, but even Time it self the lye: for never was there such a thing as the first year of the peoples Liberty under their Anarchical Usurpation. The other Statue of the King being thrown from the place where it stood, fell upon its feet, which was then taken by many as a presage that his glorious Memory, Fame, and Posterity should recover and continue, maugre all the designs and contrivements of his and their implacable Enemies.

In Ireland the Kings affairs prospered very ill, insomuch that in five or six weeks time the Parliamentarians had taken *Waterford, Duncannon, Caterloe and Charlemont*, and had great hopes of a plenary Conquest of that Country.

The Battle at Dunbar.

The Scotch and English Armies lying near one another without Engagement (because of the advantageous posture in which the Scots Troops were placed, having a great Hill for their security on one side, and a River and the City of *Edinburgh* on the other) *Cromwell's* Army began to be distressed by scarcity of provisions, which made him retreat to *Pentland Hills*, and thence with some difficulty (by reason of bad weather) to *Musleburgh* to be near the Sea to have supply of Victuals from the English Fleet that attended him: and after a few days stay there, he marched to *Dunbar* on Sunday the first of *September* with intention to ship his Foot much wearied by sickness and long marches, and march away with his Horse into *England*; but the Scotch having intelligence thereof, pressed so hard upon him with their Army that he could not effect his purpose; and the same day at night that he arrived at *Dunbar*, the Scots being close at his Heels, drew up their whole Army (consisting of between twenty and four and twenty thousand men) upon a high Hill, within a mile of the Town; the English exceeding not the number of twelve thousand, drew out in Battalia in a Corn-field near adjoining, having a neck of Land to encamp on, whose breadth was not a mile and a half from Sea to Sea. The next morning being the second of *September*, early in the morning *David Lesly* Lieutenant General of the Scotch Army drew down his men to the Foot of the Hill, and about four in the afternoon his Train of Artillery followed to the side of a great Ditch, which divided the two Armies. The English that Evening ranged themselves close to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces in the most useful manner they could, to be ready to secure their Regiments, and annoy the Enemy if they should assail them in the night, and finding the Pass at *Copperspeth* between *Dunbar* and *Berwick* very necessary to them both for the security of their march homeward, and their more easie advance to the Scotch. On *Tuesday* at four in the morning they attempted with three Regiments of Horse and two of Foot to possess themselves thereof; this gave the Scots an hot Alarm, and a fierce dispute hapned, so that both Armies became engaged. The English word was *The Lord of Hosts*; theirs, *The Covenant*.

The Scotch Right Wing of Horse which were

most of them Launceers, made a very bold charge and put the English Horse to a little confusion, but they immediately rallied, and were so seconded by their foot, that by six in the morning the Right Wing of the Scotch Horse was routed, and the left without striking a stroke ran away, and the Foot seeing this rout and flight of their horse, and not able in any order by reason thereof to engage (without any resistance) threw down their Arms and fled, giving the English the full pursuit of them eight miles beyond *Haddington*. The Scots were so presumptuous the day before as to send to *Edinburgh* to assure their friends of a certain Victory over the English, and it was reported that some of the Ministers declared it in their Sermons as the mind of God to have them delivered up into their hands; but in the midst of this confidence they found themselves miserably frustrated, and their despairing and despised Enemy a Conqueror. The number of the Scotch slain in this Battel were reckoned to be four thousand, and nine thousand were taken Prisoners with all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, and ten thousand Arms. The Officers and Prisoners of most note were *Sir James Lumsdale*, next Commander in Quality to *David Lesly*, the Laird of *Liberton*, Adjutant General *Bicherton*, Scout-Master-General *Campbel*, *Sir William Douglas*, and Colonel *Gordon*, twelve Lieutenant-Colonels, six Majors, forty two Captains, seventy five Lieutenants, seventeen Cornets, two Quarter-masters, an hundred and ten Ensign-bearers, and two hundred Horse and Foot colours, with seven and twenty great Guns; and all this obtained with the loss of not above three hundred English Souldiers, and one Officer (Major *Rookesby*) who survived the Battel, but died afterwards of his wounds.

The Scots after this days loss quitted *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, whereof the next day *Cromwell* took possession, and the King retired to *St. Johnston*, where the Committee of Estates were assembled. The defeat of the Scotch Army produced not those effects as the King expected upon the Ruling part of the Nobility and Clergy of the Kingdom; for instead of enlarging their interest, by taking into their conjunction those whose help they had before rejected for their affection to their King, they ascribed the overthrow of the Army to the admitting of him into *Scotland* before he had given full satisfaction to the Kirk in what they required of him; and in prosecution of these Counsels, they began very much to impose upon him, and remove from his person the most faithful and Loyal of his servants.

The King could not brook this insolent carriage toward him, and therefore resolved at any hazard to free himself from the trouble of it, and by advice of some few of his best and most trusty friends, he took Horse one morning, with three of them in his company, pretending to ride out a little way a Hawking, and rode directly to the Lord *Dedups* house near *Dundee*, where he was receiv'd by some of his Loyal Subjects and Servants, with whom he kept intelligence, and from hence he intended to have gone further North, where he heard the Marquess of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Arbuthnot* and *Seaforth*, and the Lord *Ogleby* and *New-*

1650

The Scots Army defeated by Cromwell

The King departs from St. Johnston in discontent.

The King departs from St. Johnston in discontent.

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1650 Newburgh, and Major General Middleton, with the Gordons and the men of Atholl, were ready to appear for him with no contemptible force, but he staid till by an express sent to them he should be inform'd of the certainty of their condition.

This secret and sudden departure of the King did much perplex the Committee of Estates, who were very apprehensive of the consequence of his joyning with the Gordons and the Atholl men, and hearing he was gone to the Lord Deddys House, they resolved to send Major General Montgomery with a party of Horse to perswade his return to them (many of the Chiefs of the Noblemen and Ministers being by this time sensible that these breaches and divisions would but give the English (then in the bowels of their Country) greater advantage against them, and that nothing could save the whole from ruine, but a general uniting of all parties under the King against the common Enemy.) Montgomery arriving at the House, sent in to the King to acquaint him that he came thither by order of the Committee of Estates, humbly to entreat him to come back to St. Johnstons, and being admitted to his presence, he fell at his feet, beseeching him to forget what ever had been hitherto committed derogatory to his Royal Authority, assuring him that he should hereafter be observed with all imaginable duty and respect. The King having heard this Message, considered with his friends what to do thereupon, and though he could not easily forget the impositions and restraints he had so lately endured, being persuaded by their advice, that his return might be a means to unite all interests to him; and being assured by Montgomery of the reality of those at St. Johnstons to his service, he condescended to return with him thither, to the general joy of the moderate of all parties as well Covenanters as Royalists; yet he wanted not at the same time an assurance from the Gordons and the rest in the North, to secure him against the Kirk and all their adherents that should oppose his Authority.

A grand Convention held at St. Johnstons.

Divers of the Royal Nobility received into the favour of this Assembly.

The Committee of Estates were much more compliant with the King at his return than before, and having summoned a general meeting to be held at St. Johnstons consisting of the King, Lords, Barons and Burgeses, to consult for the good of the Kirk, King and Kingdom; together with the Commissioners of the Kirk then at Sterlin to adjourn their sitting thither; They applied themselves to compose all differences amongst dissenters, of which the most formidable were, Huntly, Middleton, and those in the North; but after a while, by the prudence of this assembly, and the good advice of the moderate Clergy, all was concluded; and the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquess of Huntly, and the Earls of Lythgow, Lauderdale, Calendar, and Craford, Lyndsey, and the Lords Buchan, Deddys, and Middleton of the Scots, with many other were received into favour and promise of employment in the Army; and of the English, The Earl of Cleveland, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Wilmot, and some few other Royalists were continued about the King; for before, none of that Nation but the Duke of

Buckingham, Massey, Graves and Titus, were permitted near his Person.

Whilst these matters were agitated betwixt the King and the Committee of Estates at St. Johnstons, Cromwell was not idle, he had begun to fortifie Leith, and laid a close siege to Edinburgh Castle, and on the fourteenth of September he marched to Luthgow, and from thence to Falkirk within a mile of Sterlin, (near which place the main of the Kings Army lay) and sent a summons to the Town, but was resolutely denied by the Governor, and he returned back to Luthgow, where General Deane came to him from England with recruits of men and supplies of all sorts of provisions: But since he could not effect any thing against Sterlin, he resolved to try what might be done in the West of Scotland, and in October he marched to Glasgow, upon intelligence that Major General Montgomery was ordered by the King to march into those parts, to secure that County which was then wavering in their allegiance. In this expedition he hoped to prevail very much either by subduing Ker and Straughan (who lay in those parts) to his power, or gaining them to his party; which was a design he had long before projected, and so far by his insinuations proceeded in it, that Mr. John Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespy, and Mr. Rutherford Ministers, with many others of that order withdrew from the Assembly at St. Johnstons, and in print remonstrated in the name of themselves and the Western Churches against the present proceedings, and the admission of Malignants (such they call'd the Kings best Subjects) to power and employment; And with these Ker, Straughan, the Laird of Warreston, Sir John Chiesly, and Sir James Stuart, and others confederated.

The dissatisfied Ministers remonstrate against the proceedings of the Estates at St. Johnstons.

The Estates and Commissioners of the Kirk at St. Johnstons resented much this Remonstrance and the defection of the Ministers, but no means they could then use was of force to reconcile them; insomuch, that the division of publick Resolutioners and Remonstrators (for by those names they were distinguished) continued in that Kingdom with much animosity till the year 1660. that the King was restored to the full exercise of his Authority, though the cause thereof (which was the joyning all interest to oppose the invasion of a foreign Army) had long ceased, but by that occasion Cromwells Conquest was made very easie, and his fomenting that rent in their Church, made their subjection to his authority more lasting than otherwise it would have been.

The King was desirous to compose this disorder, or at least to prevent the dividing so great a force as was under Ker and Straughan from his service; and to that end, the Earl of Cassels and the Lord Broody, and Mr. Robert Douglass the Minister, were sent to treat with them; but they were somewhat averse to a composure, yet they declared against any conjunction with Cromwell, professing equally against Malignants and Sectaries: nevertheless, Ker upon information that Straughan held intelligence with Cromwell, was at length so far induced to comply, that he took him

1650 him Prisoner, and sent him to *Dunbarton Castle*, from whence he was afterwards removed to *Cathness*; but after a while by the negligence or connivence of his Keepers he escaped to *Edinburgh* to the English.

Col. Ker
defeated,
and taken
Prisoner
by Major
General
Lambert.

Cromwell, whilst he was at *Glasgow*, had intelligence that the Kings Army intended to relieve *Edinburgh Castle*, which made him return thither, and leave Major Gen. *Lambert* with a good Brigade to make impression in the Western parts. He after some inquiry discovered a Ford over *Hamilton River*, over which on the last of *November* he marched his Souldiers; *Ker* had intelligence of this, and at a Town of that name, he resolutely fell into *Lambert's* quarters, but the English Horse had so soon the alarm, that they drew together, and so well received his Charge, that a hundred of the Scots were kill'd, and the rest routed and pursued as far as *Ayr*; and *Ker* himself (having his right hand almost cut off) was taken Prisoner.

Lambert left Colonel *Whally* with some Troops at *Ayr*, to command in those Western parts, and return'd himself to the gross of the Army.

The rising in *Norfolk* for the King suppressed. In *England* some attempts were made for the Kings service, but without success, and particularly in *Norfolk*; many Gentlemen and others were drawn together, but before they could be form'd into Troops, they were surpris'd and suppressed by two Troops from *Lyn*, and some Forces of the Militia of the County joyned with them, and twenty of them being afterward found guilty by an illegal High Court of Justice, were sentenced to death, and executed thereupon.

Edinburgh Castle had been besieged some months with little loss on either side, and *Derbyshire Miners* were brought out of *England* to undermine it, who carried on the Work sixty foot, but the Rock was so hard they could work no further.

Edinburgh Castle surrendered to *Cromwell*. The Governour was one *Dundas*, a Son-in-Law of old *Leven*, who was so practis'd on by *Cromwell*, that he surrendred the Castle on the 24th of *December* upon the ensuing conditions:

1. The Castle be surrendred to *Cromwell* with all the Ordnance, Arms, Magazine and Furniture of War.

2. The Governour and all the Officers and Souldiers to march out with Colours displayed; Drum beating, Match lighted, and Bullet in Mouth, and to be conveyed to what place they should desire, and every Souldier to have what Baggage he could carry.

3. The Publick Moveables, Records, Writs and Evidences to be removed to *Sterlin*, or to *Fife*.

4. Proclamation to be made, that all that had Goods in the Castle, might come or send to own and receive them.

5. All sick or wounded Officers and Souldiers to have liberty to stay in *Edinburgh*.

6. Horses and Waggon or other Carriage to be provided for the Governour and the Officers for their convenience of Travel.

7. Hostages to be given mutually for the performances of the Conditions.

The King and the Committee of Estates were much troubled at the News of this loss, and the more, because thereby they perceived, that what the force of their Enemies could not gain from them, their own divisions, and the perfidious treachery of false Friends would deprive them of. There were found in the Castle five French Cannon, nine Dutch Demi-Cannon, two Culverins, two Demi-Culverins, two Minions, two Faucons, eight and twenty brass Drakes, two Petards, eight thousand Arms, near eighty Barrels of Powder, and a proportionable store of Cannon-shot, with good store of Oatmeal, Butter, fresh Water, Beef and Pork.

The Master-gunner reported, that when the Guns were drawing to the Batteries, he had so planted his Pieces, that those of the Enemy could not have been planted but with great loss of men in the action; but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden so to do by the Governour, on pain of death.

Abernethy his Confident went often out of the Castle, on pretence to get intelligence, but the business was to make a bargain with *Cromwell* for the Castle, and when it was surrendred, he staid at *Edinburgh*, and was ever after a promoter of the Designs of the English for the Conquest and enslaving of his Native Countrey.

After the loss of *Edinburgh Castle*, all the Forts on this side of *Sterlin* were taken by the English, so that those of the Scots that were loyal to the King, applied themselves with all diligence to raise what Forces they could to complete an Army; and that his Authority might have the greater strength and reverence of the People, they immediately proceeded to his Coronation; which was on the first of *January* solemnized at *Scoon*, a few miles distant from *St. Johnstons* (the accustomed place for Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*); the King being the forty eighth Monarch of that Kingdom there crowned.

The King
solemnly
crowned
at *Scoon*.

It was celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bonfires, shooting off of Guns, and with as much pomp and ceremony as the present state of things would permit. The Nobility, Barons and Burgeses went from *St. Johnstons* to *Scoon* in their Robes, bringing thither with them the Crown, Sword, and Scepter; (the whole Scotch Army, which stood all the way as a Guard between those two places, making a Lane for them as they went along. In the Presence-Chamber, (where the Lord of *Angus* attended as Lord Chamberlain for that day,) was plac'd a Chair of State, where the King sat with all his Lords and Attendants about him: after a low obeysance made to him by all the Company, the Marquess of *Argyle* made a Speech.

1650

Wherein he declared the Affections of the Parliament, Assembly, and People to him, and of their hopes of good from him, to make them happy, in bringing England and all their Enemies in subjection to him and them. Moreover he added, That the Parliament of Scotland were come to present His Majesty with the Crown, Sword and Scepter.

Then he was attended by all his Train marching in Order before him to the Kirk of *Scoon*, where in the midst of a large Stage of Four and twenty Foot square, a plat-form was erected with an ascent of two Steps, and on the top thereof a Chair of State was plac'd for the King to sit on; the Canopy of Crimson-Velvet, under which the King went, was supported by the Lords *Drummond*, *Carnegie*, *Ramsay*, *Johnston*, *Brechin* and *Yester*; his Train by four other Earls Sons, the Lord *Ereskin*, *Montgomery*, *Newbottle*, *Machlene*; the Supporters of the Canopy being likewise supported by six others, the Sons of Noblemen. On the Kings right hand went the Lord Great Constable; on his left, the Lord Great Marshal: the Honours were carried before him by the chiefest of the Nobility in this order: Immediately before him went the Earl of *Argyle* carrying the Crown, next before him the Scepter was carried by the Earl of *Craford Lindsey*, the Sword by the Earl of *Roths*, the Spurs by the Earl of *Eglinton*. As soon as they were entred into the Kirk, and the King seated in his Throne, he took the usual Oath which his Predecessors the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to take at their Coronation. One of each of the Three Estates of *Scotland*, namely, the Marquess of *Argyle* (as being of the Nobles) one Baron, and one Burgeis holding the Crown among them; then they delivered it to three Ministers of the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, who were appointed by the Estates in Parliament to present it unto them. At the presentation of the Crown to the King by the three Ministers, one of them made his Address in this form:

S I R,

I do present unto you, King Charles, the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.

Then turning his Face towards the People, he said,

Are you willing to have Him for your King, and to become subject to Him?

Whereupon the King turning himself to them, the People cried out with a loud Voice, *God save King Charles the Second*. Then after he had been annointed by the three Ministers with the Regal Unction, the Crown was set upon his Head by the Marquess of *Argyle*, the Scepter was also given into his Hand by the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the Sword carried before him by the Earl of *Roths*. As soon as the Crown was put upon his Head, he made this short Speech to the People,

I do esteem the Affections of my good People more than the Crowns of Many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by Gods assistance, to bestow my Life for your defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom to flourish in all Happiness.

1650

Adding many other expressions of his Love and Affection to the people, and afterwards Mr. *Robert Douglass* made an hortatory Oration or Sermon to his Majesty.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation ended, and a plentiful Entertainment prepared, the King sate at one Table, and the Lords at another, there passing many Caresses and Testimonies of joy all Dinner time between them; after which they all returned to St. *Johnstons*, in the same order and pomp they came from thence to *Scoon*.

After the Coronation, the King intended to march Northwards to hasten the Levies there made, by his presence; but the Nobility and Gentry of the *High-lands*, promising to complete their numbers with all expedition, He went no farther than *Aberdeen*; in the mean time, that those *Scots* that opposed his Authority might be less able to seduce others, *Straughan*, *Swinton*, Colonel *Dundas* (the late Governour of *Edenburgh*) Major *Abernethy*, Captain *Giffan*, and *Andrews*, were on the fourteenth day of *January* Excommunicated for complying with the *English*.

The King having visited *Aberdeen*, *Dundee*, and several other good Towns, returned to St. *Johnstons* to be present at the assembling of the Parliament, which met there on the second of *March*, and the Duke of *Hamilton* and many of the Lords that were reconciled to the Kirk, were admitted to their Seats therein. The Parliament applied themselves with all imaginable care for the raising of Souldiers, and proscribed and sequestred the Persons and Estates of all that held correspondence with the *English*, and that the Levies might be better made, they adjourned the Parliament to the seventeenth of *April*, and sent *Middleton* into the North to raise Forces there, and others of Authority in other parts to imploy their interests to draw Souldiers together; and till they should again be convened, a Council of State and Committee of War were appointed of select persons out of each of the three Estates.

1651

Great care was taken for the fortifying of the Town of *Sterlin*, the King himself going often to view the Works, and encourage the expediting thereof. In the mean time on the fifteenth of *April*, in a Mist, the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Earl of *Eglinton*, and the Lord *Cranston*, with five hundred Horse and Dragoons, march'd from *Sterlin*, and resolutely fell into *Lithgow*, whence having taken what Prisoners they could in haste meet with, they retreated; yet before they could get to *Sterlin*, Major *Sydenham* the Governour of *Lith-*

Major *Sydenham* worsted by the Lord *Montgomery*. The Earl of *Eglinton* taken by Capt. *Crook*.

Cromwell being at *Edenburgh*, having notice how the Kings Army lay encamped at *Sterlin*, and that abun-

1651 abundance of Provision was brought in dayly in order to an intended March into *England*; and that he might be in readines to prevent it, he drew all his Forces together, and encamped near *Edenburgh*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* were about this time again assembled at *St. Johnstons*, and very busie in consultation about their *Militia*, and providing for the Peace and security of the Kingdom. *Middletons* Northern Levies amounted to near eight thousand, and it was much controverted, whether those Forces should make a distinct Army, or joyn with the Southern Army; but at last a conjunction of all was agreed; but because there was some emulation betwixt *Lesley* and *Middleton* about Chief Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it himself to prevent all discontents therein.

The Kings Birth-day celebrated by the Scots.

The 29th of *May*, being the Kings Birth-day, was celebrated in *Scotland* with great solemnity and feasting, and there was a Muster of all the Troops and Companies, and at night all the streets blazed with Bon-fires, & the Cannons were shot off from *Sterlin*, *Brunt-Island*, and the rest of the *Scotch* Garrisons; but not any place shewed their affection to the King in so particular a manner as the Town of *Dundee*, from which a large contribution of Money was collected towards his assistance, and the Citizens presented to him a rich and stately Tent, and six pieces of Ordnance, and raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge.

About the beginning of *June* the Parliament of *Scotland* ended, having before their dissolution given large Commissions and Instructions for the Pressing of Men in all parts of the Kingdom beyond *Fife*, and in the Western parts for a new Army, which was to consist of fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse and Dragoons.

An Act of Oblivion in Scotland

They concluded in a very calm and admirable temper, having passed an *Act of Oblivion* for all things done thitherto, inviting thereby all parties to joyn in carrying on the service of the King, and a new Engagement with the Sacrament was taken by all the Nobility, and Officers and Souldiers of the Army to adhere to him; whereby all Faction and division seemed in a great measure to be obliterated, and *Warreston* and those with him that were treacherous or dissenters not before summoned, were on the penalty of Excommunication to appear at the Assembly at *Sterlin* by a limited time.

Cromwell was very vigilant all this while, and waited greedily for any opportunity to draw the *Scotch* Army to an Engagement, and for that purpose he marched to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*, where from the Battlements of the Castle he discerned the Tents of the *Scotch* Army encamped in *Tornwood* about four miles on this side *Sterlin*, having cast up a regular and well-fortified Line, with Bulwarks and Guns mounted for their defence, and having a River behind them, over which they might at pleasure pass.

The King did not think the Force he should

raise in *Scotland* able to fight *Cromwell* and invade *England*, without some preparations there for his assistance, to divide the *English* Forces at home, to which end he kept intelligence with several of his friends in *London*, *Lancashire* and other parts. And it was contrived that the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and Major General *Massey* should with a Body of Horse march into *England* to joyn with a Party in *Lancashire*, who were by a prefixt time to be in Arms: but in the midst of these endeavours all their hopes were blasted by the taking of a Ship at *Ayr* in *Scotland*, which had been bound to the Earl of *Derby* in the *Isle of Man*, and the seizing of Mr. *Berkenhead* an Agent in the business, by whose Letters all was detected; and thereupon were apprehended Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Grays-Inne*, Mr. *Gibbons* a Taylor, and Mr. *Potter* an Apothecary, together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and Dr. *Drake*, and several other Presbyterian Ministers, who were brought before a High Court of Justice, and tried for their Lives, and about the later end of *July*, *Gibbons*, *Potter*, and *Love* were sentenced to death, and a while after *Gibbons* and *Love* were executed: for at this time the *English* Parliament thought it necessary to shew some severity to the Presbyterian Party, to deter them from joyning with the Scots upon their coming with the King into *England*, which was dayly expected.

1651

The intended rising in Lancashire unfortunately disappointed

Mr. Love and others tried for their lives.

Love and Gibbons executed.

Cromwell finding his Provision begin to be scarce, marched on the third of *July* close to the *Scotch* Trenches, and drew up his Army in *Battalia*, to provoke them to Battel; whereupon they in the night planted most of their Cannon on the brow of the Hill, and the next morning saluted the *English* with fifty great Shot, which made *Cromwell* draw back, and give over a Resolution he had to force the Trenches; but since he could not effect any thing here, he made it his next work to land some of his Forces on *Fife* side; and for that Service Colonel *Overton* was sent with 1600 Foot, and four Troops of Horse, who at *Queens-ferry* without much difficulty forced his landing, and *Cromwell* at the same time marched up with his whole Army close to the Scots, with an intent to have fallen upon their Rear; in case they should have moved that way to disturb the enterprize. Yet to drive the *English* out of *Fife* four thousand Horse and Foot were appointed to march against them, under the Command of Sir *John Brown*, which was not done so privately, but *Cromwell* had notice of it, and he sent Major General *Lambert* and Colonel *Okey* with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, who were transported over the water, and being united with the rest, they engaged Sir *John Brown*, and gave him an overthrow, and took himself and Colonel *Buchanan*, and fourteen hundred more Prisoners, and slew about two thousand; by which Victory the *English* gained so firm a footing in *Fife*, that they were not easily to be repelled: and soon after *Brunt-Island*, and a strong Castle upon the River called *Inchgarvie* were taken by surrender. And now the King and his Army were necessitated to take that course which long since had been designed, to march directly for *England*. *Cromwell* that he might make himself Master of the Pass at *Sterlin*, resolved first to set upon *St. Johnstons*, which after one days Siege was gained. And the King

The English land Forces on Fife side.

Sir John Brown defeated by Major General Lambert.

Brunt Island and Inchgarvie Castle taken by the English.

as

1651 as soon as he had knowledge of this loss, march-
ed with his Army with all haste Southwards: this
departure of the King altered Cromwell's designs
upon *Sterlin*, and he drew his Forces back again
over the *Friith*, making what expedition he could
to overtake his Majesty; but the Scots were many
days march before him. Major General *Harrison*
with about three thousand Horse and Dragoons
that lay nearest *England*, had Orders to march
to attend the Kings motions, and Major Gen-
eral *Lambert* with about as many more was ap-
pointed by advice of a Council of Warre to
speed after them, and endeavour to fall upon
their Rear: and *Cromwell* himselfe began his
march from *Leith* with a thousand Horse and
Foot, the very same day the Royal Army entred
upon English ground by the way of *Carlisle*, which
was on the sixth of *August*. Upon the expecta-
tion of the Kings coming into *England*, a party
in *North-Wales* began to rise, intending to have
joyned with the Earl of *Darby*, who was to come
from the *Isle of Man*; but this design vanished to
nothing.

The King
enters
England
with his
Army.

The great By that time the King was come with his Ar-
oppositi- my as far as *Lancashire*, he was somewhat hard
on that he beset, both by the Forces that followed him out
meets of *Scotland*, and those that in a short time were
with. raised in *England* against him. He had in his Rear
General *Cromwell*, (who had left General *Monk*
Commander in Chief in his absence with a small
dis-joynted Force to carry on the Work in *Scot-
land*:) In his Van were the two Major Generals,
Lambert and *Harrison*, who by long marches got
before him, unto whom there came up two thou-
sand of the Countrey-Militia out of *Stafford-
shire*, and four thousand under the Command of
Colonel *Birch* out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and
other parts: and to flank him, the Lord *Fairfax*
in *Yorkshire* appeared in the Field with many
Troops. Moreover, the City of *London* poured
out a good part of its Militia, and the adjacent
Counties, were by strict Order of the Parliament
enjoyn'd to set out Men and Horses at their own
charges: nor (which was the worst presage) did
the Scotch Army it self keep entire, being cur-
tailed off about five thousand men, which dropt
away by degrees, there remaining not complete,
as was generally supposed, by that time they came
to *Worcester*, thirteen thousand men. The Kings
hopes also failed him of the general coming in of
the Countrey; for the most considerable supply
that came to him, was only one Troop of Horse
commanded by Captain *Cecil Howard*, Son of
the Lord *Howard* of *Estrich*. Nor is it much
wondered at, since the Parliaments Forces had
so powerfully over-spread the Countrey, that
none could well have the opportunity to stir in
behalf of the King; so that before the deciding
blow was given, they appeared to be in a very
lost and hopeles posture: but the condition of
the Scotch Army at this time is best discovered
in some intercepted Letters of the Earl of *Lan-
dardale* and others. In one of the Earls, he writes
thus:

The Earl
of *Lander-
dale*'s in-
tercepted
Letters.

Never men (saith he in one of them) were more
heartly, for all their toyl, and seriously you would
not know this Army; a natural Purge is wholesome,

(speaking of those that withdrew themselves) 1651
and I hope ours is so, since the ill humours are gone.
The Countrey is kind, and we might have men enough.
His Majesty received the Lord *Howards* Son graci-
ously, and Knighted him; he is the first, but I have
no reason to believe he will be the last that will return
to his Duty.

And in another he hath to this effect;

His Majesty is advanced into *England* as far as
Perith with a very good Army, able (by the blessing
of God) to do his business. They are, I dare say,
near double the number of those with which the
* King of *Sweden* entred *Germany*. Never was * 6000
any Army so regular as we have been since we came
into *England*; I dare say we have not taken the all with
worth of Six pence; and what you hear of our mis- which the
fortune in *Fife*, or whatever our Enemies Print or King of
Write, trust none; this is the best Scotch Army that first en-
ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those tred *Ger-
many*.
that were unwilling to hazard all in this cause with
their King, have, upon a specious pretence, most of
them left us. This is a natural Purge, and will do
us much good.

And my Lord *Wentworth*, in a Letter to my The Lord
Lord *Crofts*, writes thus: By Gods Grace we are *Wentworth*
come as far as *Perith* in *Cumberland*, with a good his Letter
Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand Foot, and six to the
thousand Horse, all absolutely at the Kings Command, *Crofts*,
as much as any Army that ever I saw under the Com-
mand of his Father.

But in one of Duke *Hamiltons* to the same Lord,
things appear not so well as those Relations de-
scribe; his Letter says thus:

We are now laughing all at the ridiculousness of Duke *Ham-
ilton's*
our present State: We have quit *Scotland* being to the
scarce able to maintain it, and yet we grasp at all, same.
and nothing but all will satisfy us, or to lose all. I
confess, I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears
are greatest; but we have one stout Argument, De-
spair; for we must now either stoutly fight, or die;
all the Rogues have left us. I shall not say, whether
for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty
are such as will not dispute his Commands.

The King at his first entrance upon English The King
ground was proclaimed King of Great Britain at proclaimed
the Head of the Army with great acclamations ed at the
and shooting off the Cannon, he being then at Head of
Perith in *Cumberland*, and so afterwards at every his Army
Market-Town through which he marcht. He met in *England*
no considerable resistance till he came to *Warring-
ton-Bridge*, where *Lambert* endeavoured to im-
pede his passage, but the King made his way
through with loss to his opposer; and the Parlia-
ment at *London* began to apprehend the prospe-
rity of his Fortune; but his wearied Forces could
not, it seems, hold out a march of that length, so
that he came on the 22^d. of *August* to *Worcester*, The King
where after one or two Repulses by the Forces comes to
that kept that City, he quickly entred, through *Worcester*.
the ready assistance of the Inhabitants, who not
only not opposed, but also helped to beat the Par-
liament Souldiers out of the Town. Advice came
to the King of the distracted condition of those
in *London*, which occasioned a debate in Council
there.

1651 thereupon for his repair thither, but upon the result it was resolved on as a thing most agreeable to their present condition to stay where they were, and to make good all the Passes that were thereabouts for their better security. On the 27th of August they kept a solemn Fast, and the next day had a general Rendezvous, at which the Countrey came in far more considerably than at any time before, since their arrival in England. The King as he was in his march to Worcester, dispatched away Messages and Invitations unto several Governours of Towns and Castles, to deliver up unto his use those places which they had of his in their possession, and principally to Sir Thomas Middleton Governour of Chirk Castle in Shropshire, and to Colonel Mackworth Governour of Shrewsbury: To the first the Earl of Derby also writ, and the Letters were sent by one Simkins, whom Sir Thomas caused to be seized and sent to Wrexham: To the Governour of Shrewsbury both a Letter and a Summons were sent by a Trumpeter, which we think remarkable enough to be here inserted, together with his Answer, to shew the temper of those then in Authority.

Colonel Mackworth:

The Kings Letter and Summons to Colonel Mackworth Governour of Shrewsbury. Having sent you herewith a Summons to render into my hands my Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, I cannot but perswade my self you will do it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an ancient House, and of very different Principles (as I am informed) from those with whom your employment ranks you at present. If you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not only pardon you what is past, and protect you and yours in your persons, and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty with future trust and favour; and do leave it to your self to propose the Particulars, being upon that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire, and to approve my self.

Your Friend
C.R.

The Summons was in these words:

Colonel Mackworth:

Being desirous to attempt all fair ways for recovering our own, before we proceed to force and extremity, and (where the Controversie is with subjects) accounting that a double Victory, which is obtained without effusion of Blood, whereby the hearts that of right belong to us, are gained as well as their strengths: We do hereby summon you to surrender unto us our Town with the Castle of Shrewsbury, as in Duty and Allegiance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to do, thereby not only preventing the mischiefs which you may otherwise draw upon your self and that place, but also opening the first door to peace and quietness, and the enjoyment of every one both King and People, of that which appertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at our Camp at Tong-Norton, this 20th of August.

Unto this Letter and Summons the Governour returned this answer.

For the Commander in Chief of the Scottish Army.

SIR,

By your Trumpet I received two Papers, the one Col. Mackworth's containing a Proposition, the other a direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithful to my Trust; to the violation whereof, neither allurements can perswade me, nor threatnings of Force, especially when but Paper ones, compell me. What Principles I am judged to be of, I know not, but I hope they are such as shall ever declare me honest, and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same employment with me, who, should they desert that cause they are embarked in; I resolve to be found, as I am immoveable, the Faithful Servant of the Commonwealth of England.

H. Mackworth.

About two or three days before the Kings arrival at Worcester, the Earl of Derby having landed at Weywater in Lancashire, came to him with two hundred and fifty Foot and sixty Horse, which he brought with him out of the Isle of Man, and immediately returning back into Lancashire to raise a more considerable force, he soon gathered about 1200 men, and so much was he beloved in those parts, that a little more time had made him formidable; with these he was marching upon a design to fall upon Cromwell's own Regiment then quartered at Lancaster in their march towards him; but news came to him of Colonel Lilburn's approach towards him with ten Troops of Horse (which were ordered out of Yorkshire on purpose to hinder his Levies) and two Regiments of Cheshire Foot: The Earl nothing dismayed at this Force, resolved to engage Lilburn and his party, before the other Troops could come to him, and accordingly he charged them so furiously, that he routed the first Troops, and had made an impression so far into their Body, that they begun to be disordered, till the accession of fresh Reserves both of Horse and Foot so overpowred his numbers, that they were totally vanquished: most of the Kings party were Horse, and the fight was in Lanes, were they were much annoyed by the Enemies Musquetiers. There were taken prisoners of Quality, the Lord Widdrington, Sir Thomas Tidersley, Colonel Matthew Boynton, Sir Francis Gamul, Major Trollop, Sir William Throgmorton, Colonel Richard Legg, Colonel Ratliff, Gerard, and some others whose names we know not, and many of these named died of their wounds. The Earl of Derby (having lost his George and Garter) fled with about thirty Horse towards Worcester, having sheltered himself one night in his way in a house called Boscobel, which Heaven by this means had prepared for the Kings retreat and preservation.

By this time Cromwell had surrounded Worcester with his spreading Host, in as near a compass surrounded as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields. The first Pass endeavoured to be taken

1651

The Earl of Derby comes with forces to the King.

The Earl of Derby routed by Col. Lilburn.

Cromwell's Worcester.

1651 ken was *Upton-Bridge* on *Fleetwood's* side, which Major General *Lambert* attempted with five hundred horse and Dragoons, and after a brisk dispute wrested from Colonel *Massey*, who in defence thereof received a wound in his hand.

The Pass
at *Upton*
taken by
Lambert.

The *Scots* having thus abandoned the place where they were, it was presently possessed by a strong party of Horse and Foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The Kings Army was drawn up very near to *Worcester*, and made many excursions, breaking down two or three Bridges over the River *Tam* betwixt the Enemy and them, and shewing a well-order'd and governed courage; but September the Third, that ominous day being arrived, *Cromwell* resolved to venture the event upon it former *Auspicia*, and to that purpose having his Boats in readiness, he passed over his men in the afternoon of that day, and drew them all into a fighting posture, and having given the signal to the whole Army to fall on, the fight was begun in this manner.

Worcester
Fight.

Cromwell himself in person (about four of the Clock) with his Life-Guard and Colonel *Hackers* Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Foot Regiment, with the intire Regiments of Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Fairfax*, marched directly towards the City, and after him Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* advanced with Colonel *Goff's* and Major General *Deans* Regiments; the Kings Forces encountering them at the Hedges betwixt the City and them, and disputing every field with them, in such Order and with such Gallantry, that those already engaged (lest they should be wholly discouraged with the hotness of this service) were relieved by Reserves, and they by others, no considerable progress was yet made, the *Highlanders* proving excellent Fire-men, and coming to the butt-end of Musquet, till wearied with continual action, and their Ammunition spent, the King being then upon the place) commanded them in some haste into the City, and hastened himself to the other side, where Colonel *Hayns* his Regiment with *Cobbets* stood about *Powick-Bridge*, and were entertained with no less Man-hood and slaughter, than those on the other side; and though one Colonel *Matthews* was the Reserve to these two Regiments, yet did the Scotch Foot fairly drive them from their Ground, till at last being harassed out, and no Seconds or Supplies to be expected, in a careless regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town, as did another Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray* and Colonel *Gibbons* joyned with two others on another part. The Kings Army was drawn very close together, and sent out several Bodies, who charged very briskly on the Generals side, where the fight was hottest, (He having brought on the Militia Forces to relieve his other Troops.) In the Head of one of these Bodies the King himself charged with marvellous Gallantry and Conduct, and press'd so hard upon *Cromwell's* Life-Guard, that the Troop was very much disordered, and the Captain very dangerously wounded; and in another Charge Duke *Hamilton*, (who behaved himself with undaunted Courage and Resolution) received a Shot on his Thigh, whereof presently after he died.

Duke *Hamilton*
slain at
this fight.

The Militia Regiments of *Essex*, *Surry*, and *Cheshire* were much annoyed by the *Scots*, and many of their men slain; but *Cromwell* drew on fresh and intire Brigades and Regiments, which were in Reserve, of the Veterane Bands, by which the Royallists were so overpowered, that they were forced to retreat into the City, which they could not do with such Order, but many of the *Cromwellians* got in with them. *Lesley* with two thousand Horse (upon what account not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve his Party, which the Enemy entered. The King retired to his Quarters for a while, and about seven at night the Enemy gained the Fort-Royal; at which time His Majesty left the City, passing out at Saint *Martin's* Gate, accompanied with about sixty Horse of the chiefest and most confident of his Retinue (though many more pressed to bear him company) and it was reported, that *Cobbet* very narrowly mist of him as he left his Lodging.

1651

The King
defeated
at *Worcester*,
but
made his
escape.

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and according to their order, fell a plundering the Inhabitants in a most barbarous manner, giving no Quarter to any that they found in the Streets: and through this their greediness of spoil, they kept the Gates shut, and the Horse out, lest they should have shared the better part; and thereby favoured (as God would have it) the Kings escape. Some *Scots* who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained Quarter for Life; by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worcester*, Friend or Foe, left worth a Shilling of what they had in the Town; but the Royal Inhabitants lost least by the Ravage, being supplied with fresh Wares to their desires by the honest Citizens of *London*, without any scruple of Credit or Payment, and their Debts were forgiven till such time as God should enable them to pay, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to pass, by their more than ordinary resort to that Market for all Necessaries, and upon all Occasions. The Mayor (who was Knighted by the King) and all the Aldermen were committed to Prison, and the Wife of one *Guyes* (whose Husband for betraying the designs of the King in that Garrison, was hanged) was rewarded by the Parliament with two hundred pounds per Annum, and two hundred pounds in Money.

There were slain in the Field, in the Town, and in pursuit some 2000, and about 8000 were taken Prisoners in several places: most of the English Common-men escaping by their *Shibboleth*; but at *Newport* in the pursuit were taken the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnworth*, Earl of *Kelly*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Sir *John Packington*, Lord *Spyne*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Colonel *Graves*, Mr. *Richard Fanshawe*, Secretary to the King, many also whose names we have not, (*viz.*) 6 Colonels of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieutenant-Colonels of Horse, 8 Lieutenant-Colonels of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 Majors of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quarter-Masters, 89 Lieutenants; there were taken also some General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 90 Quarter-Masters, 80 of the Kings Servants, with the Kings

1651 Kings Standard which he had set up when he summoned the Country, the Kings Coach and Horses, and Collar of SS's, but the Kings Person they had no power to touch; which recompensed all the other loss.

The King deliberates whether to flye.

He (as was said before) departed in the dusk, leaving Colonel Careless in the Rear, to keep the Enemy in dispute, while he was something forward on his way, and the approaching night might favour his escape. To which end, all Persons about him were commanded to speak French, and a present Consultation was held which course they should steer, and it was resolved by my Lord of Derby, that they should make what speed they could, and recover a place called *Whiteladies* before morning, which was some 25 miles from *Worcester*; and thereupon one Master *Giffard* then in the company, was called for his guidance thither; and one *Walker* (that had been formerly a Scout-master in the Kings Army) was his assistant, yet the way was mistaken as they passed a Heath, but by good providence soon recovered.

The Lords leave him at *Whiteladies*.

Between three and four a clock the King reached this place, and Master *Giffard* (after some knocking at the door,) called up one *George Pendrill*, a Servant in the House, who hearing and knowing his voice, ran down in his shirt and opened the door, and the King and his Retinue entered; where after a little debate about the security of his person, the said Earl having called thither *William Pendrill* the House-keeper of *Boscobell*, and dispatch'd another towards *Tong* to see if the Coast was yet clear; His Majesty in the mean while had his hair cut off, and his Buff-doublet and Linnen-breeches buried, and he was disguised in Country habit, with adjuration of the fidelity of the *Pendrills* (who were now with their Brother-in-Law *Francis Yates* in number five) committed and entrusted by the Earl of *Derby* to their fidelity, which they most solemnly and dutifully promised. Then the Earl and the rest of the Lords, viz. the Duke of *Buckingham* and that Train, with tears took their leave (*Derby* would have staid, but there was no probability of secrecy for two) and my Lord *Wilmot* with *John Pendrill* withdrew himself from that company to another retreat; the rest (except the Duke who lay concealed in other friends houses about that Country) were taken as aforesaid at *Newport* by *Lilburns* Horse, the same who had defeated the Earl of *Derby*, who now rendred himself a Prisoner to one Captain *Edge* of *Lancashire*, on promise for quarter for life.

The King personates a Wood-cutter.

As soon as the King was thus left by his Company, with a Wood-bill in his hand, he was conducted into a Wood or Coppice near adjoining, taking the name of *William Jones* a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for work, and was accordingly instructed in his Tongue and Behaviour: That day proved very wet, so that *Yates* his Wife brought him a blanket to cover him, and a dish of Milk and Apples for his refreshment; and at night against his coming home (where the Mother of the *Pendrills* at her Son *Richard's* house most joyfully welcom'd him) and provided an ordinary Country Supper; which ended, the

King with *Richard* his guide resolved for *Wales*, and went to one Master *Wolfe* of *Midely*, where for fear of search, he was fain to take up his Quarters in the Barn, where Master *Wolfe* and his Wife attended on him. Here his Majesty understood that the Passes over the Water, and the River *Wy*, were so guarded, that it was unreasonable for him to adventure into *Wales*; so that on Friday night he retreated in his woollen accoutrements about his legs (in which he had lain in that hard lodging in great pain and soreness to *Boscobell*, where he found Colonel *Careless* (who had also betaken himself thither for shelter; and by his direction, that Saturday the King went into the Wood, (from the pleasantness whereof the house took its name) and ascended into the top of that most celebrated Oak, which being thick with branches stretching and shadowing fore-right, was altogether impervious to the sight: and here the Colonel bore him company while he laid his head, and slept upon a pillow in his lap. At night they both descended, and came into the house and refresh'd themselves, and the King perceiving the secrecy of the place, was not willing to keep longer abroad. He past away the Sunday in a kind of Arbour or Banqueting-house at the end of the Garden, and there *John Pendrill* came to him from my Lord *Wilmot*, to conduct him to Mr. *Whitgraves* house at *Moseley*; wither with much difficulty and danger he himself had arrived, but the safety there answered all. The King approved of my Lord *Wilmot's* advice, and on Munday night (with the guard of the five brethren) and the help of the Millers horse, he came to Mr. *Whitgraves*, where he was gladly received by my Lord and that Gentleman, and conveyed into a secret place; and there it was considered what course to take for a further progression in the Kings escape; and to this purpose one Colonel *Lane* of *Bentley* was made acquainted with it, and by them it was agreed, that Mistress *Jane Lane* upon pretence of assisting at the Child-bed of her Sister, should ride to *Bristol*, and the King as her Servant ride before her, with one Mr. *Lassels* and his wife behind him, and a Pass for their more security in travel was procured.

1651

He quarters in a Barn at *Midely*

Comes to *Boscobell*, where Col. *Careless* directs him to the Oak.

To Master *Whitgraves* at *Moseley*.

Mrs. *Jane Lane* undertakes to convey him to *Bristol*

On their way thither, my Lord *Wilmot* (as of chance) met with them, having a Hawk on his fist, and so they journeyed together to *Bromsgrave*, where the Kings Horse losing a shoe, He was forc'd to carry his Horse to a Farrier, who inquiring of News of the King, and being answered by his Majesty, that he believed the King was escaped into Scotland; he replied, that no doubt the King was secretly somewhere in England, and wish'd he knew where; for that he could get a 1000 l. by taking of him. The King departing from thence, comes to *Evesham*, where advising how to avoid Troopers then grazing their Horses in the Meadows adjoining; they lighted upon them in a near Village as they rode, but they civilly let them pass on their way to *Cirencester* to the Crown, where they lodged that night, and went the next day towards *Bristol* within three Miles of the City, to the House of Mr. *Norton* of *Leigh*, the designed journey's end. Here the King feigned himself sick, and took his Cambet

1651 by the order and care of Mrs. Lane; but the next morning coming into the Cellar, he was taken notice of by the Butler, one *John Pope*, a Souldier formerly in the late Kings Army, who upon an intent look discerned him, and in all dutiful manner discovered himself to him, with such assurance of fidelity, that he gained his Majesties belief so far, as to be imployed by him in getting a Ship for his transportation: thence the King was conducted by my Lord *Wilmot* to one Colonel *Windhams* House at *Trent* in *Dorsetshire*, where he continued almost three weeks in expectation of a passage from *Lime*; Soon after his arrival here, Mrs. *Jane Lane* with Mr. *Lassels* parted, being openly entertained as Kinsfolk, and came in safety back again to *Staffordshire*.

The King
at Colonel
Windhams.

My Lord *Wilmot* and he prevailed with a Merchant to procure a Pass, but were disappointed. The occurrences that hapned here, we cannot certainly relate, only the King was disappointed of a passage which a Merchant had procured for him at *Lime* (by my Lord *Wilmot* and Colonel *Windhams* means;) and though the fault was not in the Merchant, but the dejected spirit of the Master of the Bark; yet this disappointment had like to have proved the Kings ruine, by the shooing of my Lord *Wilmots* Horse, (there was one Mr. *Henry Peters* that attended him for his Guide.) The Hostler and the Smith discovered by the shooes, that they were come somewhere from the Northern parts by their manner of nailing, and presently raised a rumour of the Kings being thereabouts; and whilst the Smith went to advise with a Minister of the matter, my Lord was got away by providence, and the King came to *Bridport*; where as 'tis since reported, he had like to have been known by an Hostler, as he was setting up the Horses, who welcom'd him as having formerly seen him at *Exeter*, but did not distinguish who he was, and the King with a proffer of drinking with him when he was more at leisure, withdrew himself from any further discovery. That night they touched at *Broad-Windfor*, where again the King met with some disturbance by Souldiers then filling those places, in order to their shipping for *Jersey*. But after all these surprizing adventures, he got again to Colonel *Windhams*, with the Lord *Wilmot*, who had overtaken them, and passed by them at *Bridport* as was agreed, and thence (for it could not be safe to continue longer in that place) he was sent to *Salisbury* to look out for another Sanctuary, and to confer to that purpose with Master *Coventry*, who agreed to bring him to Mrs. *Hides* house at a Village called *Heal*. The King in his way to *Salisbury* came to a Town called *Mere* to the *George*, an acquaintance of the Colonels, where drinking in the Cellar, the Hostle seeing the King stand off as a servant, said, *Thou lookest like an honest Fellow, Here's an Health to the King*; who unready answering it, made the man expostulate with the Colonel what Fellow he had brought. The King from *Mere* went to the House of Mrs. *Hide*, and was joyfully there received, and introduced to a secret place in the House, and here Colonel *Robert Phillips* came to him, and Colonel *Windham* took his leave of his Majesty, and returned; and Dr. *Hinchman* after made Bishop of *London*, had the honour to be made acquainted with his condition; and *Phillips* was present-

He is received by
Mrs. *Hides*
at *Heal*.

ly dispatch'd to procure some shipping at *Southampton*, where the Barks being all taken up, and employed by the Parliament, he returned with his labour lost, but meeting with Colonel *Gunter*, he (being informed of the business) undertook to provide a Bark at *Brightemstead* in *Suffex*, which he effected, and thither the King (and my Lord *Wilmot*) having taken leave of this Noble Matron and the Doctor, accompanied with Colonel *Phillips*, (passing by night near *Portsmouth*,) came in two days to an Inn at *Brightemstead*, where Colonel *Gunter* and one Master *Mausfel* the Merchant, who at *Gunters* request hired the Ship, and the Ship-maister *Tetershall* (now a Captain in his Majesties Navy) met him, and at Supper they set down together with his Majesty, when the Master presently discovered him, having formerly seen him in the *Downs*; when he obtained the release of his Ship laden from *Newcastle*; whereupon the King conferred with the Master, who (being wrought upon by promises and money paid down, and his own Loyalty) agreed to transport him to *France*, and departed to call up his Mariners then on shore (pretending his Ship half-laden with coals was a drift; but coming home for a bottle of *Aqua-vite*, his Wife by the unseasonableness of the night suspecting the truth, encouraged him to the undertaking, not caring (as she said) if she and her little ones begged their bread, so the King were in safety. About five of the clock in the dark of the morning on the 20th of October the King embarked, with my Lord *Wilmot*, and keeping the shore all that day, in the evening crossed over, and at dark night landed near *Diep* in *France*. In their passage, the King sitting upon the Deck, and directing the course, or, as they call it, conning the Ship, one of the Mariners blowing Tobacco in his face, the Master bid him go further off the Gentleman, who murmuring, unwittingly replied, *That a Cat might look upon a King*. At *Rouen* the King had his clothes changed by two English Merchants residing there, and was there saluted (though at first hardly known) by Dr. *Earls* late Bishop of *Salisbury*, and upon notice of his arrival, the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, and that whole Court went out to meet him, and congratulate his wonderful deliverance: a Providence indeed not parallel'd in History, and able to have convinced his Rebels, if their rage had not blinded them; but it cleared the minds and hopes of his Subjects, by this Pledge of their deliverance from thralldome, in this marvellous protection of Gods Anointed; (no less than two and fifty persons being privy to his Escape.)

1651

He is safely transported into France by Tettershall.

He is met by the Queen-Mother and Court of France

Very few of the Nobles and Officers that came in with him from *Scotland* escaped, *David Lesley* and Lieutenant General *Middleton* were taken in *Lancashire*, and carried Prisoners to *Chester*, from whence with the Earl of *Landerdale*, *Kelly*, *Rother*, and others they were committed to the Tower, from whence my Lord *Middleton* happily escaped, the rest were not long after sent to *Windfor-Castle*, where they continued till the Restitution of the King to his Government.

Most of the Scots taken Prisoners.

On the 21th of September, *Cromwell* came to London,

1651 *London*, and was met about *Aſton* with the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, and the Lord Mayor of *London* and Recorder *Steel*, who in a ſet ſpeech congratulated his great ſucceſſes, and like a falſe Prophet, by a miſtaken *Proleptis* applied to him theſe words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant exaltation of his Atchievement: next day the Common Priſoners (being driven like a herd of Swine) were brought through *Weſtminſter* into *Tutbil* fields (a ſadder ſpectacle was never ſeen, except the miſerable place of their defeat) and there ſold to ſeveral Merchants, and ſent to the *Barbadoes*; the Colours taken were likewise hanged up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with thoſe taken before at *Preſton* and *Dunbar*.

Cromwell comes with his Priſoners to *London*.

We have hitherto without any digreſſion related the fortune of the King from the time of his quitting *Scotland* to his ſafe arrival in *France*; but we ſhall now briefly deſcribe the tranſactions that paſſed in *Scotland* at that time: *Cromwell* when he left the King conſtituted (as is hinted) General *Monk* Commander in Chief of the Engliſh Army there; which was an Action that carried great envy with it from thoſe of his own party, becauſe *Monk* had but lately engaged with them; and it was objected, that he had been heard to ſay he will never draw a Sword in *England* againſt the King or his Intereſt, and therefore they could not expect faithful ſervice from him in *Scotland* againſt the ſame party; but it is ſaid, he gave ſuch aſſurance to *Cromwell* of his fidelity in that ſtation againſt that people, (who were the firſt raiſers of thoſe unhappy ſtorms that overſpread our Nation with the miſeries of War and Sedition) that he would not be perſwaded to alter his choice.

The Engliſh Army left with the General exceeded not ſix thouſand men, and many of theſe were ſick and weak by long marches, but they had by ſeveral ſucceſſful encounters gained a great reputation, and the Scots were much diſpirited thereby, ſo that whiſt he found part of his forces were in good heart and his enemies dejected, he immediately march'd to *Sterlin*, and came thither by that time *Cromwell* got into *England*.

Sterlin with the Caſtle ſurrendered to General *Monk*.

Sterlin was at that time governed by Colonel *Cunningham*, who was ſo ſurprized at the ſuddain approach of the Engliſh Army, (believing them to be of much greater numbers than they really were) that after a ſhort ſiege he ſurrendered the Town and Caſtle upon Articles on the 14th of *Auguſt*; where the Kings Royal Robes, the Cloath of State, and all the Scotch Records, were found and ſeized, together with five thouſand Arms and forty piece of Ordnance, and great ſtore of Ammunition; but all the goods of private perſons there depoſited, were delivered to ſuch as would own them: over the door of the Chappel that belongs to the Caſtle, this Motto in the time of King *James* was written, *J. C. R. Nobis hæc invicta miſerunt Centum ſex Proavi 1617*. which ſhews that that place had remained unconquered during the Reigns of an hundred and ſix Kings, and ſo continued all his time and his Sons.

The next place to which the General marched after the taking of *Sterlin*, was *Dundee*, to which Town the chief of the Inhabitants of *Edenburgh*

and many other Towns and places had conveyed the beſt part of their Moveables, as a ſecure depository, ſo that there was great riches in it.

Major *Lumsdale* was Governour of the Town, who had therein eight hundred Souldiers, beſides ſome Companies of armed Inhabitants, whereby he thought himſelf in ſo good a condition, that when the General drew near the place, and ſent a ſummons to him, he returned a very ſlighting answer: hereupon he environed the Town with his Army; but at his firſt coming thither, hearing that old General *Leſly* and ſeveral of the Lords of *Scotland* were met at *Elliot* (about fourteen miles from *Dundee*) to raiſe Souldiers, he ſent Colonel *Alured* and Colonel *Morgan* with a thouſand Horſe and Dragoons to diſturb the Levies, leaving privately the chief conduct and care of the deſign to his confident Colonel *Morgan*, the other (though the elder Colonel) being not very competent for ſuch a ſervice. Theſe, as ſoon as they had their Orders, marched in the night and took Scotch Guides to ſhew them the way to the Town, and by the help of ſome few Scotch Souldiers, who had revolted to the Engliſh, they ſo diſſembled their march, that the Countrey took them for part of their own forces going to *Elliot*, ſo that they were got undiscovered beyond the Town about three of the clock in the morning, and then they marched into it with little or no reſiſtance, and took 300 Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Miniſters, with about 70 of their Servants, the one of which was General *Leſly* (who was found hid in a cloſe Cupboard-bed) the Earls *Marſhal*, *Crawford*, *Lindſey* and *Keith*, and the Lords *Ogilby*, *Burgenny*, *Humie* and *Lee*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen of note; theſe were all ſhipped for *London*, but old *Leſly* putting in at *Newcaſtle*, was by the favour of Sir *Arthur Hazle-* rig (then Governor thereof) permitted to ſtay in *Northumberland* with one *De la Val* his Son-in-law, upon promiſe to be a true Priſoner.

Old General *Leſly* and divers other Scotch Nobles ſurprized at *Elliot*.

The General by this means had prevented all poſſibility of diſturbance in his Siege, and ſeeing he could not by fair means prevail with the Governour to yield up the Town, though he knew by the ſurprize of *Elliot* all hope of relief failed, on the firſt of *September* he took it by ſtorm, putting all to the Sword that were found in Arms. The Governour with ſome few for a while ſaved themſelves in a Steeple, but were ſmothered out by the burning of wet ſtraw, and then they yielded on mercy to one Captain *Kelly* of Colonel *Morgan's* Regiment, who was carrying him to the General with purpoſe to intercede for his life, becauſe of the gallantry of his behaviour in defence of the Town, but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarouſly ſhot him dead. The Souldiers had very rich booty in this Garrifon, for it was at this time the richeſt Town in *Scotland*, and there were ſixty fail of Ships in the Harbour. After this taking of *Dundee*, *St. Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, with other Towns, Caſtles and ſtrong places either voluntarily ſubmitted or rendered upon Summons.

Dundee taken by ſtorm.

Theſe ſucceſſes did not mitigate the ſeverity of the Rulers at *Weſtminſter*, who about the end of *September* appointed a Court-Marſhall to ſit at *Cheſter*, for the Tryal of the Earl of *Derby* and

1651 Several other Prisoners taken after the Battel at Worcester, or some little time before.

The Earl of Derby beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire.

The Earl upon his Tryal pleaded the Quarter given him by Captain Edge that took him prisoner, which was over-ruled by the Court, and he was sentenced to be beheaded, and on the 15th. of October, that rigorous Sentence was executed on him at Bolton in Lancashire; and for the same cause of Loyalty to their Sovereign, and by the same Court, Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, Captain Benbow, and Captain Sympkins were sentenced to death, and executed.

Several Royalists taken and imprisoned in the Tower.

This sad occasion obliges us to a further account of those English Royalists who were taken in, and after the same Battel of Worcester, among whom were (besides others mentioned) the Lord Grandison, Sir John Packington, Colonel Blague, Colonel Edward Braughton, and Major General Masséy; these were all except Masséy presently imprisoned in the Tower; but he being much wounded and tired with riding as he endeavoured to escape, delivered himself up to the Countess of Stamford, who secured him in her house till he was cured of his wounds, upon his engagement to be a true Prisoner; and when he was recovered, he was also sent to the Tower, from whence by a disguise not long after he made his escape. Colonel Wogan was much sought after by the pursuers, but he got safe to the High-lands in Scotland, being resolved to prosecute the Kings Quarrel where Nature had fixt her Non Ultra.

The Isles of Man and Jersey, &c. surrendered to the Parliament.

There remained nothing in England of the ancient Dominions and Territories thereof unsubdued to the Power of the Parliament, except the Isle of Man, and the Island of Jersey, and Castle Cornet in the Isle of Guernsey, which were all about this time surrendered to the Authority of the English Common wealth, and not only these adjacent Islands, but what was in America appertaining to the Crown of England came quickly into their Jurisdiction, as did the Island of Barbadoes (whereof the Lord Willoughby of Parham was Governour for the King) which was yielded up upon Articles to Sir George Ayscough about the beginning of January. The Articles were very favourable both to the Governour and Inhabitants, the first having liberty of returning to England, with freedom to his person and estate, and the later being indemnified for what ever they had done in hostility against the Parliament. It is said, the gaining of this Island was much facilitated by one Colonel Muddysford then in difference with the Governour, whom Sir George had drawn to his party, and by whose power and influence in the Island it was easily obtained. Hereupon the Islands of Mevis and St. Christopher thought it in vain to stand out, but both submitted to Sir George Ayscough.

Popham and Ireton yield to Fate.

Towards the End of this year two eminent Commanders of the English Common wealth were taken away by death, viz. General Edward Popham, one of the Generals at Sea; and Ireton, Son-in-law to Cromwell, and Deputy of Ireland who died of a contagious fever contracted at the Siege of the City of Limrick in Ireland, which

(after an obstinate resistance) he had newly gained. His Corps was transported to England, and brought to London, and interred in Henry the Seventh's Chappel in Westminster with a magnificent funeral pomp and state. He was no doubt a man of much dispatch, of dextrous and able parts, had they been employed in honest designs; and was thought to have been a greater contriver and prompter in the cheifest of his Father-in-laws stratagems. For a time after his decease, Lieutenant General Edmund Ludlow executed his Office, till Colonel Charles Fleetwood who had succeeded him in his wife, was thereby preferred to succeed him in the Deputiship of Ireland.

1651

Col. Fleetwood succeeds Ireton in the Deputiship of Ireland.

The English Common wealth having in some measure quieted things at home, and thinking themselves in a fair way to a calm of Peace and Tranquillity, took upon them now to give Laws to their subjected Dominions, as also to make Acts of Grace to encourage their Subjects quietly to submit to them: The first related to Scotland, which being in a short time totally brought under, (for besides the gaining of Dunbarton Castle, which was delivered up by Sir Charles Ereskin, and Dunnoter Castle which was taken by Colonel Morgan, and the Isles of Orkney, the Hebrides, and even Schetland, which is thought by some to be the same that the Antients called Ultima Thule, could not escape their Conquest, which was the work of Colonel Overton) they take into consideration a project, which however it being attempted in former times, could be brought to no effect, they resolved to go through with; namely, an Union of England and Scotland, and Incorporating of both Nations into one Common-wealth: This was mainly opposed and remonstrated against by the Scotch Kirk, though in vain; for the Parliament of England, (as they called themselves) had resolved upon an Act for the Union of Scotland, and the Abolishing of Kingly Government in that Nation; intending that the Shires or Burghs should chuse their Deputies to represent them in Parliament, in such a proportionable number as the Parliament should think fit. And Commissioners were sent from hence in behalf of the Common wealth of England, to treat concerning this Union with the Natives, whom they found but very cold entertainers of their Proffer, besides the tough opposition of the Clergy. These Commissioners were Oliver St. Johns, Sir Henry Vane, Major General Dean, Major Salway, Colonel Fenwick, and Alderman Tichburn: And not long after were sent down as Itinerant Judges to hear, determine, and make inspection into all things belonging to the Government of that Nation, Mr. George Smith, Mr. John March, Mr. Edward Mosely, and Mr. William Lockart a Scotchman: But these Judges were several times altered at pleasure. But to the Commissioners there came in and submitted divers of the Scotch Nobility; as the Marquess of Huntly, the Earls of Weems, Angus, and Calender, and the Lord Belcarri, and others; but of all that came in of the Nobility, the Marquess of Argyle was he that most complied and adhered to the Common wealth Interest, notwithstanding all the professions and shew he made when the King was in Scotland, and of the Lairds that acted amongst the

The Parliaments provision for the Government of Scotland.

1651 the English, the Chief were *Swinton* and *Warreston*.

The Parliaments Act of Oblivion.

The next Act of Grace was to *England*, and was an Act of *Oblivion*, wherein they published it to be their intention to forget all injuries, and pardon all hostilities hitherto committed against them, upon condition of taking an Engagement, which they imposed upon all people, wherein they were to promise *To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as then established, without King or House of Lords*; out of which nevertheless were excepted the Lord *Goring* and his Sons, Sir *John Webster* of *Amsterdam*, the Executors of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the slayers of *Dorilaus* and *Afcham*.

The occasion of the War with Holland.

Scarce were these and some other little transactions finished at home, when there began to be in preparation new Matter for the exercise of their Arms abroad, in respect of a secret grudge which had lain a pretty while smothering between them and their Brother States of *Holland*, which was probably in a great part occasioned through the slight and indifferent reckoning of *Dorilaus* (whose Assassination they thought, perhaps, not sufficiently enquired into;) and afterwards of their Embassadors *Oliver St. Johns*, and *Walter Strickland*, who being affronted by the Common People in *Holland*, thought themselves not sufficiently vindicated by the States, nor respected according to the Dignity of their Masters, and therefore came away in discontent; and though the States sent hither afterwards as their Agent *Myn Heer Joachim* with several Complements and Excuses, with Commission to treat about a fair Correspondence and Commerce with *England*; yet our States at *Westminster* were now resolved they should not have their Friendship on such easie terms as before they offered by their Embassadors, since they then made no more account of it: so that they dismissed *Joachim* after a prefixt time, beyond which he was not to stay, and then proceeded to make an Act, *For the Encouragement of Navigation*; wherein they prohibited the importing of any Foreign Commodities except upon English Bottoms, or such as were of the Countrey whence the Commodities came; beginning withal to stand high upon claims of Dues and Reparations for the prejudice done us in our Trading: upon which occasion was taken oftentimes to search the Dutch Ships, and sometimes to make prize of them. To complain of these damages, but more especially, if it were possible, to obtain a suppression of the said Act so prejudicial to their Trade, they sent over into *England* their Embassadors, *Myn Heeren Catz*, *Van de Peere*, *Sharp* and *Newport*; these men however coming as most zealous Advocates for a speedy pacification, and relying much upon the favourable reception they should meet with here, were nevertheless at their very first Audience accosted with such high demands about the *Herring-fishing*, the business of *Amboyna*, and a free Trade in the *Schelde*, from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, that they were able to give but a cold account to their Masters in the Affair they came about: and though some Messages for a while past to and fro for the Vindication of each others actions, the Dutch all the while making great Protestations of their sincere

and real intentions towards this Commonwealth) yet still preparations for War were privately made on both sides.

This year ended with an Act for the Banishment of *John Lilburn*, who being a person of a turbulent nature, had with restless impatience oppugned all Government, in so much that it was said merrily of him, *If all the World were dispeopled to him alone, John will be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John*. It was provided in this Act, that if ever he returned without leave from the State, he should suffer as a Felon. That which caused this severity against him at this time was his violent opposition of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, a leading Member of the Parliament about a Coal-pit in his possession, claimed by one *Primate*: wherein he did not only lay many oppressions and scandals to the charge of *Hazlerig*, but in the publication thereof arraigned the Justice of the whole Commonwealth.

Lilburn banished.

The States of *Holland* set out a very great Fleet for the security of their Trade for this year, and in their instructions to *Martin Harperz Van Trump* their Admiral, they directed him not to strike his Flag to the English Admiral, and the same Orders were given to every of the Ships of War, if occasionally they met any single Ships of *England* or others, that were not too numerous for their opposition.

1652

The Hollanders set forth a great Fleet.

The English on the other side they knew would not easily lose the Dominion of the Sea, which in all ages they exercised without controul; so that *Van Trump* coming into *Dover-road* on the 17th. of May with two and forty Sail, lay there at Anchor, as to dare them to opposition, and notice thereof being given to *Blake* the English Admiral, he made haste to play up towards him with about 15 Ships and Frigats; but when *Trump* descried the English Fleet, he weighed his Anchor, and stood away by a wind Eastward, intending (as *Blake* supposed) to leave them to avoid the dispute of the Flag; but about two hours after they altered their Course, and bore directly with the English Fleet, and *Van Trump* was headmost, whereupon the English lay by, and put themselves into a fighting posture, judging the Dutch had a resolution to engage. Being come within Musquet-shot, *Blake* gave Order to fire at his Flag, which was done thrice, and after the third shot, *Trump* let fly a broad-side, and it was well returned by the English Admiral; and after the exchange of Broad-sides Major *Bourn* came in to *Blake's* assistance with eight good Ships, and then both the Fleets engaged from four in the afternoon till it was dark, and though there were not less than two thousand shot of Cannon exchanged on one side and the other, the loss of men was not great, and the greatest was of the *Hollanders*, of whom one Ship was sunk, and another taken, and about an hundred and fifty men slain; the English had not any Ship disabled, and very few men killed. *Van Trump* drew his Fleet in the night to the back of *Goodwin Sands*, and the next morning sailed away for *Zealand*.

The first Sea fight between the Dutch and English.

The Dutch come off with loss.

The *Holland* Embassadors at *London* by their Memorials endeavoured all they could to persuade

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swade

1652 swade the Parliament, that this Action of *Trump* was without the privity or consent of their Masters, and thereupon demanded a restitution of the Ship taken by *Blake* in the fight; but the people at *London* were so inflamed with the news of the fight and *Trump's* carriage in it, that they insisted not on that demand, and the Parliament was necessitated to appoint a Troop of Horse to guard the Embassadors from the rage and fury of the multitude.

The States apprehended this business might cause a Rupture betwixt them and the English, and therefore they dispatched the *Heer Pau* to *England* in the Quality of an Embassador Extraordinary, who was so very well received at his arrival at *London*, that he believed he should not only extinguish the flame already kindled, but perfect that Negotiation formerly treated on by the other Embassadors. But in this he was much deceived, for when he and the other Embassadors had jointly presented a Paper to the Parliament to excuse the late enterprize of *Trump*, they returned an answer that did not at all content them, for they peremptorily required, *To be paid and satisfied for all the Charges and Damages they had been put to and sustained by the preparations of the States General, and other attempts this Summer, before they would treat on any other proposition.* The States of the United Provinces being advertised of this proceeding, immediately recalled their Embassadors, and thereupon the War was vigorously prosecuted on both parts, and in a very little time *Van Trump* was again at Sea with an hundred and twenty sail of men of War; but he got not out soon enough to prevent General *Blakes* sailing Northward with seventy sail of Ships of War to interrupt the Dutch fishing-Trade, and look for five Dutch East-India Ships which were at that time expected to return home that way.

Trump out again at Sea with an 120 Sail.

In the mean time about the 6th of *June* Sir *George Ascough* arrived in the Downs with the *Barbadoes* Fleet, consisting of 15 Men of War, having taken in his way ten Dutch Merchant-Ships and four men of War, one whereof was a Ship of Advice, to give notice to their Merchant-Ships of their present differences.

The Parliament upon his arrival sent Orders to him to stay there, till a Fleet then providing in the *Thames* should be made ready to joyn with him.

Trump having intelligence thereof, about the beginning of *July* clapt in with part of his Fleet between Sir *George* and the River, and sent the other part Westward to prevent his going that way, resolving either to surprize those coming out of the *Thames*, or to sink and disperse those with Sir *George Ascough*; but the Governour of *Dover* gave so speedy advice of the posture of the Enemy, that the Navy in the River moved not, and then *Trump* on the eighth of *July* made towards Sir *George* to assail the Fleet, but the wind failing, they came to an Anchor a League off, and before the next Ebb, the Militia of that Country was ready upon the Coast, and Sir *George* his ships well re-inforced with men, and a Platform was cast up betwixt the Castles of *Deal* and *Sandown*, whereon good store of Cannon were planted to receive

1652 them, but at the next Ebb whilst they were under sail the wind came about South-West, and blew so directly in their teeth, that they could not possibly make in to them.

Trump upon this disappointment, returned to *Holland*, to convey several Merchant-men for the Northern and Eastern Trade, that lay ready for him; with which he sailed towards the *Sound*, and in his way he received advice, that *Blake* had spoiled and dispersed their Herring-Fishing, and taken twelve Men of War that guarded them, and was with his Fleet in Harbour about the Isles of *Orkney*, wherefore he sent part of his Ships to guard the Merchant-men on their Voyage, and with the rest he sailed to find out *Blake*, having met in his way the five East-India Ships, but when he came near those Northern Islands, such a storm arose, that he was forced to put to Sea, and his Fleet was so scattered, that he came home but with two and forty sail, and three of the East-India ships, but shortly after the other two East-India ships, and all the Fleet, except six, came home in safety; and *Blake* came safe to *Yarmouth* with all his Fleet and six of *Trump's* Frigots, which he had met with, and nine hundred Prisoners.

In this time Sir *George Ascough* had got a Fleet together of about forty sail, with which he sailed to *Plymouth* to secure our Merchant-ships homeward bound, where there safely arrived five ships from the East-India's, and two from the Straights; Whilst Sir *George* lay there, *De Ruyter* was passing that way with a Fleet of fifty men of War to convey about the like number of Merchant-ships that way: about two in the afternoon on the 16th of *August* the English Fleet got sight of the Enemy, and *De Ruyter* sent away his Merchant-ships, and made ready for the fight, and about four, Sir *George* with nine of his headmost ships charged through the Dutch Fleet, and got the Weather-gage of them, and charged them again, but the rest of his Fleet being Merchant-men, and not coming up, and the night being already entred, both Fleets drew off from each other; the Dutch into one of the *French* Ports, and Sir *George* to *Plymouth* to mend and repair the damages of the Fleet; Captain *Peck* his Rear-Admiral lost his Leg and soon after died, and several other Captains were wounded, but not one ship lost; what loss of men the Dutch sustained was not known, but none of their ships were disabled.

Sir *George Ascough* and *De Ruyter's* engagement at *Plymouth* being the second combat with the Dutch.

Van Trump was at this time very much discontented upon some rumours spread of his failure of conduct in the last expedition, so that he desired the States that he might leave his charge and retire; the States seemed very unwilling to comply with his request, but at last they consented to it, and *Wit Wittens* was appointed in his place, to whom *De Ruyter* was joyned in Commission. These two Commanders made what speed they could to get their Fleet to Sea, and in *October* they made their stations on the side of the North *Foreland*; *Blake* as soon as he had notice thereof hastened with his Fleet towards them, having been on the Western Coast to Convey some Merchant-ships homewards, and taken in his way five Dutch West-India ships of great value, and six Straights-men, valued at two hundred thousand pounds.

He

1652

De Wit
worsted
by Blake
being the
third en-
gagement
with the
Dutch.

He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himself, the other by *Penne* the Vice-Admiral, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*, and the 28th of October the Fight was begun by *Bourn*, and seconded immediately by the whole Fleet, wherein great Courage was shown on both sides, the Rear-Admiral of the Dutch was boarded and taken, and two more of their Ships were sunk, and one blown up, so that *Wit Wittens* was glad to give over the conflict, and to ply his Sails to get off, being pursued by the English Fleet within twelve Leagues East South-East of the *Maze*, and he with the remainder of his torn and much shattered Ships came into *Goree*. The English preserved all their Ships, though many of them were much battered, and *Blake* came in Triumph into the *Downs*.

The Dutch were much troubled at the loss of this Combat, which was by *Wittens* imputed to the Cowardize of some of his Commanders, & the advantage of the English ships over them in number and strength.

But nevertheless the States thought it not convenient to hazard another Combat till they had a more sufficient Fleet than before, both in the goodness and strength of their ships, and the number also.

Both they and the English in the first beginning of the War had sent to the *Swedes* and *Danes* to invite them to their Party, because the Materials for shipping came from the Seas where these Princes had the chief Dominion; the *Swedes* were very favourable to us, and at last would be Neuters, if not Partakers with us, and the Queen sent hither Monsieur *Spiering* her Embassadour, who died shortly after his arrival at *London*, and after his death Monsieur *Appleboom* succeeded: but the *Danes* declared for the States of the *United Provinces* against us. And about this time their King sent a Message to them, that he was ready to succour them with twenty good ships of War, provided they would re-establish *Trump* in his late Employment as Admiral. The States were very willing to comply with this Proposition, and *Trump* was again prevailed with to re-assume his former charge.

The Dane
sides with
the Dutch

The Eng-
lish come
off with
loss in the
Levant.

In the *Levant* Captain *Badily* with four or five English Frigots was set upon by *Van Galen*, who commanded a Fleet of 16 Sail of Dutch Men of War in those Seas, in which encounter the *Phoenix* was taken by the Dutch, and the rest of our ships were forc'd to retire under the protection of the Port of *Longone*; but *Van Galen* bought this Victory with the loss of his Life, and the *Phoenix* was on the twentieth of November regain'd by the valour of Captain *Cox* a former Lieutenant to the same ship.

Van Trump being restored to the Office of Admiral, was very industrious to give a proof of his courage in some valiant Enterprize; and to that purpose having got together Eighty Men of War, and Ten Fire-ships, he sailed directly to the backside of the *Goodwin*, near the place where the former Battel was fought. *Blake* was in the *Downs* with few more than Forty sail, but was nevertheless resolv'd not to refuse an Engagement, and for

that purpose he hoys'd his sailes to find out *Trump*, and sent out seven ships to discover his Fleet, which were met by nine of the Dutch ships sent out on the same Errand. These began the Fight with their Cannon, and immediately the two Admirals advanced at the Head of their Squadrons, and the Fight was very furious, and lasted from the two in the Morning on the twenty ninth of November, Old Style, till six in the Evening. The *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* himself was, with the *Victory* and *Vanguard* bore most of the stress, being engaged at one time with twenty of the best Dutch ships, and though it was long doubted on which side the fortune of the day would turn, yet at last the numbers of the Dutch drew it to that side, with the loss of the *Garland* and *Bonaventure* which were taken, and of one that was burnt, and three sunk; and indeed had not the Night been favourable to our retreat, the whole Fleet might have been in much danger. But the Dutch could not much boast of this Victory; for they lost many men, and one of their Flag-ships was blown up, and all the Mariners and Souldiers therein lost, except two; and the ships of *Van Trump* and *De Ruyter* were much damaged.

1652

The
fourth
Combat
with the
Dutch.

Blake de-
feated in
the Downs

Blake after this defeat drew his shattered Fleet into the River of *Thames* to be repaired, and it is said, *Trump* triumphantly sailed through the Channel with a Broom on his main Topmast, pretending to sweep the Channel of all English shipping; and having sent home all his disabled ships, after some little stay about *Guernsey* and the Western Parts, he arrived at the *Isle of Rhe* to stay there for a Fleet of Merchants ships which were to be convoy'd homewards. In the mean time all possible care was used by the English States to equippe a Fleet to meet him as he return'd, and General *Monk* was added to the number of the Generals at Sea, and General *Dean* being newly arriv'd from *Scotland*, was order'd to go to Sea with *Blake* and *Monk*; so that under the joynt Command and Conduct of these three Generals, the War at Sea was to be managed.

The expence of this War made this Parliament contrive all ways they could to husband their Treasure, and because they thought the entertainment of the Duke of *Gloucester* (whom since the murder of the late King they had kept at the *Isle of Wight*) too great an expence, they resolv'd to send him abroad, and about the beginning of February they sent him with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, promising to allow him a small Exhibition for his maintenance, if he would not come near his Brother, nor any of his Relations.

The Duke
of Glou-
cester sent
away to
Dunkirk.

But as soon as he came on that side of the Water, he was received according to his Birth and Quality, and from *Bruxels*, he was attended to the Princess of *Orange* at *Breda*, where he safely arriv'd, to the great joy of her and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual fear, that his life would be taken away by those that spared not the life of his Royal Father.

He is con-
veyed to
Breda.

From
whence
he is con-
ducted to
Paris to
the King
his Bro-
ther.

After he had been a while at *Breda*, he was conducted from thence by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to *Paris* to the King his Brother, to whom as also

also

1652 also to his Mother the Queen, and his other Relations, he was welcomed as one risen from the dead, and was very civilly treated by the King and Queen-Mother of France, and that whole Court.

The Parliament solicits the Queen of Sweden to espouse their interest.

Monsieur Bourdeaux sent Agent from the French King to the English States.

The King reconciles the differences between the King and Princes of France.

The English Fleet out at Sea again.

The King of Denmark's Confederacy with the States of Holland made the Parliament very solicitous to draw the Queen of Sweden to their interest, but she continued in a resolution of Neutrality, and offered her Mediation for a Peace betwixt the two States, which yet took no effect; but the Dutch to strengthen their party, were very earnest with the French by their Ambassadour Boreel at Paris to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with that Crown, and herein they doubted not to succeed, because the English were in a kind of Hostility at this time with the French. For, about the later end of August in this year, some of the Parliaments Frigots had taken seven of the King of France his Ships which were going to the relief of Dunkirk, then besieged by the Arms of Spain, by which means that Town came into the hands of the Spaniards: But the reputation of the English Commonwealth was at this time so great, that Cardinal Mazarine, who then managed the Affairs of France, endeavoured rather an Accommodation with them than otherwise; so that the Dutch missed of their purposes in that Negotiation, and about the month of December Monsieur De Bourdeaux was dispatched as Agent from the King of France to acknowledge the English State. This action of the French at this time was looked on with much reflection by those that were Friends to the Crown of England; for our King had by his excellent wisdom and address newly composed the Civil Commotions of that Kingdom, wherein the Princes of the Blood had possessed themselves of Paris, and begun and formed a great Party against the King, demanding to have the Cardinal banished, and several real or pretended Grievances redressed, and so formidable were they grown, that the Cardinal withdrew himself to Colen for fear of them, and the Duke of Lorraine was on their behalf entred into the Bowels of France with an Army, whereby a great effusion of Blood had ensued if his Majesty's Mediation had not prevented it; by which the Crown of France was not only raised to a great lustre, but the Cardinal, whose Fortune was by most men judged desperate, was with the Peace restored to his former Authority and Greatness.

The States of Holland having advice that the Parliament was equipping a Fleet to be put to Sea under their three Generals, sent an express to Trump (then at Rhe) to hasten away with what Merchant-men were ready, and to block up the River of Thames to prevent their going out; Trump upon receiving this Order made what haste he could; but contrary to the expectation of the States, and even to their amazement, on the eighth of February, the English Generals set sail from Queenborough with sixty sail of Men of War, to which on the eleventh of the same month twenty Sail more joyued from Portsmouth, and with this Fleet they sailed over against Portland, where they lay cross the Channel half Seas over to discover the Dutch Fleet; on Friday the eighteenth of Fe-

bruary by break of day the Southermost ships of the English descried the Dutch, consisting (as their own Prints reported) of seventy six men of War, who had the charge of three hundred Merchants Ships to convey homewards.

The English Fleet made what sail they could towards the Enemy, and Van Trump having recollected his ships of War, prepared to receive them, and about eight in the Morning, the Triumph, wherein Blake and Dean were, with twelve ships more (for the rest of the Fleet could not get up) engaged Board and Board with the grofs of the Dutch Fleet, and the Triumph was hardly put to it, having received seven hundred Cannon-shot in her Hull, but was gallantly relieved by Lawson Commander of the Fairfax. By this time the whole English Navie came up, and a furious fight ensued betwixt the two Fleets, which continued till the Night parted them.

The Ship wherein General Monk commanded, being a slow sayler, could not perform so much as he desired, but he lost many Men, and had as great a share in the Fight as any of her condition. The Triumph and Fairfax being enclosed by the greatest of the Holland ships, had in each an hundred killed and wounded, and Blake received a hurt in his thigh with a piece of Iron which a shot had driven out, and Ball the Captain thereof was slain, together with Sparrow the Secretary. The Prosperous, a ship of four and forty Guns, was boarded by the Dutch, but recovered by the Merlin Frigot, Captain Mildmay of the Vanguard was killed; the English lost not a ship in this Fight, but had many disabled: but six Men of War of the Dutch were taken and sunk, whereof one was a Flag-ship, and it is said, that most of the Officers in Trumps ship were killed or wounded, and many of the Mariners. Such of the English Fleet as were disabled got into Portsmouth, and the wounded men were set on shore, and on Saturday Morning the Dutch Fleet was again discerned seven Leagues off Weymouth, and over against Dungeness, whither the English plied; and in the Afternoon both fleets engaged with so much fury, that they were quickly environed with flame and smoke. Trump had put his Merchant-men before him, and after the first shock, he drew off and fought retreating towards Bulloign, and in his way thither the English Frigots at large took many of his Merchants ships, and Lawson boarded a Dutch Man of War, and brought her off. The next day early in the Morning the Fight was renewed, which continued very fierce till four in the Afternoon, but the wind being cross to the English at North North-East, Trump got to Calice Sands, and there anchored, and thence tided it home.

The Dutch lost in these three days Fight eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchants Ships, and by the calculation of their own Prisoners, they had no less than fifteen hundred men kill'd; but of the English, though many ships were shattered, there was but one sunk named the Sampson, but Captain Button the Commander thereof (though much wounded) and most of the Men were saved. The number of the English slain is not reported, but by the best conjecture that could be made, they were not much less than those of their enemies.

This

1652

The two Fleets engaged near Portland. The fifth time.

The Dutch beaten in this Fight.

1652 This Year died the Lady Eleanor Davys, whose Prediction concerning the late Duke of Buckingham's Death, was thought remarkable enough to be commemorated by several Writers of the History of those Times, amongst the Presages that threatned the untimely end of that Great Man: And this coming from a Person of her Quality, was so much the more subject of Critical Discourse and Censure among the Wits of those Times; and whence, perhaps, some later Observers have taken Aim: but, since common Fame in these cases is ever apt to take things upon trust, and for want of due examination, to fix reproach as soon upon the best as the worst, it may much conduce to the rectifying of misinformed Judgements, and the vindicating of the Memory of so Vertuous a Lady from the injurious reflexions of unwary Writers, to give this faithful account of her:

She was the fifth Daughter of the Lord George Audley Earl of Castlehaven, and was married to Sir John Davys the Kings first Serjeant at Law in England, and sometime Attorney General in Ireland (whose Worth his own Learned Writings, and the known Credit he had with his Prince, sufficiently speak) by whom she was the Mother of one only Daughter, Lucy, who was married to Ferdinando late Earl of Huntingdon, and (by her) Grand-mother to the present Earl. As for her Character, there needs little more to be said (since nothing can be more advantageously) than to repeat what hath been delivered of her by the Elegant Pen of the Learned Doctor Du Moulin: She was (saith he) *Erudita supra sexum, Mitis infra sortem: Learned above her Sex, Humble below her Fortune, having a Mind so great and Noble, that Prosperity could not make it remiss, nor her deepest Adversity cause her to shrink, or discover the least pusillanimity, or dejection of Spirit; for being full of the Love of God, to that fulness, the smiling World could not add, nor the frowning from it detract.* Hence as from a Living Spring, flowed a full Stream of Christian Graces, redounding to the benefit of many, as well as to her own comfort. She had a fineness of Wit, but so temper'd with Prudence and Consultation, that she early addicted her self to serious Speculation, and the Study of Divine Truths. Wherefore, since our Saviour bids us examine (especially in these Cases) the Tree by the Fruit, we recommend it to the consideration of the Judicious, whether a Person so qualified and so addicted, might not with most equity be judg'd on this occasion, to have been favoured with some beam of a Divine Knowledge of future things: Certain it is, that not only in the above mentioned, but in divers other Events both of private and publick Concernment, her Predictions proved undoubtedly true. In the most flourishing condition of the Nation, she foretold its unparallel'd Troubles, and in the depth of those Troubles she foretold that happy Restauration to Peace and Settlement which we at this day (through the Mercy of God) enjoy under our most Gracious Sovereign, and in every one she long before prefix'd the time of their accomplishment.

This busie Year ended with the safe arrival of

Prince Rupert with the *Swallow*, and a prize laden with Tobacco, and a little Frigate at Nantes in Britany, from the Carib Islands. He had been sometime in those Seas with seven or eight Ships, and his Brother Prince Maurice with him, endeavouring to give what annoyance he could to the Enemies of the Crown of England in those parts, till some serviceable occasion might render him more favourable elsewhere; but the said strokes of adverse Fortune, which yet eclipsed the Royal Throne of England, did even in those distant parts pursue this Illustrious Pair of Princes, and by the violence of a Hurricane, the life of one of them (the valiant Prince Maurice) was taken away; a person who in our unhappy Civil Wars gave eminent proof of as much courage and generosity as any one man could be Master of, than whom death has left few worthier behind, to dignifie the World with Actions of Glory and Renown. Prince Rupert at his first arrival fell sick, but upon his recovery he was invited to Paris, and complemented by the King of France, and cordially welcomed by the King our Sovereign; where now almost the whole Royal Family were met together.

It is commonly observed, that it is easier much to obtain a Conquest than secure it; and in nothing was this more visible than in the present posture of Affairs in England, where the New Commonwealth now advanced to as great prosperity and security as their ambitious hopes could aim at, having, together with the death of the late King, as much as in them lay, even buried and eradicated Monarchy it self, began to sink under its own weight, and by intestine divisions at home, to meet that ruine, which all the strength and power of their Enemies abroad, and their Confederates could not reach to.

The Officers of the Army who effected this change, had met in Council some Months before in meditation of altering the Government; and these being of two Parties, and of different interests, it was scarce believed they could agree in the design. Harrison, who was one of the Heads of that Party at this time, known by the name of the Sect of the *Fifth Monarchy*, had gained a great part of the Inferiour Officers, and these were so much intoxicated with that Notion, that they never could approve of any Government; but where (as they said) *Christ was to Rule*, which, as they explained, (was a Dominion to be exercised by Saints under him) Men of such Holy and Sanctified Lives, that nothing but Plenty and Happiness could be expected from their Government, and to such, all Offices of Trust and Power, Military and Civil were to be committed, and of this sort they resolved to chuse by nomination a new Representative. Cromwell mingled with these Zealots in this projection, knowing the inconsistency of their intentions, and that the Reins of Power would be by them managed (as the Poets feigned *Phaeton's* conduct of the Chariot of the Sun) to set the World in a flame, and introduce such confusion as would necessitate his taking to himself the Government to rescue his party from destruction.

1653 The Parliament were very sensible of these actings, but knew not how to prevent their progress, yet that they might not be wanting to their own security, they had many Conferences with these Officers, wherein they represented to them the Inconveniences of their proceedings, telling them, *as the temper of the Nation now stood, no safety could be administred to the Government, but by filling up the House with Elections by the Countrey, of persons qualified, and when they were by that method arrived to a full Representative of the Nation, their Acts would be received with greater Authority, and by the concurrent Advice of so great a Body of interested persons, their cause would be strengthened, and the good they would do in reforming the Law and all Abuses, and administring Justice impartially, and settling a due Liberty to the people in Civil and Spiritual things, would make the Government in a few years so acceptable, that there would be no need of an Army to support it.*

To this answer was made by the Officers, *That they could not expect any good Fruits to the People of God from this Parliament, wherein there was so great a Party of Carnal Men of corrupt Principles, that the persons by their Authority to be chosen would be of the like temper and spirit as they are, and joyn with them in perpetuating themselves in the Supreme Government: Concluding, That the people of the Land, who were distinguishable from the people of God, were not yet to be trusted with the choice of their own Representatives: But they (they said) would take care to devolve the Supreme Authority upon known persons fearing God, and of approved integrity.* This reasoning on both sides tended to make the breach wider, but the Parliament in the mean time went on according to their own purpose, and prepared an Act for the settling of Qualifications of Members to fill up their House, wherein such speed was made, that on the twentieth of April the Question was ready to be put to pass it into a Law, when Crommel, Lambert, Harrison, and some eight Officers more of the Army, by intelligence with some of their Members, entred the House, and after a short Speech spoken by Crommel, shewing some reasons for the necessity of their Dissolution, he declared them dissolved, and required them to depart, but the Speaker would not leave the Chair, till by Harrison taken out by the Arm; and Crommel commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not any more to be carried before him, and then they caused the Doors of the Parliament House to be locked, and placed a good guard thereon to prevent the assembling of the Members.

This Revolution could not but be very pleasing to the King, for now the Stone was rowling in all probability it would not fix (as in the sequel it appeared) till that just Government should be attained under which this Kingdom had enjoyed as much happiness, for many Centuries of years, as any Nation in the World.

A Council of State constituted.

The first thing done by these Officers after this change, was to constitute a Council of State consisting of the Chief Officers of the Army, and such of the late Parliament as were their Confederates, in whom the Supreme Authority was placed, and till a Representative should be chosen, all obedience was required thereunto as fully as

when the Parliament was sitting, and all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Civil Officers and Publick Ministers whatsoever were to proceed in their respective Offices and Places, and Writs were to run in the Style of the Keepers of the Liberty of England as before.

The Dutch thought to profit themselves by this alteration, and made all possible haste to get out their Fleet, but our new Governours omitted nothing that might advance their Maritime preparations. And the first thing they did after their establishment, was to make an Ordinance for the raising of six Months Assessment from the twenty fourth of June ensuing, which was readily obeyed, because it exacted not so great a sum as the last Acts of Parliament for Assessments. A fix months Tax settled.

Whilest these things were in Action, all Officers and Souldiers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the Officers in the Fleet were practised on to approve of the Armies proceedings, and did comply therewith, so that no Commotion followed in any part upon this mutation of Government.

The next considerable matter that occur'd, was a Naval Combat betwixt the Dutch Fleet under Trump assisted with De Ruyter, Wit Wittens, and the two Everfons, consisting of 104 Men of War, 12 Galliots, and nine Fire-ships; and the English Fleet under the Command of General Monk and General Dean who were both in one Ship) assisted by Penne the Vice-Admiral, and Lamson Rear-Admiral, consisting of 100 ships of all sorts. It was about eleven of the Clock at Noon on the second of June that both the Fleets engaged, that at the first Broad-side of the Enemy, Dean was shot almost off in the middle by a Cannon-Bullet, as he stood by General Monk; but he without any disturbance was so present to himself, that he caused him to be removed, and prosecuted the Battel with great Resolution, without any further notice of the accident. The noise and Thunder of the Cannon was very great, and had been very deplorable to both Parties, if a sudden calm had not abated the fury of the Fight for some time after it began; but after two hours such a fresh gale of Wind arose, that the Fight was renewed in so violent a manner, that it continued with very little intermission whilst there was any light; Lamson pressed so hard upon De Ruyter with his Squadron, that he had carried him, if Trump had not come into his relief, but he could not prevent Lamson's sinking a Ship of Holme of 42 Guns, that had in her a hundred and forty men; the General with his Squadron was in the thickest of them, and greater execution had been done, but that the Wind blew cross to the English, and so favoured their Enemies, that they bore away before it. The next morning early General Monk found himself near them, but the Wind was so slack, he could not come up till Noon to engage their Fleet, but then the Combat was begun with greater vigour than at any time before, and continued till ten at Night; ninety of Trumps Fleet in the heat of the Engagement were in so great confusion, and so unwilling to stand to the Fight, that he fired upon them, and sent his Boat to Command them to come up to him, but nothing he could

Trump engaged by Gen. Monk and Dean: which was the fifth Sea Fight.

Gen. Dean slain in the fight.

1653 *Trump* de-
feated. could do or say, could persuade more than twenty of them to return, the rest steered away East and by South, but the Wind being fresh Westwardly, the General press'd so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, and two were blown up amongst their own Fleet, and eleven Ships and two Hoyes were taken, and thirteen hundred and fifty Prisoners, whereof six were Captains of very good note, and of the Ships one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals.

At the end of this days Fight, General *Blake* came in with eighteen fresh Ships, and if the Dutch had not been upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calice*, whereby our great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken. The English had not one Ship lost or disabled, and, except General *Dean*, but one Captain slain.

Van Trump imputed this overthrow to the ignorance and unskillfulness of his Captains, but his Masters were so humbled by it, that a resolution for Peace was immediately taken up, and a Vessel with a white Flag, and a Messenger to prepare a way for two Embassadors, was sent into *England*.

The Council of Officers had now agreed upon the several persons all over *England* (who were the most sanctified Creatures they could nominate) to form a Representative, and a Summons was sent to every one of them in the name of *Oliver Cromwell* Captain General of all the Forces, &c. to take upon them the trust to which they were summoned, and to meet at *White-hall* to that purpose on the fifth of *July* then next coming.

The New
Parliament
summoned.

These according to the respective Summons assembled at the time appointed, and went to *Westminster* to the Parliament House; and chose one *Rouse* a Cornish-man (made by the late Parliament Provost of *Eaton*) to be their Speaker, and appointed several Committees in the manner as other Parliaments used to do, to make their business easie to them.

The Dutch in this Conjunction had underhand made Overtures of a Peace to *Cromwell*, which was not ill received, but that they might make it on better terms, they were resolved once more to try their Fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost Reputation; and in order thereunto, they prepared a Fleet to the number of an hundred and twenty five Sail, with so much confidence of success, that they posted *Van Trump* out with 95 ships before the rest were ready, which were to be brought to him by *Witt Wittens* from the *Texel*.

It was upon the 29th of *July* in the Morning when the English Fleet of about 106 Ships descried the Dutch, they had time to draw together, and divided their Fleet into four Squadrons, (viz.) the first under *Trump*, the second under Vice-Admiral *Everson*, the third under Rear-Admiral *Fioris*, and the fourth under *Witt Wittens* for a Reserve.

1653 The English Fleet was commanded by General *Monk* in Chief, having *Penne* for his Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* Rear-Admiral; *Blake* was discomposed in his health, and not with the Fleet, the English were all a-stern, and could not get up till six of the clock to come to any Engagement, and then it was begun with a few of the nimblest Frigots, which were afterwards re-inforced to the number of thirty, who continued the Battel till the night parted them, though the rest of the Fleet could not get up to joyn with them.

1653 The last
Dutch En-
gagement
between
Gen. *Monk*
and *Trump*,
being the
sixth com-
bat.

The Dutch by the darkness of the night sent away many of their main'd disabled Ships, and got by the English Fleet to joyn with the twenty five Ships that *Wittens* brought to them, which much encouraged the rest to renew the Fight, in hopes to be reveng'd of their late affront; and now both Fleets met in the most fierce and cruel Fight that ever was fought, (General *Monk* observing this War to be very burthensome to the Nation, thought the best way of ending it to be in the sharpness of it, and therefore gave Orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter; for he had found by experience, that the taking of Ships oblig'd him always to send other Ships off with them, and so the Fleet became weakned,) the Air was quickly fill'd with scattered Limbs of men blown up; the Sea was died with the Blood that flowed from the Veins of the slain and wounded. *Witt Wittens* and *Everson* did bestir themselves, and often attempted to board the Ship in which the General himselfe was: *Cornelius Everson's* ship was sunk, and he taken, and the famous *Van Trump* himselfe standing upon the Poop of his ship with his drawn Sword encouraging his men, was slain with a Musquet-Bullet; whereby the rest of the Fleet was so discouraged, that they hoysted out all the sail they could to haste away towards the *Texel*: The English pursued little, (having bought the Victory at a dear rate) but tack'd about to *Sole-Bay*, there to repair their shattered ships, and dispose of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains, viz. *Everson*, *Zanger*, *Fomeen*, *Scotten*, and *D'Hayes*, and about 1200 Common men, by the mercy and compassion of the English taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; Thirty three sail of Ships, out of which they were sav'd, was sunk to the bottom of the Ocean, and in regard that these Prisoners were belonging to so many lost Ships, by this means the number of them was known; but it is supposed that some were sunk, out of which no men were saved. The English lost 400 Common men, and eight Captains, *Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Crisp*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen* and *Chapman*, men of great resolution; and had about 7000 wounded, whereof five were Commanders, but they lost but one ship, which was called the *Oak*.

Van Trump
slain.

Van Trump was a man of so great Courage and Experience in Maritime Affairs, that he justly merited the fame of being the most Renowned Sea-Captain of this Age, and perhaps there were few better at any time before. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour, and Fidelity, and a great lover of his Countrey, which made him bear a grateful respect to the House of *Orange*, by whom the foundation was laid of that (*High and Mighty*) greatness they now assume and enjoy; and by whose

A Chara-
cter of
Van Trump.

1653 Prudence and Courage their Liberties were rescued and preserved against one of the most potent Princes of *Europe*. Out of his great sense of Honour, he had much commiseration for the sufferings of our Royal Family, and did endeavour to persuade his Masters to espouse the Kings Interest, as that to which they were in Justice and Conscience obliged to adhere, and though he was without success in that undertaking, he omitted not on all occasions to testify his affections to his Majesty.

The War was not only prosecuted in those great fights, but in all parts of the World where the Trade of the Two Nations was used, the ships of each engaged one the other, & many sore conflicts were made in several places; but because the particular description of these encounters would swell this Treatise to too large a bulk, we do omit the doing thereof.

This new Parliament (for so for distinction we must call it) began to be so troublesome in their consultations, that the whole Nation, and the most of those Army Officers that named them, grew wearier of them than those that were before removed; for they were so Seraphical and Notional in their debates, that the whole Magistracy and Ministry was to be so modelled, as would make the Government ridiculous; but the Ministry and the Maintenance thereof by Tythes was that they most arraigned as an Antichristian Constitution; so that now all things succeeded to *Cromwell's* expectation, and their dissolution was earnestly pressed to save a threatened confusion in Government, if they continued in Authority; and of this some amongst themselves were so sensible, that *Rouse* the Speaker on the twelfth of *December* acquainted the House, that their sitting was no longer necessary, and being seconded by some others privie to the intention, he rose from the Chair, and went out of the House with the Mace before him, and with as many as would follow him (being the major part of the Members) he came to *White-hall*, and there resigned to *Cromwell* the Instrument by him formerly delivered to them at their first sitting; *Harrison* and some few staid in the House after the rest went, but were quickly dispersed by a party of Souldiers sent to dissolve them.

About four days after, the Officers of the Army had prepared an Instrument or Systeme of Government, on which the foundation of a new Dominion was to be erected, and they entreated *Oliver Cromwell* to accept of the Government under the Title of *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland*: He at first seemingly refused the Dignity; but when the exigence of Time and necessity of Affairs were laid open to him, he did accept of it, and was that day at one in the afternoon install'd at *Westminster* in manner following:

The Protector install'd. He came from *White-hall* to the Chancery Court in *Westminster-hall*, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer and Judges in their Robes, and after them the Counsel Learned of the *Commonwealth*, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of

1653 London in their Scarlet Gowns, then came the Protector attended with many of the chief Officers of the Army; there was a Chair of State set in the Court, and the Protector stood by it, till the Instrument of Government was read; then the Oath was administered to him, which he took in the following words:

I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in the Instrument, but to observe and cause the same to be observed; and in all things to the best of my understanding, Govern the Nation, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs thereof: and to seek their Peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administered.

Having subscribed this Oath and the Instrument, he sat in the Chair of State, and put on his Hat, and the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal delivered up the Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, all which he respectively returned to them again; and then the Protector in the same manner as he came, returned to *White-hall*. To publish the Instrument of Government is not very necessary, and will be too long, but some Heads thereof are here inserted:

The Heads of the Instrument of the Protector's Government.

1. A Parliament to be called every three years.
2. The first to Assemble on the third of September, 1654.
3. No Parliament to be dissolved till it have sat five Months.
4. Such Bills as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he assent not in twenty days, to be Laws without him.
5. That his Council shall not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteene.
6. That immediately after the death of the present, and succeeding Protectors, the Council shall chuse another before they rise.
7. No Protector after the present, shall be General of the Army.
8. The Protector shall have power to make War and Peace.
9. That in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector and his Council may make some Laws that shall be binding to the Subject.

The first Council chosen in pursuance of this Instrument, were,

Col. Edward Mountague.
Col. John Lambert.
Philip Lord Viscount Lisle.
Col. John Desbrow, newly made also one of the Generals at Sea.
Sir Gilbert Pickering.
Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper.
Sir Charles Woolsey.
Major Gen. Skippon.
Walter Strickland, Esq;
Col. William Sydenham.
Col. Philip Jones.
Francis Rouse, Gent.
John Lawrence.
Richard Major, Esq;

The

1653 The first Act of these Counsellors after their establishment was a Proclamation notifying the Government, with a direction therein, *That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and all other pulique Officers, and Ministers whatsoever within this Commonwealth or any part thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices till further Order to the contrary.*

The States of the United Provinces were brought into so low condition by the two last fights, and their people so much dispirited, that a general Revolt was feared in the Provinces; nevertheless they put as good a Countenance as they could on their condition, and chose the *Heer Opdam* to be Admiral of their Fleet in the place of *Trump*, but thought it more advisable to prosecute overtures of peace than venture another Battel; and certainly if the War had been continued, their Mariners were so baffled, they would very hardly have procured men to furnish a Fleet, and one Battel more might have brought us a blank Paper for our own conditions; but *Cromwell* was not so well settled in his Throne to hazard any thing, and therefore the Dutch Embassadors, *Newport*, *Youngstal*, and *Bevering*, & *Vander Perre* were well received by him; and in the beginning of this year they were so diligent in their Negotiation, that on the 5th of April the Articles of Peace were signed in London, and on the 26th of the same month they were proclaimed in London and Amsterdam, and in this Peace the King of Denmark was included.

Opdam supplies the place of *Trump*.

1654 The Protector concludes a Peace with the Dutch.

For the King of Denmark espousing the interest of the States of Holland, had arrested two and twenty English Ships which were in his Ports, and at their instance confiscated the Merchandizes therein; so that they were obliged to compose that difference, and this was that which had more difficulty than any other matter in the Treaty.

The Articles of the Peace we think not very essential to our History to be inserted at large, but the two which were of most importance, were these, (*viz.*)

The Men of War and other Ships of Holland meeting the English Ships in the Narrow Seas shall lower their Sayls to them.

The States shall cause restitution to be made by the King of Denmark of all the ships and goods of the English by him seized which are yet undisposed, and a full compensation in value for such of them as had been sold, to be ascertained in a time prefixt by six English Merchants, and six Dutch, who should meet for that purpose.

A Peace with the Queen of Sweden.

And the Spanish Embassadour was as early to congratulate the Protector's Authority: and peace was made with the Queen of Sweden, and the Conde del Sa Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom of Portugal came in a splendid Embassie to sue for a Peace of him: nor were the French backward to own his power, having given to Monsieur Bourdeaux their Resident here the Quality of Embassador to qualifie him the better for his Negotiation, and added to him the Baron

of *Bais* for a Colleague. *Cromwell* being now owned by many of the Neighbour Princes and States abroad, and by most of those of his own party at home, thought himself inscure from none but the Royalists, and to give them some terror by his Agents, formed a Plot to draw in some honest credulous persons of that party to their destruction; and in prosecution hereof in the month of May Colonel *John Gerard*, and his Brother Mr. Col. *Charles Gerard*, Mr. *Phillip Porter*, Mr. *Peter Vowel*, and Mr. *Sumerfet Fox* were apprehended for a pretended intention to assassinate the Protector, and brought before a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, proclaimed on the 13th of June following, and sitting on the 31st; before whom they were tried for their lives, and three of them, (*viz.*) Colonel *John Gerard*, Mr. *Vowel*, and *Sumerfet Fox* were condemned. The last of these was reprieved and pardoned upon his confession of the fact, and craving mercy, but the other two were executed. Mr. *Vowel* was hanged at Charing-Cross, where with an undaunted spirit, tempered with a Christian constancie and patience, he gave up his life. Colonel *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and died with great courage and Magnanimity. With him upon the same Scaffold suffered the Portugal Embassadors Brother *Don Pantalion Sa*, who had a-while before made a riot in the New Exchange upon conceit of some affront offered there to him, and killed one *Greenway* a Gentleman standing quietly at a shop, no opposition being made but by this Colonel *Gerard*, who was fatally joyned with him in death. The Murder was committed by a Knight of *Malta*, who escaped; but this Gentleman and four more of the Embassadors Servants being taken (one whereof was an Irish youth,) they were arraigned in *Westminster-hall* before Judge *Roller*, and others by special Commission of Oyer and Terminer thereunto appointed; and the Portuguese were tried by a Jury of half English and half Strangers, and the Irish Boy by a Jury of English; they were all found guilty, but none suffered but the above-mentioned *Don Pantalion* and the Irish youth, who was hanged at *Tyburn*.

1654 Spain Portugal and France seek Cromwells friendship.

Col. Gerard and others tried before a High Court of Justice.

Col. Gerard and Pantalion Sa beheaded.

Our King had remained in the Court of France, between two and three years, with an expectation sometimes flowing, and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some opportunity to recover his Kingdoms; some hopes he had of assistance from several other Princes of the Empire, as the Dukes of Brandenburg, Lunenburgh, Brunswick, &c. as also the Emperour himself, to whom was sent in a decent and Honourable equipage the Lord *Wilmot* created Earl of Rochester, and his Address received with much civility and respect. Moreover, the Dutch seemed very inclinable to the owning and adopting his Interest in their War with England, and Prince *Rupert* was designed to have had the Command in his Majesties Name, of a Squadron of their Ships; yet so little speed was made in putting this Overture into act, and so suddenly was the Peace made up between this Nation and them, that whatever they hoped for and expected from them, quickly vanished and came to nothing. His next and more probable expectation was from the Success of those earnest endeavours that were made by the Pope and other

The King's hopes from Foreign Princes and States. The Earl of Rochester sent Embassador to the Emperour.

1654 other Princes, for a Reconciliation between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in which Affair he also interposed himself a most zealous Solicitor, as not doubting but that from the united Forces of two such powerful Monarchs, he should receive considerable assistance: and matters were once in a fair way to a peaceful Conclusion, had not the Politick Reasons of State, as it was thought, of Cardinal *Mazarine* put a stop to this Grand Work; so that taking his leave of the King of *France* (and the other Great Ones) from whom he received many Complements and Apologies, he went, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, his Cousins Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Edward* Palatine, to *Chatillon*, a House belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, where they stayed a while to determine how most commodiously each of them should dispose of themselves. The King with Prince *Rupert* resolved for *Germany* (the Earl of *Rocheſter* being at that time with the Emperour at *Regensburgh*, to solicit in his behalfe;) and the rather, because about that time a general Dyet of the Estates of the Empire was to be held in that City: Prince *Edward* took his Journey to *Bourbon*, and the Duke of *York* remained in *France* till a good while after the Conclusion of the Peace with *England*, being Lieutenant-General of the French Kings Army, Commanded in Chief by Marshal *Turenne*. Prince *Rupert* parted from the King to go to *Hidelburgh*, the Chiefe Seat of his Brother *Charles* Prince Palatine, and thence to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, and the King took his Journey by the way of *Cambray* and *Liege* to the *Spaw*, which he made his first place of Residence in *Germany*. Here his Sister the Princess Royal of *Orange* met him, and after a few Months stay in this place, accompanied him to *Colen*, where they were received with great Honour and Magnificence: as they made their entrance into the Town, the great and small Guns were discharged, and the Deputies of the City came in a solemn manner to complement them: the Duke of *Newburgh* also entertained them very splendidly at his House at *Dusseldorp*, from whence the Princess of *Orange* returning into *Holland*, the King her Brother brought her onward of her way as far as *Bedinguen*.

The conclusion of the War with *Ireland*. From the time we left *Ireland* in so declining a Condition, and so almost lost to his Majesties Hopes, and the Lord Lieutenants endeavours, the most considerable Force that was left, was in *Ulster*, under the Leading of *Emir Mac Mohon* Bishop of *Cloghor*, who (*Owen Roe Oneal* being dead) succeeded him as General in those Parts, besides the united Forces of *Clanrickard*, *Muskerry*, and *Castlehaven*, and some few Parties that now and then sailed from their Fastnesses; these for a while gave check to the Republicans and *Cromwell's* Substitutes; till in the end the said Prelate being overthrown (even to the taking of his person mortally wounded in the Fight) by Sir *Charles Coot*, and Colonel *Fenwick*; the Lord *Muskerry* by my Lord *Broghil*; the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, soon after a defeat he received at *Finagh*, forced to lay down his Arms in the Isle of *Carrick*; the remnant of the *Ulster* Forces Commanded by the Lord *Jinkillen*, Colonel *O'Rely*, and the *Mac-Mohons*, Relations of the

1654
aforesaid Bishop, yielding upon Articles; as likewise did *Morroggh O-Brian*, having all of them stood it out to the last Extremity: the remaining Towns, Castles, and Forts which held out, as *Athlone*, *Galloway*, *Ballishannon*, *Ballimote*, the Isles of *Arran* and *Enisbaffen*, and other places, were all constrained to surrender themselves to the Conquerers Power; the Marquess of *Ormond* and the Lord *Inchequin*, having in time provided for their Safeties, (when they saw things in a desperate condition, and still growing worse and worse) by imbarquing for *France*, nothing was left but to dispossess and extirpate the vanquish'd, and take possession in their room. Some they removed out of the World by an Itinerant High Court of Justice, which went in Circuit from one place to another, the President whereof was one Justice *Donellan* an Irish-man, and *Cook* (notorious for his officiating in another High Court) his assistant. Others were sent out of the Land by the Articles of Transportation, which the Marquess of *Clanrickard* and others upon their laying down Arms had concluded with them; namely, to have free liberty to go beyond Sea to serve the King of *Spain*, or some foreign Prince in his Wars: those Inheritors that remained and escaped the High Court, were transplanted to the Province of *Connaught*, so that there was a large extent of Territory left for the Adventurers and Purchasers of Irish Lands. The main pretence of this foresaid Court which sate at *Kilkenny*, and thence removed to *Waterford*, *Dublin*, *Ulster*, and other places, was for the Tryal of those that were judged guilty of the Irish Rebellion in One thousand six hundred forty one. The Chief of Quality that suffered, (for there was a number of less note) were Colonel *Mac Hugh*, Colonel *Toole*, and Colonel *Walter Bagnal*, and who was of all the most Eminent as in Quality, so in Crime (had he been judged by a Lawful Authority) as having been one of the principal leading Men in that Insurrection, and likewise one of the chief obstructors of the Union, endeavoured by the Lord Lieutenant to the advantage of his Majesties Service, Sir *Philem Oneal*, who being taken near *Charlemount*, tryed and condemned, was hanged and quartered near my Lord *Canfields* House, at the place where he had caused his Father to be murdered. Thus was *Ireland* become subjugated to the English Usurpation. And so likewise was *Scotland* thought to have been at this time, when on a suddain a new Hostility springs up in the *Highlands*, headed by divers of the Scotch Nobility, who had the most powerful influence in those parts, the Earles of *Glencarn*, *Athol*, *Seaforth*, *Kinroule*, the Lord *Kenmore*, the Lairds *Mac Renalds*, and *Mac Cloud*, Colonel *Montgomery*, Sir *Mungo Murry*, and Sir *Arthur Forbes*; these having each of them got together their several Parties, were endeavouring to unite into a Body, and so trusted to have been able with a Force not altogether contemptible to have taken the Field against the main Power of the English that were then in *Scotland*; and 'tis like enough they had speedily effected what they intended, had not the chief Body of them, amounting in all to about 4000 under *Glencarn* and *Kenmore* been encountred on the sudden, ill arm'd, ill provided, and in disorder, by Colonel *Morgan* at *Cromar*: *Glencarn's* Army in this Conflict being very much put

Glencarn and *Midleton* defeated in the *High-*
put

1654 put to the rout and dispersed, and himself missing but little of being taken, the rest in little stragling parties were many times met with to their loss: yet were they not for all this so out of heart, but that they again made a shift in some sort to reimbody, and that so much the more confidently, upon expectation of *Middletons* coming over with Supplies out of *Holland*; though upon his arrival not long after with Commission to be General, Sir G. *Monroe*, (who together with the Lord *Napier*, and Major General *Dalyel*, landed with *Middleton* at *Uney Ferry*) having also Commission to be Lieutenant General; The Highland Levies instead of being re-inforced by these additional forces and supplies were rather weakened and overthrown by the animosities of some of the Scotch Nobility; especially *Glencarn* stomaching the preference of *Middleton* and *Monroe* to the Command of the Army above him, thereupon departed in discontent, and laid down his Arms. Upon the neck of which breaches and defections among them, General *Monk* (the Dutch War being ended, having no more Work to do at Sea, is sent Commander in Chief into *Scotland*, and coming upon *Middleton* at *Loughberry*, on the twentieth of *July*, gave him an utter defeat, and thereby put a period to these Highland Agitations, and all further attempts in *Scotland*, to the disturbance of the then regnant Authority in *England*.

The General Assembly dissolved by Col. Morgan
The Kirk of *Scotland* also her self at this time had the wings of her Religious Empire very much clipp'd, if not quite taken away by the dissolution of her General Assembly, which was done by Colonel *Morgan*, the fore-going year at *Aberdeen*, where they were assembled, Mr. *Andrew Cant* and the rest of them in vain protesting against the action: the like disturbance they had afterwards at *Edinburgh* from Lieutenant Colonel *Cottrel*.

The Marques of Argyle intercedes for the Liberty of the Church of Scotland
The Marques of *Argyle*, to keep up his Reputation with the Church of *Scotland*, seemed much troubled in his mind at this proceeding against the Assemblies, and interceded with the Protector for the liberty of the Church, wherein he had very good success: For *Oliver* considering that his declining the Kings interest, facilitated the total subjection of *Scotland* to his Authority, was willing enough to oblige him, by seeming to do that at his request, he determined to do before for the quieting of the minds of the people; the Church of *Scotland* was therefore indulged with the exercise of Religion, and a great part of their Jurisdiction and Discipline: they were restrained in little more than the power of keeping General Assemblies (their Presbyteries being permitted to convene) and the rigour of Excommunication: For, whereas before persons excommunicated were not excluded from the Communion of the Kirk, but had all their estates confiscated till their Reconciliation. This latter part was not now to be executed; but to please the Ministers for the restraint of their power, the maintenance of Scholars in the Universities of *Scotland* was increased, and many Priviledges granted to them.

The Government and security of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, was the next care of the Protector. Major Gen. *Lambert* was formerly appointed for

that Government, and had provided all his equipage to go thither; but *Cromwell* was jealous, lest his ambition should excite him to gain a party there to establish himself against him: and therefore he artificially contrived to hinder him from going, upon pretence of greater advancement here, and he made him next to himself, Commander in Chief of all the Armies, with an entertainment of ten pounds a day; this done, he constituted his own Son-in-law *Fleetwood* to be Deputy of *Ireland*, assisted with 6 Councillours (that is to say) *Steel* who was after made Chancellor, *Pepys* one of the Barons of the Exchequer in *England*, appointed to be Lord Chief Justice of *Ireland*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* of *Suffex*, *Miles Corbet*, and the Colonels *Robert Hammond*, and *Matthew Thomlinson*.

The King was at *Colen* when he received the disconsolate News of the disasters in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, supported chiefly by that brave and undaunted fortitude, which never failed him in the greatest of his adversity. The Princes of *Germany* were very kind to him, which made his stay in those parts the more agreeable; and to encrease his comfort, he sent the Marques of *Ormond* to *Paris*, to wait on his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester* to him, whom he more earnestly desired to have near him, lest his youth might be prevailed upon by the subtilty of Arguments, and temptation of Riches and Promotion, to change his Religion; for the King was ever most zealous in the profession of the Protestant Religion in himself and Family, and on all occasions to promote it to his power in others.

A Parliament called
According in the late Instrument of Government, wherein it was Articled, That a Parliament should be called every three years, and that the first should begin on the third of *September* 1654. A Parliament was summoned by *Oliver's* Writs, chosen after the wonted manner of Election by the peoples voice, and assembled at *Westminster* at the prefixed time above mentioned, making choice for their Speaker of *William Lenthall*, Speaker in the Long Parliament: their beginning was somewhat bold, considering the totteringness of their Estate; for at their very first sitting, they began to question the lawfulness of the Power by which they were called, whereupon they were enjoined to sign a Recognition of the Government, as it was settled in a Single Person and a Parliament, before they could be re-admitted to their Seats in the House: this all of them that sign'd (for some refused) had liberty again to take their places; but so little did their proceedings please his Protectorship, that they had scarcely sat full five months (and so long they were to sit by one of the Articles of the Instrument) when he came and dissolved them. A day or two after which, were apprehended Major *Wildman*, with a Declaration proving the lawfulness and necessity of taking up Arms against *Cromwell*: and of the Royallists, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Henry Littleton*, and some others, about a new Conspiracy, which *Oliver* told the Members of his Parliament at the time of his dismissing them, he knew to have been countenanced and abetted, if not in a part promoted by some of them present, he

Fleetwood is made Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Marques of *Ormond* sent to attend the Duke of *Gloucester*.

The Members in-joined to sign a Recognition.

The Parliament dissolved.

Sir *Henry Littleton*, and others committed to the Tower.

1654 whom he could name. And the truth is, there was a foundation laid (by a Combination of the most courageously affected toward their Princes Service throughout the Kingdom, authorized by Commission from his Majesty), of a general rising for him in every County; which had not so quickly and so easily been suppressed, had not *Cromwell*, sparing for no cost to maintain his Instruments of deceit; for he had his Spies ready hired, not only here but in all corners, such as counterfeiting themselves zealous Royallists, insinuated into their Counsels, and betrayed them, (of which number Sir *Richard Willis* at last became shrewdly suspected to be one) but even about the Kings person, as appeared by the defection of one *Manning*, preferred in consideration of his fathers merits (his father was Colonel *Manning*, slain in his late Majesties Service) to be one of the Kings Secretaries Clerks, whom Colonel *Samuel Take*, forcing open his Chamber-door, took in the very act of holding Correspondence with *Thurloe*, *Oliver's* Secretary, from whom having newly received a Pacquet, and setting himself busily in the returning of Answers, to prevent discovery, he was hastily chewing Papers in his mouth just as the Colonel entred. Thus for a long time had he made it his weekly practice to send Intelligence to the Usurper, of all that was transacted in the Kings Court, and had a large Pension punctually assigned him for his pains; till at length thus fortunately found out, he had the reward of his treachery paid him in a more deserved manner, being by the Kings command, the whole Court beseeching his Majesty to make a publick example of him, shot to death in one of the Duke of *Newburghs* Castles. This Combination, though it were probably to the very bottom discovered, before the apprehending of the above-named persons; yet so far the design, being generally laid, had taken effect, that in several Counties some small armed parties began to gether into a Body; in *Shropshire* and *Wales* some endeavoured to have taken *Shrewsbury* and *Chirk* Castle by surprize, but were both prevented; and of those that attempted *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Harris*, who was the chief, was taken Prisoner, and sent up to *London*.

Mannings discovered treachery for which he is put to death.

The surprize of *Shrewsbury* endeavoured.

An Insurrection at *Salisbury*.

And the like in other parts of the Nation suppressed.

Upon Sunday the 11th of *March*, a party for the King of about 200 entred *Salisbury* about Midnight, and having seized upon Horses, and taken away the Commissions of the Judges that were upon their Circuit, bended their course towards *Cornwal*; of which Captain *Unton Crook* having timely intelligence, pursued them with his own Troop, and at a place called *Southmolton* in *Devonshire* overtook them, and after four hours sharp Conflict, tired as they were, and drowsie, and faint for want of sustenance, drove them to a necessity of yielding; yet *Penraddock* bravely stood it out, till Articles were granted for the Indemnity of him and his Company, which *Crook* is said to have afterwards perfidiously denied, and left them wholly over to the Courtesie of their Judges: besides 50 common Prisoners, there were taken of the chief Leaders 3 Captains, *Penraddock*, *Jones*, and *Grove*, only Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* made a shift to escape away. Other Risings there were in *Northumberland*, and at the Forest of *Sherwood* in *Yorkshire*, where five hundred Horse being met,

and not finding the Country to come in as they expected, dispersed themselves, and returned to their Habitations. Also at *Hexam-Moor* in *Yorkshire*, there was a great Rendezvous of the Gentry of the Country, of whom Sir *Henry Slingsby* was taken, and Sir *Richard Maleverer* with much ado escaped.

At *Salisbury*, *Exeter* and *Chard* in *Somersetshire* many of the West-Rifers were tried by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and executed, and particularly at *Exeter*; *Penraddock* and *Grove* were beheaded, Captain *Jones* was reprieved; besides those who were put to death of the chief Leaders, many Prisons in the West were filled with a number of the common sort of prisoners, till within a little while after that they emptied themselves into Foreign Plantations.

And there hapned about this time an Adventure which served very opportunely for the ridding of Prisons of their furcharging numbers, and the in-employing of a multitude of loose and vagrant people, there having been ever since the Peace with the *Dutch*, preparations made for the equipping forth of a great and powerfull Fleet, upon an Expedition which was kept very secret, and not made known even to those that went upon it, unless to the Supreme Commanders, till the very last; only it was given out, that the Voyage would be very profitable, and to a place where there was much Gold and store of Riches: In this Service we may well think there would not be wanting enough that would greedily engage themselves; hither all sorts of people flocked, especially those of low and Bankrupt Fortunes, and upon hopes of enriching themselves, run headlong most of them to their ruine; a Fate that commonly attends precipitate Ambition and Covetousness. This Navy setting Sail from *Portsmouth* on the 27th of *December*, put in at the *Barbadoes* on the 28th of *January*, *Venables* commanding the Land-Forces, and *Pen* being General at Sea.

This Year had been sufficiently memorable, if for nothing else, yet for the death of that Famous and Learned Antiquary Mr. *John Selden*, whose Works are a Monument far more Worthy his Memory, than that in the *Inner-Temple* Church.

The King of *Spain* was not ignorant that this great preparation was designed to make some impression on his Dominions in the West-Indies, and after having dispatched expressees into those parts to give them warning thereof, he sent the Marquis of *Leda* (a person of great reputation in Arms) in a splendid Embassy to the Protector, to divert, or prevent the prosecution of the business: he arrived at *London* the 22th of *May*, but had so cold reception and was so much discouraged in his Negotiation, that he quickly returned.

In the mean time the English Fleet set sail from the *Barbadoes* the 30th of *March*, and steered its course towards *Hispaniola*, one of the fairest and richest Islands belonging to the *American* Dominions of the King of *Spain*; so that it was by this time apparent enough which way this expedition tended. And whereas it was admired

1654

Penraddock and *Grove* beheaded about the Western rising.

1655

The Marquis of *Leda* comes Ambassador from *Spain* and speedily returns.

The Fleet steers towards *Hispaniola*.

1654 mired by many, that at that time when no Hostility was declared between this Nation and the Kingdom of *Spain*, or any defiance bid on either side, we should carry War into his Territories, without any provocation by him first offered. It was alledged, That the Conditions of Peace extended not beyond the Line. This, though it serv'd to stop the mouths of some, yet it could not satisfy the Spaniard, who look'd upon it as an absolute breach: However it were, whether this Expedition were just or not, whether it were undertaken to a pious end, as was pretended, to curb the excessive Pride, and ambitious Usurpation of the Spaniard, and to bring freedom and purity of Religion to those *Indians* under his Yoke; or, as many are apt to believe, to partake with the Spaniard of some of his Indian Gold, (thinking it too much for one Potentate to ingross so much Treasure to himself,) I shall not undertake to determine. This is most certain, That at the beginning of this Enterprize, it met with a very remarkable Check, (however the War with the Spaniard proved afterwards successful enough) for General *Venables*, when as he might have landed his men within a very little of *Santo Domingo*, (the principal Town and Fortrefs of the Island, and which was in a manner deserted by the Garrison Souldiers,) upon sight of the English Fleet; nevertheless, led by I know not what Policy and Interest of his own, and (it is more than suspected) over-rul'd by the Counsels of his Wife, set them ashore ten Leagues Westward of *Domingo*; whereupon the Spaniards gather'd fresh Courage, and betook themselves again to the defence of *Santo Domingo*, which they had abandoned. The English landing without opposition, and seeing no Enemy near them, thought themselves safe enough, and were in their minds absolute Lords of the *Indies*, sharing the Golden Mines among them; when contrary to their expectation, the General causing it to be proclaim'd at the Head of the Army, That none upon pain of Death should plunder any Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattel. This sudden frustration of their Hopes, and the Climates excessive heat, proved the one such a damping to their Spirits, the other such a weakning to their Bodies, that by that time they had marched a most tedious and disconsolate March through thick Woods, in deep scalding Sands, ready to perish with miserable Drought and Thirst for want of Water, (of which they met not with a drop in many miles,) they were brought to such a condition, that they needed not an Enemy to kill them, being already almost dead with faintness and weakness; so that the Spaniards, Negro's, and Molatto's falling upon them, kill'd, with little or no resistance, till they were weary of killing; and those that could make a shift to fly away, found it a sufficient Atchievement for that time, to bring themselves back again safe unto their Ships.

In this Conflict Major General *Haines* acted the part of a very valiant Souldier, who being shamefully deserted by his own men, and overpowred by his Enemies, was slain stoutly fighting: there fell above six hundred in the Fight, besides what were cut off in stragling parties near as many

more; and all this Execution was done by not above sixty of the Enemy. The Remnant of this Naval Army, that they might not be thought to have undertaken so long a Voyage, and of such expectation altogether in vain, possess themselves, with little or no opposition of another Island called *Jamaica*; which, however not so plentiful and rich a place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the Supplies that were sent them out of *England*, they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough to abide in, planting themselves at *Oristano*, the chief, if not only Town thereof, and have kept it ever since.

The first Adviser to this Undertaking, was one *Gage* a Minister (formerly a Romish Priest) who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of Travel in those Parts (of which there is a handsome Relation of his extant) was well acquainted with them; and there he ended his days not long after his arrival, reaping little Fruit of his Project.

Whilest the Proceedings in the *West-Indies* were unprosperous, General *Blake* had better fortune in the *Streights*, who coming with his Fleet before *Tunis*, and sending to the Governour thereof to demand satisfaction for the Depredations committed by his people on the English, and to require the English Captives to be delivered to him, had a contemptuous answer return'd, (*viz.*) *Here are our Castles of Gulletto and Porta Ferina well mann'd and furnished with Ordance, do what you can, we fear you not.* And at the same time they mann'd a Line all along the Shore, and planted Guns thereon: Whereupon (after a short Consultation with his Officers) *Blake* with his great Ships and their Seconds, came into the Bay of *Porta Ferina*, within Musquet-shot of the Castle and their Line, and fired with such fury upon them (notwithstanding the frequent discharges of sixty great Guns upon his Ships,) that in two hours the Castle was made defenceless, and all their Guns dismounted, and the Stones clattered about their ears; and finding nine of their Ships in the Road, he caused them all to be fired with his long Boats, and in five hours they were consumed. After this brisk Action he sail'd to *Algiers* and *Tripoly*, with both which places he made very advantageous Treats, and then came again to *Tunis* which he found (by this time) willing to submit to what he propos'd.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the several late endeavours for the King, for which so many suffered, it was not much above a Month e're the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, *Maynard*, *Faulkland*, *Lucas*, *Petre*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Geoffery Palmer*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, with divers others, were committed to the Tower, upon suspicion of pretended High-Treason against *Cromwell*; which yet, went no further than bare suspicion; for they were never brought to a publick Trial.

About the beginning of *July*, Major *Sedgewick* went with a Squadron of twelve ships, among

The English land in the Island Hispaniola.

They are cruelly vanquish'd by the Spaniards and Natives, and driven out of the Island.

They possess themselves of Jamaica.

General Blake's notable Attempt and success before Tunis.

The Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Newport and others committed to the Tower.

1655 among which was Colonel *Humphryes* with a Regiment for the supply of those in *Jamaica*; from whence, in the following Month of *August*, General *Penne* returned for *England*, with a part of the Fleet, the greatest part yet staying behind: and not long after him came over General *Venables*, leaving in their steads Colonel *Fortescue* to command the Land Forces, Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, the Navy. *Venables* not long after his Arrival, was for his ill management of Affairs in *Hispaniola* sent to the Tower; from whence, being judged to have failed rather through rash Imprudence, than any sinister Intention, he was at length released.

The Duke of Gloucester willingly obeying the Order of the King his Brother, was come away with the Marquess of *Ormond* from *Paris*, and having stayed for some time with his Sister the Princess Royal at the *Hague*, was at last accompanied by her to the King her Brother at *Colen*, where she herself also staid with them till after the Fair at *Frankford*; to which place, they all of them together made a Progress of State and Pleasure, attended by the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Normich*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Lady *Stanhope*, and Monsieur *Hemfleet* her Husband, they went by Coach a little beyond *Bonne* the Archbishops Electoral Seat; the rest of the Journey they went by Water: through every Princes Countrey which they past, they had the chief Officers of State sent to Complement them, and were saluted by the great Guns from all their Towns and Castles, more especially the Prince Elector of *Mentz* sent his Grand Marshal to invite them to his Court: whereupon the Lord *Newburgh* was sent back with the Grand Marshal, to desire the Elector to excuse them at present, promising to wait upon him at their return.

Their progress to *Frankford*.

The Interview between the King and *Christina* Queen of *Sweden*.

The King and his Company entertained by the Elector of *Mentz*.

Being arrived at *Frankford*, and hearing that Queen *Christina* of *Sweden* was coming that way in her Journey into *Italy*, the King sent one of his Lords to her, expressing his desire to wait upon her, at whatever place her Majesty should be pleased to nominate; the place then appointed for this Interview was *Coningstein*, a Village near *Frankford*, in the Electorate of *Mentz*, where he had first particular Discourse with her himself for half an hour, which past with many Complements and Ceremonies of Civility; next the Duke of Gloucester was admitted, and then the Lords that attended the King. As these Princes came back from *Frankford*, the Elector of *Mentz*, renewing his Civilities, provided all manner of accommodation for them, as they passed through his Territories; and meeting them himself a great part of the way, he brought them to one of his Palaces, where he entertained them in a very sumptuous and splendid manner, for the space of two or three days; after which they returned to *Colen*: four Burgomasters being appointed by the Magistrate of the City to wait upon them, and welcome them home.

An Army having been sent under the Marquess of *Pianella*, and the Earl of *Grinice* Commander of the French Forces in *Italy*, by *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, against his Protestant Subjects in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, upon occasion

of some high Displeasure taken against them, and the Souldiers left to their own unbridled Licence, having committed many cruel Outrages and Mafacres upon the poor miserable People; *Cromwell* taking this opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Protestants abroad, (affecting to be thought the Chief Patron and Protector of those of the Reformation in all Parts,) concern'd and bestir'd himself very vigorously for their Relief; he appointed a solemn day of Humiliation to be kept, and caused a large Contribution to be gathered for them throughout the Nation, and sent his Agents abroad to mediate for them; Mr. *Pell* to the Protestant Cantons of the *Switzers*, Mr. *Samuel Moorland*, and Mr. *George Downing* to *Thurin* to the Duke of *Savoy*, but his Message being slighted by him, he took another course to deal with him, namely, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, his now great Allie; by whose power and Authority with that Duke, a Pacification was shortly concluded: Though of the large Collection that was made, so scanty a share came to them, (for some they had) that it may be very well suspected, whether self-Charity for the getting of Money, were not as well aim'd at, as Charity *ad extra* for the bestowing it.

However, it far'd with the Protestants abroad, these at home, viz. the Royallists, because they would not become *Oliver's* obedient Subjects, are not only not sav'd from Persecution, but persecuted themselves; while, besides other displeasures both toward the Clergy who were prohibited from teaching School, and from having any Benefices, or officiating as Chaplains; and toward the Laity, who were by Proclamation confin'd (such as had ever been in Arms) not to come within twenty miles of *London*, and disabled from electing or being elected in Parliament, there comes out a two-handed Invention of *Cromwell*, which serv'd him at the same time to acquire Money to his own Coffers, and to bring them low in their Estates and Power; this was an Order for the Decimation, or tenth part of the Estates of all such as ever had been in Arms either for his late or present Majesty. For the better executing this Project of Decimation, (under colour of securing the Peace of the Commonwealth) for which Orders were set forth toward the latter end of *October* by *Oliver* and his Council, is set up the Office of Major Generals Civil, in the nature of *Prefects* or Governours of Provinces, to curb, watch, and keep in awe the Royallists, and if it were possible to pull down their high Stomachs; they were eleven in number, namely, *Kelsey*, *Goff*, *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Skippon*, *Whalley*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Worsley*, *Lambert*, and *Barkstead*, which last was also Lieutenant of the Tower, each of them having his several Counties allotted to his Government in the nature of Provinces: In which their Principalities they reigned like so many petty Kings, domineering over the Gentry and Nobility, till *Cromwell* either thinking to do a special Act of Grace by taking off his Masters, or jealous of what their Power in time might come to, easily gives way to his next Parliament to unhorse those whom he himself had so lately mounted.

1655

A Contribution gathered throughout England for the distressed Protestants in *Piedmont*.

Major Generals constituted over several Provinces.

Upon

1655

A debate held at White-hall about the admission of the Jews,

Upon the tendring of certain Proposals to the Protector by *Manasseh Ben Israel*, a Jewish Merchant, in the behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free admission to Trade and exercise of their Religion in *England*, a Conference was held about it several days at *White-hall*, by the Members of the Council, and certain Divines of the most Eminent then in esteem: and many Arguments being urged, some for, others against their admission; those against it so far prevailed, that the Proposals took no effect.

An Imbar-go upon the Goods of English Merchants in Spain. Open war with England proclaimed by the Spaniard at Dunkirk.

The Spanish King thinking it in vain to hope for a Conservation of the League on this side the Line, from those whom he judged to have so apparently broke it on the other side, by invading his *Island of Hispaniola*, began not obscurely to make preparations for War; and to shew that he had entertained thoughts of Hostility, a general Imbar-go was made in *Spain* of all English Merchants Goods, and many of their persons secured. Hereupon the like was done in *England*, and there suddenly followed on both sides a denunciation of open War, which by the Spaniard was not long after solemnly proclaimed at *Dunkirk*.

Articles of Peace between England and France ratified and proclaimed.

The dissolution of the Peace with *Spain*, was the product of a Peace with *France*; for there having been long since an Address made to that end from *France* to the State of *England*. No sooner did the breach begin between *England* and *Spain*, but the French King sends to Monsieur *Bourdeaux* his Embassadour here to press his Embassie; which he did with so good success, that in a short while after the Articles of Peace between us and *France* were concluded, ratified by both Parties, and on the 28th. of *November* the Peace was proclaimed at *London*, and at *Paris* much about the same time.

Whereupon soon after *Cromwell* not to be behind hand in State, and to provide for the diligent management of all matters concluded in this Treaty, sends over in the Quality of his Embassadour Extraordinary to the French King, Colonel *Lockhart*, sometime one of the Itinerant Judges in *Scotland*, and now advanced to this Dignity by the Marriage of a Niece of his pretended Highness. And at the same time there was a strict League of Amity between him and *Carolus Gustavus* the then King of *Sweden*, and Embassies of Friendly Correspondence were on each side interchanged; from hence went Mr. *Rolt*, one of *Olivers* Bed-Chamber as Envoy, and from thence arrived here the Lord *Christian Bond*, who was entertained with more than ordinary respect; for of all Amities that were between *Cromwell* and Foreign Princes and States, his most particular and intimate seems to have been with the Swedish King, whom a while after he under-hand aided with men in his War against the *Dane*, while at the same time he made shew of endeavouring an Accommodation between those two Kings.

One principal Condition of the Treaty with *France*, was the exclusion of the King and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of *France* his Dominions; but he upon foresight of what this Treaty would come to, had long since betaken himself to *Germany*, and there remained

(for the most part at *Colen*, as hath been already mentioned) until such time as the Spaniard invited him into *Flanders*. His Brother the Duke of *Tork*, notwithstanding the great Command he had in the King of *France* his Army (the nearest Ties and Relations little avail, when Self-Interest comes in place) was by the same reason of State advertised to depart that Kingdom with all his Retinue by a prefixed time, not without some Complements and Apologies for this dismission; also his departure was respited for some space, in which he was visited, and honourably treated by the Marshal *Turenne*, and others of the French Grandees; as likewise the Duke of *Modena* (who at that time was come into *France* about some important Affairs;) at length he took his leave of the King and Court of *France*, and attended by the Lord St. *Albans*, and other English Lords, took his Journey toward *Flanders*, where at that time the King his Brother resided, at the invitation of *Don John* of *Austria*, who was then Governour of the Low-Countries for the King of *Spain*, sent the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, to offer him in the name of the Spanish King all possible Service and Assistance:

1655

The Duke of Tork warned out of France.

Betakes himself to his Brother.

The close of this Year puts on Mourning in like manner as the last: the last Year ended with the Learned *Selden*; this, with that most Pious and Reverend Prelate, *James Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*, and once Primate of *Ireland*, whose Judicious Writings are sufficiently famous in the Commonwealth of Learning throughout Christendom; his Burial, though he died on the one and twentieth of *March*, was deferred till the 17th of *April*, and then performed with all decent Pomp, and by most of the Nobility in *London*, attended to *Westminster-Abby*, where his Funeral Oration was delivered by the Almoner to *Cromwell* (for so Dr. *Bernard*, once Preacher to the Society of *Gray's-Inne*, was then entituled.) Moreover *Cromwell* himself defrayed all things befitting his Interment, bestowing 200 l. toward the solemnizing thereof. Yet were his Coffers not so well furnished as he desired. And therefore notwithstanding his no success in his last Parliament, he finds a necessity of calling one again, whereupon he sends forth Writs in *July* for the summoning of another Parliament on the seventeenth of *September*.

The death and burial of the Bishop of Armagh.

1656

A Parliament summoned again.

In the mean while, a part of the English Navy, namely, the Rear-Admiral and six other Ships under Captain *Richard Stayner*, set upon a Fleet of Eight Spaniards, within four Leagues of the Bay of *Cadiz*; the Admirals Ship, in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with six hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, run ashore in the Bay; the Vice-Admiral a Gallion Commanded by *Don Francisco de Esquevel*, and having in her 1200000 Pieces of Eight, and another ship Commanded by *Don Rodrigues Calderon* were taken, and afterwards fired (one wilfully by the Spaniards in it, the other by accident;) Two others were taken and kept in possession, the Rear-Admiral a Gallion, Commanded by *Don Francisco del Hayo*, and having in her two Millions of Plate, and another Ship commanded by *John de la Torre*, very richly laden; another man of War of some value, with a *Portugul* Prize, and a small

Gen. Blake and Gen. Montagues Victory over the Spanish Fleet near Cadiz.

1656 Vessel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of Mexico, escaped to *Gibraltar*. In the Vice-Admiral which was set on fire by the Spaniards themselves, to prevent being taken Prisoners, was the Marquess of Baydex with his whole Family. There perished in this Combustion (besides a number of less Note) the Marquess himself, with his Wife and his Eldest Daughter, who was going into *Spain* to be married to the Duke of *Medina Celi*. There were saved from this fire, the Marquess his eldest Son *Don Francisco de Lopez*, a younger Son *Don Joseph de Sunega*, and two Daughters, *Donna Josepha*, and *Catalina*, with about ninety others. In the Rear-Admiral was also taken Prisoner *Don Diego de Villa Alva*, Governour of the *Havana*. It was related by the young Marquess *Francisco de Lopez*, who with his Brother and Sisters was brought up to *London*, and there for a while detained Prisoners that the Cities of *Lima* and *Calao* in *Peru*, were about five Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and Fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruine there perished above 1000 Spaniards, but of Indians not above 100: also that the Mountains of *Potosi* being laid level, the Gold and Silver Mines were thereby utterly destroyed. This enterprize near *Cadiz* purchased no less profit than honour to the performers thereof, and to the Chief in power. As for the Spanish young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his due, dealt very nobly by them, and after no very long time of detention, dismissed them home without any Ransome.

A sad and wonderful accident at *Peru*.

The Parliament assemble.

On the seventeenth of September (the time appointed) a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and chose for their Speaker *Sir Tho. Widdrington*, none were to be admitted in this Convention, by the Instrument of Government, but such as after their Elections should be approved of, and allowed by the Council, and there were many discontented persons chosen, of those that were dismissed at the last Dissolution of what remained of the Long Parliament, and others of the Fifth Monarchy Principle, that the Protector thought it not safe to admit into the House, till some Laws should be passed for the better strengthening of his Authority, so that till the 26th of June the proceeding went on smoothly enough, and on that day the Parliament adjourned it self to the twentieth of January following, and passed some Acts, the principal whereof were:

An Act for Renouncing and Disanulling the Title of Charles Stuart unto the Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

An Act for the securing of his Highness the Lord Protector's Person, and the continuance of the Nation in security and peace.

A Vote to assist his Highness in his War against the Spaniard, which they declare to have been undertaken upon just ground.

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of Buildings within ten Miles of *London*; the substance of which was, That for every House built from such a time within that compass, upon a New Foundation, there should be paid a years Rent to the Protector.

The Humble Petition and Advice, was a Model of Government, with which they several times waited upon the Protector at *White-hall*, to de-

fire him to take the Chief Government of the Nations upon him, with the Title of *KING*; of which, the Power he already had, the Name only he wanted. This Offer was brought to an open Conference, but it was first for a long time together gently and tenderly touch't upon, as springing from a Motion suddenly started by some of the Protector's Friends; whenas sure enough they did but work after the Copy secretly prescribed them, and as they had private encouragement and Instructions from the person they seemed to Court. As oft as the Members made their Addresses to him with this Humble Petition and Advice, he still deferred further time of deliberation, before he could positively determine in a matter of so great weight and concernment; till at length, being requested to give his final Answer, he returned (after he had several times sifted his Officers, to see how they stood affected, and found them so averse (the most part of them) that he thought it not safe to venture) That he could not take upon him the Government with that Title. Thus openly refusing (in regard Matters were not brought to sufficient maturity) what it was generally more than believed, he had mainly pursued.

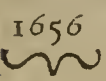
It must needs be thought high time for *Cromwell's* Convention to make Acts for the security of his Body, since there was now more noise than ever of a most desperate Plot against it. The Criminals said to be of this Plot, were *Miles Sindercomb*, a cashier'd and dis-satisfied Army-man, *Toop*, one of *Cromwell's* Life-Guard, *Cecil* and *Bois*, the last of whom was a Priest belonging to *Don Alonso de Cordenas* (once Lieger Embassadour here from *Spain*) and by him instructed, as it was given out, to hire and set those other his Agents a work, comes off himself with a *Non est inventus*; *Cecil* and *Toop* pleaded they were drawn in by *Sindercomb*; he on the other side, that he was trapan'd by them. Of the several Ambushes in this Plot, thus runs the Story; At *Hammer-smith* a House is hired on purpose, placing of an Engine called a Blunderbuss, to shoot him as he goes to *Hampton-Court*; at *Hide-Park* Corner also he is waited for, as he goes to take the Air; as likewise at another House in *Westminster*, by which he was to go to the Parliament House. Lastly, when these took no effect, the next design was to set *White-hall* on Fire, by placing a Basket of combustible matter in the Chappel, with a Train laid to have taken Fire at a prefixed time; which also some way or other happens to be discovered and prevented. In conclusion, he of the Life-Guard discovers all, and both he and *Cecil* have their pardons, he for his discovery, and *Cecil* for his free Confession, and the sorrow he expressed. *Sindercomb* boldly and sturdily standing it out, and denying all at the Court commonly called the *Upper-Bench*, before *Cromwell's* Attorney General, was nevertheless cast by the Witness of his two fellow Conspirators who left him in the lurch, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; in the mean time being kept close prisoner in the *Tower*. That very morning he was to have been executed, he was found dead in the Chamber, being reported to have snufft up into his Head a certain poysonous Powder to avert the shame and misery of the Execution that was preparing

1656 The Parliaments Petition & Advise to the Protector to take upon him the Title of King.

Sindercomb and others Plot against the Protector's life.

Sindercomb tried and condemned.

He procures his own death by a poysonous powder.

1656 paring for him, though it was whispered as if his poysoning had been the design of some others; however, as a *Felo de se*, he was dragged at a Horsec's Tail with his heels forward, to *Tower-hill*, and turned naked into an hole under the Scaffold, with a Stake spiked with Iron, driven through his Body into the Earth.

The trial of James Naylour before the Parliament.

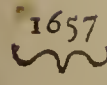
Memorable also was the Tryal (happening a little before this discovery) of one *James Naylour*, the great Champion and Ring-leader of the Sect called *Quakers*, who having spread his Doctrine, and gained many Profelytes to it in divers parts of the Nation, was more especially taken notice of at *Bristol*, and from thence was brought up to *London*, attended by several men and women of his Opinion, who all the way they came (the Women especially) are said to have sung *Hosanna's*, and to have used the same kind of expressions toward him, as anciently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into *Jerusalem*. The Parliament took it upon them to Judge him themselves, before whom being convented, he was charged of Blasphemy, for assuming to himself Divine Honours, and such Attributes as were due unto Christ only. After he had used many cunning Sophisms and evasions to clear himself, such as argued him not altogether ignorant of humane Letters, he was nevertheless sentenced by the House to be (first at *London*) publickly whipt, pilloried, and stigmatized as a Blasphemer, then to be conveyed to *Bristol*, there to be also whipt; lastly, to be brought back to *London*, to remain in *Bridewell* during pleasure: which Sentence was punctually inflicted upon him.

His Sentence.

The King keeps an Army in Flanders

The King now in *Flanders*, having his residence for the most part at *Bruges*, had, upon hopes of the good success of those his Subjects of *England*, who now began again busily to stir for him in all parts of the Nation, embodied together several Regiments, consisting of such English, Scotch, and Irish as he recalled out of the Service of the French King, and those that came in to him from other parts, whose Colonels were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Rochester*, the Lords *Wentworth* and *Gerard*, and Lieutenant General *Middleton*; these Forces he kept quartered upon the Seacoast, to have been in readiness, if occasion were, to have seconded those in *England*; Monsieur *Marsin*, an expert Souldier, formerly Lieutenant-General to the Prince of *Conde*, being designed to have conducted this Army; but the Counsels of his Friends that acted for him in *England*, being from time to time betrayed, and his Majesty not being in a capacity to keep his men in continual pay, he took the opportunity, since he could not make use of them himself, to gratifie a Power that had oblig'd him, and which stood in need of resolute men, and thereupon consigned them to the Service of the King of *Spain*.

1657

 In vain did *Cromwell* think to be acknowledged the Protector of the three Nations, since all the several Interests therein, how contrary soever among themselves, attempted at one time or other, to shake off the Yoke of his Protection: yet as much in vain did both, all that already, and those

that at present attempted to strive, *Oliver* being still too cunning and too quick for them all; for on the nineteenth of *April*, 1657. at a certain house in *Shoreditch*, were apprehended a discontented party formerly in the Army, that went under the name of *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, such as taking upon them to be the Champions of Christ's Monarchy on Earth, renounced all Monarchy beside; the chief of whom were *Thomas Venner*, a Wine-Cooper-prædicant (whom we shall have occasion to take more notice of hereafter) *Ashton*, *Hopkins*, *Gowler*, and *Gray* their Scribe. They had appointed to Rendezvous that night at *Mile-end-green*, and thence to have marched into some other Counties to joyn with others of their Party; that were ready to shew themselves upon the first opportunity; there was taken with them, besides a great quantity of Arms, and certain Printed Papers (that were to be dispersed) a Standard with a *Lion couchant*, *Gules*, in a field *Argent*, and having this Motto, *Who shall rouse him?* There were also taken into custody Major General *Harrison*, Captain *Lawson* late Vice Admiral, Colonel *Rich*, and Major *Danvers*; whereof the first was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, and the rest to other Prisons.

1657

Fifth-Monarchy-men apprehended upon a design against the Government.

Major General Harrison and others secured.

The *Spaniards* were very much distressed in all parts by the War with the Protector, and on the twentieth of *April* so gallant an Action was performed by General *Blake* in part of their Dominion, that the like hath scarce been mentioned in Story.

The General lying with some Ships near *Cadiz* to watch for the return of the Spanish Plate-Fleet, had intelligence that they had put into the Bay of *Santa Cruz* in the Island of *Teneriff*, hereupon he weighed Anchor on the 13th. of *April*, and on the 20th. rode with his ships off the offing at *Santa Cruz*, where he discerned the Spanish Fleet to the number of sixteen, barricadoed in the Bay in a semicircular manner. Near to the mouth of the Haven a Castle is placed, which was then well fortified with great Ordnance, and besides that, there were seven Forts round about the Bay, with six, four, and three great Guns on each, all united by a Line of communication from Fort to Fort, and well lined with Musquetiers, and *Don Diego Diaz* the Spanish General of the Fleet, upon sight of *Blake's* Fleet caused all the smaller ships to be moored close to the shore, and set six great Gallions well-manned further out at anchor, with their broad sides at Sea.

General Blake's successful enterprise against the Spaniard at Santa Cruz.

Blake having well considered this posture of the enemy, sent Captain *Stayner* Commander of the *Speaker* Frigate with a Squadron into the Bay, who by eight the next morning fell pell-mell on the Spanish ships, but *Blake*, who would have his share of the toil and glory of so brave an enterprise, immediately seconded *Stayner*, and placed some ships to pour their broad-sides into the Castles and Forts, whilst he with *Stayner* fought the Spanish Fleet (which was not inferior in number to the English, and much better manned) and by two in the afternoon they gained an intire Victory, but the General perceiving he could not bring off the Spis, set them all on fire, but one that was sunk; and when this Service was performed, the

wind

1656 wind even to wonder, which before blew strong into the Bay, suddenly veer'd about to South-West (which brought our Ships safe out to Sea.)

The News of this success of *Blake* was so grateful to the Protector and the Parliament, that they ordered him a Jewel of five hundred pound, and an hundred pound was given to the Messenger that brought the Letters, and proportionable Gratuities and Thanks to most of the Officers and Mariners.

An Army of English sent to aid the French in Flanders

According to the Conditions of Agreement between *England* and *France*, the French King demanded Auxiliary Forces from *England* to help him in his War against the Spaniard in *Flanders*, which was readily granted by the Protector, and 6000 Foot forthwith ordered to be sent over, Commanded in Chief by Sir *John Reynolds*, one of *Cromwell's* Knights, a man of good Courage and Resolution, once Commissary General in *Ireland*. No sooner were these Forces arrived in *France*, but the French by their help took two very advantageous places, *Montmedi* and *St. Venant*; nor was it long after ere they took the strong Fort of *Mardike*, being of notable consequence toward the speedy gaining of *Dunkirk*. This Fort was immediately after it was taken, consigned by the *French* into the sole possession of Major General *Morgan* and the English, who presently fell to fortifying of it, and in a short while made it so impregnable, that when the Spaniard was sensible how much it imported to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, to regain this Fort, sent a strong power of men (among whom were two thousand Scotch and Irish Reformadoes, assigned by our King to that Service, and commanded by his Brother the Duke of *Tork*) to set upon its recovery by a desperate Storm; they were, after a very Gallant and Resolute effort upon the place, which continued for the space of six hours, repelled in the end, with the loss of many men.

1658

The Protector's Installation.

After *Cromwell* had given his final Answer to his Parliament, that he could not take upon him the Government with the Title of King, it was resolved on, that the Title of Lord Protector should be continued and inserted in the *Humble Petition and Advice*, by which Title he was solemnly invested (with much more Ceremony than before) on the six and twentieth of *June*, before a great Assembly of people in *Westminster-hall*, where a Fabrick was erected for that purpose, and a Chair of State placed for the Lord Protector, whose Installation wanted but little of a Regal manner; and though he attained not the Crown, yet he had the Scepter; for there were four Emblems of Government presented unto him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* the Speaker (who at the delivery of them made an Oration to him, in which he amply descanted upon each of them) a Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines, wherewith he was vested by the Earl of *Warwick*, Commissioner *Whitlock*, presented a large Bible with Bosses and Clasps richly Gilt, and a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword, which the Speaker girt about him. Thus attired, while he sat in his Chair under a Canopy of State, holding the Scepter in his hand, the Herald standing aloft, made a signal Trumpet to sound thrice; after which he was proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and

Ireland, and then returned to *White-hall* in State, 1658 having the Sword carried before him by the Earl of *Warwick*. He was likewise proclaimed not only in *London*, and other parts of *England*, but also in the Chief Cities of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And now he began to take the King upon him in his manner of Living, and to Govern after a more Monarchical manner, and to model his Family according to the fashion of a Kings Court; to which end he had his Yeomen of the Guard in their Livery of Gray Cloth, with Welts of black Velvet, of whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; his Lord Chamberlain was Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, the Lord Keeper of the Seal *Nathaniel Fynnes*; *Lambert* was Warden of the Cinque-Ports, *Glyn* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and *Steel* (formerly Recorder of *London*) Lord Chief Baron. Moreover, being thus confirmed Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and having fortified himself by Alliances abroad (for besides the Leagues with *France*, *Sweden*, the *United States*; and fair Correspondence with *Denmark*, he had also upon the coming of *Don Francisco de Mello* Embassadour, concluded a firm Peace with *Portugal*) he began to make it his next care, for the better establishing of himself, and strengthening of his Interest at home, to advance his nearest Friends and Relations, and to match his Children into the Noblest Families; his eldest Son *Richard* he called out of the Country, to inure him to a Court-Life, and an insight into publick Affairs, designing him for Succession in the Protectorate, which the University of *Oxford* prudently foreseeing (as the Learned were never found backward in complying with the Times, and courting the Rising Sun) sent their Agents and Proctors to him to elect him their Chancellour, in which Honour he was solemnly Installed at *White-hall*. His second Son *Henry*, he made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he said, his presence and Counsel. His two youngest Daughters he matched, *Frances* the younger to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grand-Child to the then Earl of *Warwick*, and *Mary* the elder to the Lord *Falconbridge*: the Nuptials for them both being kept with much festivity and splendor, both at *White-hall* and *Hampton-Court*, and the Ladies are so virtuous they deserved a better Father.

The Protector's eldest Son Installed Chancellour of *Oxford*. His second Son created Lord Lieut. of *Ireland*. His youngest Daughter married to Mr. *Rob. Rich*. His eldest to the L. *Falconbridge*.

Scarce was the Mirth of these Solemnities over, Sir *John Reynolds* and his Company cast away upon *Goodwin Sands* when, to allay the Triumphs for the several successes of the English in *Flanders*, there arrived the News of the loss of Sir *John Reynolds* General of the Forces in those Parts, who with Colonel *White* and some others, imbarquing for *England*, by the way of *Goodwin-Sands*, in a small Vessel, at a tempestuous Season, contrary to the persuasions of many [It is unsafe to venture against ill Prefages] was cast away with his whole Company. But here was something more than ordinary in this hasty coming over of *Reynolds* and *White*, both seeming to prevent the arrival of each other; for whether *Reynolds* was sent for by *Cromwell*, or suspected the intention of *White* to be some Impeachment against him; his business probably was to defend himself in reference to an imputation of holding correspondence with the Royalty, because he was prevailed with by the Duke of *Tork*,

1658 *York*, who always loved stout men, to give him a meeting between *Dunkirk* and *Murdiike*, at which Parley, *Reynolds* was indeed not backward to render his Highness those Honours and Civilities which were due to a person of his Illustrious Quality. Not many Months before, there died at Sea as he was entring into the Sound of *Plymouth*, that valiant and expert Sea-man General *Robert Blake*, not long surviving his notable Exploit at *Santa Cruz*; the best Elogium that can be given of him, is the true rehearsal of his Actions; than which, saving that it was his misfortune to serve an illegal Power, never were any performed at Sea more conducing to the Glory of our English Nation. Also Vice-Admiral *Badily* ended his Life on Land, whither he was come for the recovery of his Health. And at *Jamaica* there died Lieutenant General *Brain*, Commander in Chief of the Forces there.

The death of Gen. *Blake*, Vice Admiral *Badily*, and Lieut. General *Brain*.

Col. *Sexby* one that was a Prisoner in the *Tower* upon some design against *Cromwell* on a Commonwealth account, died about this time, and his death was not without suspicion of Poyson: he was a virulent Enemy to the late King, and all the Royal Line, and suspected to have acted the horrid murder on him by cutting of his Head, or assisting therein with a Vizer; for upon that action he was promoted from a private Trooper to the Command of a Regiment.

The return of *Cromwell's* Convention after their Adjournment with the addition of the *Other House*.

The Humble Petition and Advice.

The last Convention having adjourned on the 26th of *June*, met again on the 20th of *January* following; and in this Session, which differed from the other, as much as one distinct Parliament could possibly have done from another, two very observable things are to be taken notice of, which gave more disturbance to *Cromwell's* Ambition and Safety, than he with all his Policy and foresight was aware of. The first was the admission of those Members which in the last Session were kept out with a high hand, whom since the Injustice of the act did not restrain from excluding the time before, the consideration of his Interest urged him now no less, but rather the more to have excluded them this time also; but he was obliged to the contrary by his Friends (if at least they were his Friends) of the last Convention, who made it one of their Articles in their *Humble Petition and Advice*, That those persons who are legally chosen by a Free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their Duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members. The other was the erecting of a new Convocation, intended in (imitation of the Old Constitution) for a House of Lords, but they would not venture at first to call it by any other name than that of the *Other House*: It consisted partly of such as he took for his especial Favourites, Officers of the Army and others; many of which were pickt out of the House of Commons to be constellated in the *Other House*, partly of several of the late excluded Commonwealth-men, and such likewise of the Army whom he thought hereby to draw off to his own Party, and about half a score of the old Nobility were nominated, but refused to come. Now in this Contrivance of his, whatever his expectation of it was, he found himself very much deceived, since by this strong inundation of the late ex-

cluded, and the translation of several of his Friends of the Commons into his *Other House*, his Interest there was so weakened, that his translating also of a few of his Opponents (if he thought to make a counterpoise that way) availed him little; for Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and the rest of the Sticklers, both disdaining to accept of *Cromwell's* offered Baronage, and that by the addition of their own presence they might strengthen their own Party the more, took their places in the House of Commons, by which means the Commonwealth-faction grew so potent, and flew so high, that the *Other House* was not so much as taken notice of, except in way of derision and contempt; so far were they from being concurred with, or owned in any of their Messages. Moreover, they began to call in question what was done in the last Session, as being invalid without their assent: So that the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made such a noise, was like in a moment to come to nothing. This so incensed the Protector, that in a great heat and passion he goes from his Council, and notwithstanding the earnest dissuasion of some of the chief of them, takes a Hackney-Coach for haste, and being come into his *Other* (or Lords) *House*, sends for the House of Commons up to him, and for a Preamble to their Dissolution, standing under a Canopy of State, unfolds his mind to them in this following Speech, which we have thought remarkable enough to set down at large, in regard it plainly discovers (as averse as he seemed from accepting the Kingly Title) his strange perturbation of spirit, and how nettled to the quick he was to see himself crost and curbed in the tendency and progress he made thereunto, though by ways a little fetcht about, and under the shew of settlement and flourishing Estate of the Nation.

1658

The Commons disown the *Other House*, and begin to question the Government.

Cromwell dissolves them.

Oliver's Speech at the Dissolution of his last Parliament.

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Blessing; and the Lord be my Witness, I desire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to these Ends. The Blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace, which I desire may be improved.

That which brought me into the Capacity I now stand in, was the Petition and Advice given me by you, who in reference to the Ancient Constitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector; There is not a man living can say I sought it, no not a Man nor Woman treading upon English Ground; but I contemplating the sad Condition of these Nations, relieved from an Intestine War unto a six or seven years Peace, I did think the Nations happy therein. But to be Petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the House, that then had the Legislative Capacity, I did look that the same Men that made the Frame, should make it good unto me: I can say in the presence of God, in comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wood-side, to have kept a flock of Sheep, rather than undertook such a Place of Government as this is; but undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of You, I did look that you that had offered it unto me, should make it good.

1657

I did tell you at a Conference concerning it, That I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other persons that might interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits; and it was granted I should name any other House; and I named it of men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest, men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Ballance unto you, but to themselves, while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these Terms, and finding such a Spirit as is too much predominant, every thing being too high or too low, when Vertue, Honesty, Piety, and Justice are omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have satisfied you; but if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just Accord between the Governour and the Governed, unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliaments Petition and Advice advised me unto; upon that I took one Oath, and they took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine; and did not every one know upon what Condition they swore? God knows, I took it upon Condition expressed in the Government: and I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom, and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be advised by the Two Houses of Parliament. We standing unsettled till we were arrived at that; the Consequences would necessarily have been Confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted Hereditary Lords, nor Hereditary Kings; the Power consisting in the Two Houses and my Self: I do not say, that the meaning of your Oath was to you, that were to go against my own Principles, to enter upon another mans Conscience; God will judge between Me and You: If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this Basis, and have offered your Judgement and Opinion.

God is my Witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the World, and people living, that a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this Actual Settlement by your Consent; I do not speak to these Gentlemen or Lords (pointing to his right hand) whatsoever you will call them, I speak not this to them, but to you; you advised me to run into this Place, to be in a Capacity by your Advice; yet instead of owning a thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjoyned your selves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confusion in this fifteen or sixteen days that you have sate, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day, through the Intention of devising a Commonwealth again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing; and hath that man been true to this Nation, whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate. These designs have been upon the Army, to break and divide us: I speak this in the presence of some of the Army, that these things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth (pretend what you will.) These things tend to no-

thing else but the playing of the King of Scots his Game, if I may so call him; and I think my self bound before God to do what I mean to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banqueting-House was true, That there were preparations of Force to invade us; God is my Witness, it hath been confirmed to me since within a day, that the King of Scots hath an Army at the Water-side ready to be shipped for England; I have it from those who have been Eye-witnesses of it; and while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a Tumulting, what if I said into a Rebellion; and I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me; it hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the Question about a Commonwealth, but some of you have been lifting of persons by Commission from Charles Stuart, to joyn with any Insurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to invade us) but even present Blood and Confusion. And if this be so, as I do assign to this Cause, your not assenting to what you did invite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that which might be the settlement of the Nation, and if this be the end of your sitting, and these be your Carriages, I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting, And I do declare to you, I do dissolve this Parliament: And let God judge between me and You. At which many of the Commons cried Amen. And so the Parliament were Dissolved.

Thus was he driven from one Inconvenience to another, from the Inconvenience of a Parliament that cost him, to the Inconvenience of no Parliament at all, whereby he was much freightened for want of those supplies of Money which he expected.

Toward the latter end of this year died the Protectors Son-in-law Mr. Robert Rich, and was but little above two Months survived by his Grandfather the Earl of Warwick, himself.

The following year, 1658. begins with the News of a Victory at Jamaica (which came by an Express from the Governour on the 8th of April) obtained by a Party of the English there, commanded by Major Richard Stevens, against 500 Spaniards, who under Don Christopher Arnoldo Saffer, having lately landed in that Island, and begun to fortifie themselves at a place called St. Anne, were fiercely set upon by the English, and forced to flie into the Woods and Mountains; and another Body of Spaniards, consisting of 300, who had fortified themselves at Chare-ras, in the North of the Island, were by the Governour himself Colonel Doiley driven quite out of their Hold, Don Francisco de Prencia, the Maestre del Campo, with others taken, many kill'd, and the rest utterly dispers'd.

Cromwel had no sooner freed himself of the danger threatned him from his Parliament, but he is presently alarm'd again by his old enemy the Royalist, whom yet he had still the Fortune to prevent by his Intelligence; however, he took all Advantages to provide still more and more for his

1658
The Spaniards dispersed by the English in Jamaica.

The attempts of the Royal party in behalf of his Majesty betrayed and discovered to the Protector.

1658 his Security, by making the most of all Plots and Designs whatsoever; and to this purpose he sends in all haste for the Lord Mayor (*Ireton* was then the man) and Aldermen of the City, acquaints them with what he had discovered of the busie Actings against the Peace of the Commonwealth, aggravates the danger, recommends to them the settling of the Militia in trusty hands, causeth the Guards to be doubled, and strict Watch to be kept in all parts of the City, when as most of the principal suspected persons were already secured, as Sir *William Compton*, Brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, Sir *William Clayton*, Mr. *John Russel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, and many more, the whole Design being beforehand betrayed, by a Person formerly mentioned upon the same Account, and one *Corcar*, a Minister of *Bourn* in *Suffex*, and such others as had been long employed by *Cromwell* for the same purpose; the Marquess of *Ormond*, who indeed was the chief Manager of this intended general Rising for His Majesties service throughout the whole Nation, and had to that end remain'd for a good while concealed in *England*, being narrowly watch'd and search'd for; but he happily obtained an opportunity (by the help of one Doctor *Quaterman*) of shipping himself away at a Port Town in *Suffex*. Among those that had been formerly imprisoned, were Doctor *Hewet*, Minister of *St. Gregories*, and Sir *Henry Slingsbey*; which last had been a Prisoner ever since the Rising in the *West*; yet being a person who was known to bear no good will to the present Power, he is charged with an Intention of delivering up *Hull*, meerly upon the expressing of his Consent thereunto, to some that were sent to make the motion to him, and list out his mind with purpose to betray him; and these were Major *Waterhouse*, Captain *Overton*, and Lieutenant *Thomson*; and the Doctor seems to have been no less hardly dealt with, considering what things were laid to his Charge; which had they been true, would certainly never have been so utterly denied at the very moment of his Death, by a man of his known Honesty and Integrity. The rest that were taken afterwards were, Mr. *John Mordant*, Brother to the Earle of *Peterborough*, Mr. *Manley* a Merchant, Mr. *Hartgil Baron*, Mr. *Stapeley*, Mr. *Maunsel*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Carrent*, Mr. *Jackson* and Captain *Mallory*, of whom Mr. *Mordant*, *Woodcock*, *Carrent*, and divers others were tried at a High Court of Justice, which on the twenty fifth of May was set up under the Presidentship of Commissioner *Lisle*. All hitherto mentioned, except Sir *Henry Slingsbey* and Doctor *Hewet*, having the good hap to come off with life: Sir *Henry* and the Doctor were the first brought to Tryal, and both of them sentenced to die as Traytors: The first, upon the bare Testimony of those three men which had so treacherously circumvented him, which in vain he pleaded; as also the impossibility, a Prisoner as he was, of performing what he was charged with. The other as a Mute, disowning the Courts Authority, and thereupon denying to plead. The next was Mr. *Mordant*, who also at first disavowed the Courts Authority, but was at length prevailed with to plead, and in the end acquitted only by one voice. In that fortunate interim, while Colonel *Pride* by reason of a Fit of

The Marquess of Ormond makes his escape.

Dr. Hewet and Sir H. Slingsbey committed to prison.

Sir Henry Slingsbey, Dr. Hewet, Mr. Mordant, and others tried before a High Court of Justice.

the Stone wherewith he was troubled, had withdrawn himself from the Court, and staid somewhat longer than he intended; the other two being so far favoured, as to have their Sentence mitigated, were on the eighth of June beheaded on Tower-Hill. The next that were tryed were Mr. *Thomas Woodcock*, Captain *Henry Mallory* and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*: The first made so handsome and discreet a defence for himself, that they could fasten no Accusation upon him, and so were forced to acquit him. Captain *Henry Mallory* (tho' scandaliz'd by some malicious persons) behav'd himself with Resolution and Loyalty, and was condemn'd, but not put to Death. Of the rest that had to do with this High Court, *William Carrent* was acquitted: Colonel *Edward Ashton* and *John Battely*, the first in Tower-Street, the other in Cheapside, were hanged and quartered on the seventh of July; the same day *Henry Fryer*, ready to have been executed in Smithfield, and two days after *John Summer* in Bishopsgate-street, and *Oliver Allen* in Grace-Church-street, had their Reprieves brought them. The same day the two last were Reprieved, *Edmund Stacy*, his Sentence remitted, was hanged near the Royal Exchange. In the mean time, *Manley*, *Baron*, and *Maunsel* aforementioned, with two others, namely, *Edmund Seymour*, and *Guy Carlton*, having made their escape, were at the Upper-Bench (as it was then called) Indicted of High Treason, though absent, and outlawed.

1658 Sir Henry Slingsbey and Dr. Hewet beheaded.

Colonel Ashton and others executed.

In *Flanders* Successes came on with a swift Career: presently after the taking of *Mardike-Fort*, *Dunkirk* was straightly begirt by the joyned Forces of the French and English, the French commanded by the Marshall of *Turenne*, the English by the Lord *Lockhart*, Ambassadour from the Protector to the French King, who was constituted General in the room of Sir *John Reynolds* deceased. The Relief of this so important a place (it being the chief Sea Port, and, as it were, the Key of all *Flanders*) the Spaniards resolved to Assay, though with the hazard of a pitch'd Field; and to that purpose they assembled together all the Force they could make, amounting to about seven thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, Commanded by Don *John* himselfe in person, together with the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marquess of *Caracene*; and drawn down from *Furres* Fort, were engaged by the Marshall of *Turenne*, and the Count of *Schomberg* joyning with *Lockhart* and his English Forces, who making their way (a good part of them) up a Sand-Hill against the whole Power of the Spaniards, were the main Instruments in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the Spanish Army, most of the Infantry being either slain or taken; and among the taken were divers Officers of the Spanish Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, seventeen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field; the Prince of *Conde* was unhorsed in the Fight, and Mounted again by his Cousin *Bouteville*, who was thereby taken Prisoner in the Princes stead. There were slain of the English Captain *Sherwin*, and another Captain, Five Lieutenants and two Ensigns, with eighty Common Souldiers, besides three hundred wounded, and some mortally, among whom, Lieutenant Colonel *Roger Fenwick*, who

The Siege of Dunkirk

The Spanish Army vanquish'd near Furres Fort by the French & English.

1658

The Marshal of Hocquincourt slain. The Marquis of Leda Governor of Dunkirk slain in Sally.

Dunkirk surrendered to the French, and resigned into the hands of the English.

The death of Mrs. Elizabeth Cleypole, Cromwell's second Daughter.

Her Charity.

Cromwell falls sick at Hampton-Court.

who was reported a stout man, and his loss much bewailed: A day or two before this Battel, the Marshal of Hocquincourt (who had caused the important Town of Hesdin to revolt from the French to the Spaniard) was slain as he went out Picquering upon a Party. No sooner was this Battel ended, but the French and English returned again afresh to the Siege of Dunkirk, which the Marquis of Leda Governour thereof (who had been formerly sent Embassador to the Protector) seeing now more straightly than ever environ'd both by Land and Sea, whereby it was reduced to great extremities; he resolute to defend the Town, made a bold sally forth, in which he received his mortal Wound: the Governours death, and the terror of the Granadoes shot into the Town, wrought so upon the besieged, that they were speedily brought to Articles of Surrender, and on the 25th of June, march'd out with Colours flying, so that the King of France in Person, accompanied with the Cardinal Mazarine, took possession of the place, and immediately resigned it up into the hands of General Lockhart in behalf of the Lord Protector, and the English.

The sixth of August, Elizabeth the Protector's second Daughter died at Hampton-Court of an Imposthume in some of the inward parts, which afflicted him very much, because he loved her above all his Children; and that sorrow was increased by the length of her Sickness, and the grievous torments she endured: A little before she expired (which was in much pain) the Delirium of her Sickness prompted her to utter many things, (which though formerly she thought she yet durst not express) against the Injustice of many of her Fathers Actions. She was married to one Cleypole, the Son of a private Gentleman of Lincolnshire, of a moderate Fortune; but she could not be confin'd to it being of a Spirit as high as if she had been born to that Greatness to which her Fathers Ambition had advanced her. She was of a very generous and obliging Disposition, and very much troubled at her Fathers Austerity, and oppression of the Royal Party, to several of whom she did many good Offices. The Grief which the Protector had contracted for her death, was very much augmented by his trouble, to discern, that the discontents sprung up amongst many of the Inferiour Officers of the Army, were fomented by Fleetwood and Desborow; the first of whom married his Daughter, and the other his Sister, who with Berry and Cooper Colonels, and Sydenham and Pickering, two of the Privy-Counsellors were in a Confederacy against the present Government in favour of a Commonwealth. And a while after he fell sick himself of a Tertian Fever, which at first seem'd not to signify much danger, but by degrees it grew upon him: yet his Imagination was so far transported with enthusiastick ravings, that insensible of his own danger, he affirmed, That GOD had reserved him to greater Attempts, than ever yet had been performed by him; and that he was assured he should not die of this Sickness. In which Extasie he was much heightened by Goodwin one of his Chaplains, who openly declared, GOD had heard the Prayers

of his Servants for him, and given him his Life; 1658. and therefore he perswaded some of his Friends to keep a kind of private Thanksgiving beforehand for his undoubted recovery. This Confidence amused his Physicians so much, that they were less regardful of his Condition. But nevertheless, it was advised he should be brought to White-Hall, where with more conveniency than at Hampton-Court, a respect might be had to his Health, and the publick Affairs of the Nation; where he had not been many days, ere it visibly appeared he had but a few more to live. He had sometime before his Sickness appointed a Junta, or Committee of Nine, with whom he privately consulted in the most urgent Affairs of the Government. These were Fleetwood, Fiennes, Desborow, Whaley, Thurlow, Lawrence, Berry, Cooper and Goff, which were mixed of both Factions; that is, of that of a Single Person, and that of a Commonwealth, that he might displease neither, and that he might by that Confidence divert the latter from Delights upon his Power.

Upon Tuesday the 31th of August, finding himself in danger, he commanded his Servants and all other Persons, except Mr. Thurlow, and Dr. Thomas Goodwin, out of the Room, and declared to them, That in regard he found his Sickness and Weakness encreasing, he was resolved to declare his Successor, according to the Power given him by the * late Petition and Advice; And therefore he desired them to take notice, that he Named and Declared his Son to succeed him accordingly. * A Sy- They asked him which Son: He Replied, My Son Richard, My Eldest Son. Immediately thereupon, there came some Persons into the Room, whereby it hapned, that nothing further was said at that present. But * Mr. Thurlow and Dr. Goodwin immediately conferring together, did conceive that the business was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the Burthen of the Attestation of it; and therefore resolved to take the first opportunity they could to move him again therein, and to desire him for that Reason, to call some others, to whom he might communicate his mind in that matter: But in regard that Relations and others (who perhaps would take it ill to be put out of the Room) were constantly there, they could not all that day, nor the next gain any opportunity.

But on Thursday, perceiving his Distemper very much to encrease, and hourly gain upon him, They resolved not to defer it longer: and thereupon they asked him, Whether he remembered what he had said unto them the Tuesday before? Which he said he did. They asked him, Whether he continued in the same mind or not, touching the Succession of his Son Richard? He answered, That he did. They then told him, it would be requisite he should communicate his pleasure to some others, and that the Declaration of the Business was of too great Concernment and Consequence for them alone to undertake, if there should be Opposition; and therefore desired him to send forthwith for some others. He asked them for whom he should send? They replied, whom he pleased. Then send, said he, for the Committee,

He is removed from thence to White-Hall.

The Trans- actions between him and those about him concerning the naming of his Successor. * A Sy- stem of Government. made in the pretended Parliament An. Dom. 1656 * Cromwell's Secretary of State.

1659 mittee of Nine: whereupon they sent a Messenger forthwith to hasten them thither, of whom three came immediately; *Fiennes*, *Whaley*, and *Goff*; and these five that were then present, perceiving him still to decline, went to the Bed-side, and one of them asked him touching what he had declared to Dr. *Goodwin* and Mr *Thurloe*; he thereupon said again, *That he would have his Son, his Son Richard to succeed him*: and so without any more Discourse they withdrew from the Bed, and left him to his rest: But within few Minutes came in *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, upon the Summons that had been sent them; to whom the aforesaid five declared what had passed, and offered somewhat faintly to move *Oliver* to the Declaration of his mind again, which they as faintly refused; but were not much urged to it, they having at their first coming declared themselves satisfied with the Attestation of five persons, so well known and esteemed of them.

Cromwell having positively declared his eldest Son *Richard* his Successor, gives up the Ghost.

Upon Friday (the third of September, the same memorable day of the Year, that in 1650 he overcame the Scots at *Dunbar*, and the year following at *Worcester*) at three of the Clock in the afternoon he departed this Life.

Thus after so many hazards in the Field, so many Ambushes laid to have been laid against him at home, notwithstanding the multitude of Enemies, that from all Parties and Interests whom his violent pursuit of Greatness had exasperated, conspired against his safety; contrary to the real belief of many men, the ill-bodings of some, and the earnest wishes of others, he died not of a violent, but in his Bed a natural Death. The day of his death was ushered in by a Night as tempestuous as had been seen in this Age, as if the Elements had been in Combustion at the flight of a Spirit, which had made so great a Concussion in the Affairs of the World.

Cromwell's Descent and Character. He was born in the Town of *Huntington*, and was the Son of a Second Brother of Sir *Oliver Cromwell* of *Huntingtonshire*, a Person of eminent Note in the late Kings time; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward* of the *Isle of Ely*, and his Wife *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Sir *James Bouchier*, by whom he had three Sons (whereof one died young) and four Daughters.

His Family is said to have originally derived the name of *Cromwell* from that great *Cromwell*, who was *Henry* the Eighth's Vicar-General over the Spiritualities; their Lineal Descent was from one *Williams* of *Glamorganshire*, who living contemporary with this Lord *Cromwell*, and marrying his Daughter, in gratitude for the Favours he had done him, took his Name upon him, and transferred it to his own Posterity. As for his Qualities, there is no doubt, though his Dissimulation, his Ambition, and his many other Vices obscured what was praise-worthy in him; yet there was something of Generosity in his Nature, as may be exemplified, in the particular care and regard he had for the Relations of some that had served him faithfully, and died in his Service; which one that writ his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the fore-mentioned Lord *Thomas Cromwell*, toward *Seignior Friscobald* an Italian Merchant, from whom he had received Civilities.

By his Reputation in Arms, he was courted or feared by most of the Princes in Europe, and the King of France and Sweden were entred into so strict a League with him, as might have troubled the whole World; but Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Chief Minister of France, held most secret Intelligence and Friendship with him. He was a man of singular Courage and Resolution, and that attended with a most prosperous stream of Fortune, which is not always the concomitant of Valour. He kept the Armies under him in so exact Discipline, that they rather seemed a Body of well governed Citizens than Souldiers: Swearing, Profaneness, Drunkenness, Murder, Rapine, Uncleaness, the common Vices of other Souldiers, were not to be found amongst his. His Ambition and desire of Glory, excited him to make Attempts also in other Countreys, in pursuance thereof, whereby a great Renown accrued to our Nation in all parts of the World. And had he not employed that Policy and Sagacity of Parts, which must be confessed to have been in him, to evil Ends, and by unheard-of Impieties traiterously aspired unto that highest pitch of Honour which belonged not to him, usurping his Majesties Government, he might have been worthy of eminent Place and Dignity in it.

An hour after his death, there met together those of the Privy Council then in Town, that had been the most zealous Promoters of the Petition and Advice, and best affected to that Government. These were made acquainted by *Thurloe*, with what passed on Tuesday and Thursday; and also, that *Oliver* had subscribed a Paper long before his Death, touching the Succession, wherein *Fleetwood* was declared Successor; and that this Paper having been laid in a Cabinet, known only to *Oliver* and his Wife, and no person more (as was thought) was searched for, but could not be found.

They then agreed to send two of their Number to *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, and to know of *Oliver's* Will concerning his Successor imparted to the Council and Chief Officers. them unfeignedly, whether they acquiesced in the Declaration that *Oliver* had made, touching the Succession of his Son: acquainting them, that they knew there had been a Paper subscribed by *Oliver* in his life-time, to the effect aforesaid: and therefore requested to know of them, whether if hereafter any such Paper should be found or produced, they would notwithstanding submit to the last Will and Parol Declaration of *Oliver*? Whereto *Fleetwood* replied, and promised, as in the presence of God, That if any such Paper then were, or should thenceforth be found or produced, yet he would not insist thereupon, forasmuch as he cordially acquiesced, as he said, in the succession of *Richard*. And thereupon a Council was forthwith summoned, where *Fiennes* and *Thurloe* gave an Account of *Oliver's* Appointment of his Successor: and *Goodwin*, *Whaley* and *Goffe* were called in, and attested the same upon their Oaths. And being withdrawn, the Council unanimously declared their Satisfaction: *Desborow* having first stood up, and adjured them all in the name of the Living God, that if any dissatisfaction remained upon their Spirits, they would freely declare it; as he professed he would have done, had any doubt remained with him. This passed; the President and whole Council

1659 went at once to congratulate *Richard*, and condole his Fathers Death.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector by the City and chief Officers of the Army.

After the Congratulation, *Strickland*, *Skippon*, and some others of the Council were sent to the City, who appeared very well satisfied with what was done; and the next Morning a Proclamation was divulged, subscribed by *Chiverton* Lord Mayor of *London*, and as many of the Chief Officers of the Army, and Councillours of State as could be got together; wherein *Richard Cromwell* was at *White-Hall*, *Charing-Cross*, and several other publick places in *London*, proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. About four a Clock in the Afternoon, after the Proclamation, the Lord Mayor presented his Sword to him, which he presently returned; and after some Ceremonies passed (the Council, and many Officers of State, and of the Army being present) *Nathaniel Fiennes*, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England* administered an Oath to him in these words:

The Oath administered to him by *Fiennes*.

Do in the presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that to the utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Safety of the just Rights and Priviledges of the People thereof. And that in all things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, I will Govern the People of these Nations according to Law.

Mr. *Thomas Clarges* made choice of to be sent into *Scotland* to acquaint *G. Monk* with *Richard's* Advancement.

Thus far matters succeeded well: his Brother *Henry Cromwell* was Chief Governour of *Ireland*, and a Gentleman was sent to acquaint him with the present posture of Affairs. Of *Scotland* they had some doubt; but to endeavour to rectifie all things there, *Richard* sent that Evening to Mr. *Thomas Clarges* (Brother-in-law to General *Monk*) to prevail with him, to go immediately into *Scotland*, with his Letters to *Monk*, to know how he stood affected to his Advancement. This *Clarges* was pitched upon as one who had great Interest in the General, and had been lately chosen by his procurement, upon the death of one *Rome*, to be Agent for the Armies and Council of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, an Imployment of good Value, whereby he became interested in the knowledge and Affections of the Officers of all the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; for the Regiments of that of *Scotland*, especially of the Horse, were often changed, whereas the Irish Army continued still unchanged. And although at first his having been in the late Kings Service at *Oxford*, made them at *White-Hall* unwilling to employ him; yet he was esteemed of a moderate Behaviour, and had so demeaned himself in the pretended Parliament in the Year 1656. by his actings against the Kingship of *Cromwell*, that they

would not then disoblige him, lest it should seem to be for that Reason. Besides, all of the contrary faction (of which were the chief of the Army) professed a great esteem of him, not so much in respect of himself, but because it was believed *Monk* engaged him in those Councils; and the opinion of that contributed more than any thing to divert *Oliver* from accepting the Crown. *Clarges* willingly accepted of this occasion to go to General *Monk*, to be able to inform himself particularly of his inclinations: For, although he had a Relation to him by Marriage, the Generals so far distant Residence, gave him little opportunity of other converse with him than by Letters. The City of *London*, and the generality of the people in *England* (having been wearied and tired with the miseries of War, and their Spirits subdued by the Oppressions and Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwell*) seemed outwardly to comply with the necessity of the Time, and submit to an approbation of that they could not remedy. But subtle Contrivances, congratulatory Addresses in all, or most Cities and Counties were framed, subscribed, and presented to him. In *Scotland*, by private advice to some of the Officers of the Army, things were so prepared, that when Mr. *Clarges* came thither, he found them all prepossessed, and doubting one the other; they liked, or seemed not to dislike all that was done at *London*. But the General himself and he had many secret Conferences, and the General then declared himself weary of the uncertain Condition, wherein he found both himself and the Nation intrall'd by the over-ruling Tyranny of the Souldiers (who made themselves a divided Interest from the rest of the people) so that they consulted of a Paper to be drawn up, and to be presented to the new Protector, the Heads whereof were to advise him to suppress the division in the Church, by countenancing a sober and Orthodox Ministry; To permit no Councils of Officers; And to model and put the Army into the hands of the * qualified Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, as such whom the people might best trust. From this Conference which was managed by both, with much reservedness, *Clarges* began to perceive the General was in his Principles well fixed to restore his Countrey to its ancient Government, when ever a fit occasion should present it self for the Attempt. With this Paper, and a Letter of approbation of the choice of the Protector, *Clarges* returned to *London* to him. The Letter he delivered publicly, but the Paper was privately communicated, and well liked of by him: and the prosecution of the Advice thereof in his Attempts to model the Armies, was the main cause of all the Divisions which hapned in them, and the happy Consequences thereof.

By the same Arts, as those from the Cities and Counties in *England*, Addresses were promoted, and subscribed by all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. *Lockhart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, who had married his Cousin-Germane, was as forward as any to promote Addresses, both from that Garrison and the rest of the English under Major General *Morgan*, who were yet in the French Army, Commanded by Marshal *Turenne*, and had gained a great fame and reputation to their Country, by many signal Services in that Campaign; for by their valour chiefly

1659

Addresses to the young Protector from all parts of the Nation. The Army of *Scotland* submits to what was done in *England*.

* Such as never had been against the Parliament to prevent the jealousy of the action.

Mr. *Clarges* returns from *Scotland* to the Protector. Addresses to the young Protector from all the Regiments of the Army both in *England* and other parts.

1659

The taking of
Ypre by the
English
under
M. G.
Morgan.

chiefly, a great Victory had been obtained, as before mentioned, over the Spanish Army near *Dunkirk*, which was followed by the taking of that Town, and the Fort of *Mardike*, and the Towns and Forts of *Bergen*, *Dixmude*, *Ferne*, *Oudenard*, *Mervin*, *Gravelin* and *Ypre*; which last place, taken about the beginning of *October*, Old Style, was the first Military Success that the English had abroad under *Richard's* Government. Marshal *Turenne* had not hopes so late in the year, to gain a place so considerable; but having beaten a party of five thousand men under the Prince of *Ligne* that was sent to join with some other forces, and to visit that Garrison in their march, he supposed that the Town missing the succor they expected, might quickly be surrendered; they were in it about 2500 old Souldiers, besides whom, all the Townsmen assisted that were able to bear Arms, being in all about 4000; and it was taken in a fortnight Siege. After the Army had been two or three days before it, *Turenne* sent for Major General *Morgan*, who commanded the English, to order him to keep double Guards, for that he had certain Intelligence that the Prince of *Conde* intended with all the force he could get together, to put relief into the place. *Morgan* informed him, his Men were so exposed, that he commonly lost five or six every time they mounted the Guards, and therefore he proposed, that rather than weary them out with so much continual duty, the Town might be assaulted. *Turenne* who was a wary Captain, was unwilling to hazard the reputation of that Army which had been victorious by many prosperous successes that Summer, and therefore at first rejected the Advice; but *Morgan* pressing more upon him, and offering himself with 600 English to go on upon the strongest part of the Town, he at last consented. He was seconded by two Serjeant Majors, who each of them commanded 600 French, and were to attack two other places, at the same time that *Morgan* made his assault; but he with his English entered and gained most of the out-works, and turned the Cannon of the beleagued upon the Town, before his French Succours came in; and immediately after, the Town was surrendered upon easie Terms; the Prince of *Ligne*, *Barbancon* and *Aremberg* marched out with the Garrison. *Turenne* embraced *Morgan* after this service; and, though he had long before esteemed him a very expert and valiant Captain, he ever after valued him as one of the bravest Commanders of his time, and in the Report of this Action to the Most Christian King, he attributed the merit of it wholly to him; which occasioned an Invitation of *Morgan* to *Paris*, where it was intimated to him, a good present of Plate was providing to gratifie his services; but he whose modesty made him ever prefer the vertue of generous Actions, before the Reward of them, chose rather to return into *England*, to his Family and Relations, after his long and hazardous absence.

The Young
Protector
not so
great a
wel-wisher
to his Ma-
jesties
cause as
was be-
lieved.

Some were willing to believe the new Protector had a good affection towards His Majesty, and would use his power to his advantage, as soon as he should be confirmed in it, and had the Army in his absolute obedience, to which they were induced by the observation of his former deportment; for in his private Conditions he demeaned himself with civility and respect to the Gentle-

men of the Countrey where he lived, and was always ready to do Offices of kindness to persons in distress, apparently disliking of the severity of his Father, and not averse to overtures for his Majesties Restitution; but it was afterwards evident, that he did but formalize in the doubtful time of his Authority; for when he saw himself owned and acknowledged by the Army and People, he was very much reserved to all that wished well to his Majesty, and either really declined his Service, or had not vertue enough to resist the temptation of greatness, or courage enough toward the declension of his power, to use that little which remained, to attempt to free his Country from thralldom and oppression.

In the first place, after his advancement to the Supreme Dignity, principal care was taken by him and his Council for the Interment of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accustomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore search is said to have been made into the Records, to see what had been expended upon the Burial of King *James*, and the same Cost, if not greater, was to be bestowed on this: The Corps of his late Highness being embalmed and wrapt in Lead, was removed from *White-Hall* to *Somerset-House*, there to lie in Regal Pomp and State; a Spectacle to all comers; the order and manner whereof was briefly thus:

Four Rooms one within another were com-
pletely hung with black; the three first with
Cloth, the fourth with Velvet; each Room was
adorned with Escutcheons of his Arms, Crowned
with the Imperial Crown, and at the upper-end
of each Room, was placed a Chair of State, and
over that, a Cloth of State, and over the Cloth, a
large Majesty Escutcheon, painted and guilt upon
Taffata: In the fourth Room where the Corps
were, there lay upon a Bed of State, raised by
two gradual Ascents, and covered with a large
Pall of black Velvet, his Effigies vested with a rich
Sute, Kirtle, and a large Robe of Purple Velvet, La-
ced with Gold, and Furred with Ermines; to
the Kirtle was girt an embroyder'd Belt, by which
hung a Sword richly hatcht with Gold, in the right
hand was a golden Scepter, in the left a Globe, on
the head a purple velvet Cap furr'd with Ermines;
behind was placed a Crown Imperial, set with
precious Stones, upon a Chair and Cushion of
tishued Gold, on each side a rich Sute of Com-
pleat Armour, at his Feet his Crest; the Bed
of State was enclosed with Rails and Ballasters
covered with Velvet, at each corner whereof, were
Pillars adorn'd with Trophies of Military Honors
carved and guilt; on the tops of the Pillars were
the Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing
Streamers Crowned; at the Pedestals were
Shields and Crowns guilt: within the Rayls
stood eight silver Candlesticks or Standards five
foot high, with long Tapers of Virgin Wax burn-
ing in them, and next them four great Standards of
his Arms, set upright in sockets, with the Guidons
great Banners, and Banrols of Taffata richly pain-
ted and guilt. The Effigies having for some time
been seen in this posture, was afterwards shewed
in another room, vested after the same manner,
and attended with the same Ornaments as is al-
ready described, and this continued until the day of
conducting the funeral pomp to the Church, which
was on the twenty third of *November*; for till
then

1659

The man-
ner of the
deceased
Protectors
lying in
State at
*Somerset-
House*.

1659

then all things could not be prepared and made ready: and then the Effigies, placed in a stately Funeral Charriot, covered with black Velvet, and drawn with six Horses in like manner mantled, and adorned with black Plumes of Feathers, was attended from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster* by all the Officers of his Household, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, the Magistracy of the City, the Judges at Law, the Ambassadors and Publick Ministers of Foreign States and Princes, the Members of the late Upper-House, and of the Privie Council, all in Mourning, each Company being distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, a Banner born by one of the Chief Ones, and a Horse of State mantled with black Velvet, led also by some one of Eminency. Lastly, the Horse of Honour trapped with Embroidery upon Crimson Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, was led by the Master of the Horse, with such other like Formalities used at the Obsequies of great Persons. At the West end of the Abby-Church, the Effigies being taken out of the Charriot, was carried through the Church unto a Canopy of State, born by six of his Gentlemen, up to the East end, where it was placed in a sumptuous *Catapalco*, or Monument of Wood framed for the purpose, with Pilasters and other Adornments of Architecture, carved, painted and gilt, to remain for a certain time exhibited to publick view; a sort of temporary Monument much used in Foreign parts, at the death of great Princes: the Corps had been privately inhumed many days before the Solemnity in *Henry the Seventh's Chappel*.

The Solemnity of his Funeral.

The war-like proceeding between the King of Sweden and Denmark.

As soon as the Ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were past, the Preparations for which had for a time very much put a stop to proceedings both Domestick and Foreign, immediately other matters of publick concernment began seriously to be taken into consideration, by the New Protector and his Council. The first thing was the sending of a Naval Supply to the King of *Sweden*, between whom and the old Protector there had been contracted a very firm and inviolable Amity, and Forces had been sent to this Kings Aid out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea-service; for the latter whereof, he now more than ever had occasion to make up a good stout Fleet; for after that by his Success against the King of *Denmark*, he had won him to a Concession of a great part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the *Sound*, and had at length withdrawn his Army: the King of *Denmark* judging the Conditions too hard on his side, and alledging them not to have been punctually observed by the *Swede*, began presently after the departure of the Swedish Army, to flye to Arms, for the recovery of what was lost, being especially encouraged thereunto by a certain assurance of Aid from the *Hollander*, besides his entring into confederacy with the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, against the Swedish King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of *Denmark's* Design, speeded back with his Forces, and was set down before *Copenhagen*, ere the *Danes* were well aware of his coming; but the Danish King had before-hand (providing against the worst that might happen) so well fortified and stored the City, that it was able to en-

dure a long Siege; and now the Sovereignty of this famous Bay of the *Baltick Sea*, called the *Sound*, being thus disputed between these two Kings, the Dutch thought it a matter of no small advantage to them, that the *Sound* should continue in the power of the Dane their constant Ally, lest the *Swede* gaining too much sway therein, they might be deprived of the benefit thereof, which was of high Concernment to them, and therefore made all possible haste to set out a Fleet for the Relief and Supply of *Copenhagen*: the English on the other side, thought it no less important to help the *Swede*, though it were against the Dane and the Dutch, both of them our friends in outward appearance; lest their joynt Interest and prevalence against the *Swede*, who of all other Potentates was the most firmly united in League to this State, might have proved prejudicial to us likewise in relation to the *Sound*, which also concerned us no less weightily than the Dutch; therefore a Squadron of lusty Frigots was sent forth by this State under the Command of Sir *George Ayscough* toward the *Sound*, which having for some time been detained upon the Coast by contrary Winds, and afterwards steering their course towards those Northern Seas, which the extremity of the Winter had made innavigable, they were forced for that time to return not without some damage to the Ships, by reason of the Ice, and the loss of some men, through the bitterness of the weather in those parts, so that this Enterprize was suspended till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was set out under the Command of General *Montague*, Sir *George Ayscough* being invited by the King of *Sweden* to take upon him a chief Command in his Navy.

1659

A Squadron of Ships sent towards the Sound.

Another greater Fleet set out under Gen. Montague.

In the mean time the *Hollanders* Fleet led by General *Opdam*, and *Witte Witteson* arriving at the *Sound* with relief for *Copenhagen*, were assailed by the Swedish Rix Admiral *Charles Gustave Wrangle*, in which Battel the Dutch are said to have received a notable Overthrow, seven of their Ships being lost, and *Witte Witteson* one of their Admirals, with many other persons of Quality slain; nevertheless during the Fight, several Dutch Fluyts and Merchant-men passed by with provision to *Copenhagen*, which so strengthened the besieged, that they thereby became inabled for the sustaining of a long Siege, as hath since appeared; and not long after, the *Swedes* in a resolute effort, against the City, were repelled with the loss of a great many men, and some of Eminency.

The Sea Fight between the Swedes and the Dutch.

Copenhagen relieved.

And now in *England*, want of Moneys, and other pressing occasions of the State, required the sudden calling of a Parliament: the young Protector issues out his Writs, summoning the Members to meet at *Westminster* the 27th of *January*. Elections are made by the Counties, not without some canvassing of Parties.

Moreover, according to the constitution of the Government, Members were elected to the Commons House for *Ireland* and *Scotland*, as well as *England*. The Elections were so disposed in *England*, that many honest Gentlemen in all parts were chosen, but the Upper (for it did not yet aspire to the Name of Lords) House, was filled with

1659 with the Chief Officers of the Army, whereof most were of such contemptible extraction and education, that the Commons were unwillingly brought in any capacity whatsoever to own them. From the time of Summons of this Parliament, to their convening, *Richard* was frequently entertained with the fore-mentioned Addressees, which much heightened the confidence he had entertained of his future Prosperity, and made him think of modelling the Council conformable to designs he had of subjecting the Army to his entire Command; for the Council, as the Government then stood, had a great co-ordination with him in the administration of it, and the major part consisted of such as countenanced in all their extravagancies the Officers of the Army, who were many of them *Anabaptists*, and of other Sects.

He endeavours to new model his Council.

The Army grows jealous and censorious of him.

He pretended not to remove any of the Councillors, but to add so many of his friends to them as might make the greater number firm to him, he proposed the Lord *Broghil*, and *Faulconbridge* who had married his Sister, but they were not approved of; and instead of these, it was offered by those that opposed them, that four Colonels of the Army might be admitted, (*viz.*) *Whaley*, *Goff*, *Berry* and *Cooper*: The first two had been of the late King's Judges, but were affected to the Protector and his Family; the other two were Factious and Seditious. These Transactions were not agitated in open Council, but privately treated of by particular Persons; but so rumored, that the Army began to be jealous of the Protector, and murmur at his Actions; sometimes they would complain of the Company and Conversation he used, and at other times censure his Religion, exclaiming that Godliness was discouraged by him, and that he rather favoured those of loose Principles, than the zealous Professors of the Gospel. But in this he was injured; for if his private Condition represented him a kind of Libertine, he assumed, together with the publick Person, a more grave and circumspect behaviour, conformed himself to the constant observation of all Religious Duties, and was in appearance at least, if not really so, of a blameless Life and Conversation.

The names of the Protector's Privy Council.

The Grandees of the Army, doubtful of the temper of the approaching Parliament, moved the Protector to call together some of the Officers of the Army to *London*, (as his Father was accustomed to do on the like occasions) to advise with him, to obviate any peril that might happen in the beginning of his Power, if the Parliament should attempt Innovations; He was a little surprized at this advice, but thought it not time to refuse it, and thereupon Letters were sent to as many of them as could be spared from their Charges to repair to *London*, to be there at the opening of the Parliament. The names of his Fathers Privy Councillors which acted and were continued under him, were *Richard Lawrence* President; *Nathaniel Fiennes* one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; *John Thurloe*, Secretary of State; General *Montague*, Sir *Charles Woolsey*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, *Philip Lord Lisle*, Son to the Earl of *Leicester*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Desborow*, Sir *Gilbert Pick-*

1659 ring, Colonel *Sydenham*, *Walter Strickland*, Colonel *Philip Skippon*; of which the six last named, were Favourers and Abettors of the Army; *Lawrence* the President was an *Anabaptist*, but somewhat moderate in his Opinion; the Lord *Lisle* was often absent and uncertain, endeavouring as much as he could to appear a Neuter. There was another whom I should have named, which was Mr. *Major*, the Protector's Wives Father, but his indisposition of Health rendred him incapable of Action. *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* had frequent meetings at *Desborow's* House, who with the Factious part of this Council, and some of the Colonels of the Army that favoured them, which were *Berry*, *Hewson*, *Cooper* and *Lilburn*, consulted to wrest the Power of the Army out of the Protector's Hands, and in order thereunto, *Desborow* was sent to tell him, That the Army was filled with many jealousies and fears of Designs against it, which would put them into Mutiny, and inevitably hazard the subversion of the Government, unless some speedy remedy were taken for prevention; and that no better way could be thought on, than putting the Command of the Army into the hands of some person that had served with them, and of whose Courage and Integrity to their Cause, they might have confidence and assurance; and immediately named *Fleetwood* to be the man, adding, That this would not only satisfy the Army, but give great content to the Godly Party (which was a name much used by all these Novelists) and free him from much of the trouble, which rendred him now less intent in the more necessary parts of Government. To this he replied, that as to the fears and jealousies of the Army, when he knew their Grounds, he would give them what redress could be desired, not doubting but the Parliament now ready to sit down, would take care both for his and their security, and the peace and quiet of the Nations: But as to the Command of the Army, he freely told them, he should not think himself able to protect himself or them, if he should part with it, which his Fathers Example confirmed him in. And with this Answer dismissed him. His Father, as was before mentioned, was much perplexed before he died, with many Seditious *Anabaptist* Officers of the Army, who were impatient of his Government, but the fear and danger of a division, and respect to his person, kept them in some degree of Obedience; He displaced many of them before he died, and had reduced the rest, and wholly modelled the Army to depend on him, if he had lived a few moneths longer: he had introduced his Son, my Lord *Faulconbridge*, and many others into Chief Commands, who were allied to him in Blood, or by their advancement wholly depending on him: all this while matters were carried without much heat, and not out of possibility of accommodation when the Parliament sat down.

Seditious Meetings of the Factious Part of the Army and Council at *Desborow's* House. *Desborow* sent to the Protector to persuade him to resign the Command of the Army to *Fleetwood*.

Which he refuseth.

At the prefixed time, the Parliament meets, A Parliament consisting as the last Parliament had done in his Fathers time, of two Houses, the *Commons*, and the *Other*, (which now began to be called the *Upper-House*) for the first was chosen Speaker *Chaloner Chute*, a Lawyer, who within a short while fell sick unto death, as also Sir *Lislebone Long*,

1659 Long Recorder of London, who was chosen *pro tempore* in his stead; For the latter was chosen Nathaniel Fiennes Lord Keeper of the Seal. The Act of Recognition of the Protector to be chief Governor of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: which was many days debated in parts, and at last part of it resolved in these words; viz. That it be part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness Richard Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. And it was added, That neither this nor any other Vote that is or shall be passed in order to this Bill, shall be of force or binding to the People until the whole be passed. The Protector liked well these Proceedings, and thought himself towards a good Settlement; but of those that were zealous for a Commonwealth, there was in this Parliament such a considerable number, who had so powerful Influence on publick Transactions, that to procrastinate the time, they cast in several previous Debates, in which, nevertheless, the Assertors of the Protectors Interest being more in number, carried things to their own Advantage by the major Vote, as particularly in the business of the Scotch and Irish Members to be continued in among them, and the owning of the Upper House, and holding an Entercourse with them, after a long Consultation in question of their Authority. However, the Factious Counsellours which abetted discontents in the Army, continued their Meetings to pursue their purpose of wresting the Command of the Army out of his hands, and putting it under Fleetwood.

The King creates new Commissioners for the management of his Affairs in England Several Designs had been in vain undertaken for His Majesties Restauration during the Usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, which were chiefly managed by the Earl of Oxford, the Lord John Belasis, Sir John Greenville, Sir William Compton, Colonel John Russel, and Sir Richard Willis, who for their supposed conduct of the privacy of their Counsels, were commonly called, *The seall'd Knot*: But, though nothing was more prudently and ingeniously contrived, all their Consultations were from time to time imparted to Thurloe by Sir Richard Willis, which was not yet known. Nevertheless, His Majesty about this time thought fit to appoint new Commissioners, and sent over into England a blank Commission dated at Brussels the eleventh day of March, in the eleventh year of his Reign, which was filled up with the Names of Arthur Ansley, Son to the Viscount Valentia; John Mordant, Brother to the Earl of Peterborough; Sir John Greenville, Sir Thomas Peyton, and William Legg; which was as followeth:

The Form of the Commission.

CHARLES by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Right Trusty and well-beloved, &c. And to every of them Greeting. We do by these Presents Constitute and Appoint you Our Commissioners, giving you or any one or more of you Power to Treat with any our Subjects of our Kingdom of England, and

1659 Dominion of Wales, that are or have been in Arms against Us or Our Father of Blessed Memory, or that have contributed to the present Rebellion in England (excepting such as actually sate in Judgement for the taking away the Life of Our said Father, or pleaded as Counsel Learned against his Life, or attended as Ministers to that odious pretended Court, or laid hands on his Person in the execution of that horrid Murder) And to assure them in Our Name, That if they shall forsake the present Rebellion, and joyn heartily and effectually for the suppressing of the same, and for Our Restauration to the Rights due to Us by the Laws of God, and of that Our Kingdom; That then We will not only freely pardon their former opposing Us and Our dear Father, and all other their Crimes and offences in acting, adhering to, or complying with the said Rebellion, But, that We will Recompense and Reward such of them as shall by any remarkable Service merit of Us; either by reducing or rendering any Town, Fort, or Garrison of the Rebels into Our hands, or into the possession and power of you, or of any other Trustee employed by Us or you for Our Service: And what you or any one or more of you shall by vertue of this Our Commission in Writing under your hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promise in Our Name in this kind, We shall Ratifie, and Confirm, and Perform. Given at Our Court at Brussels this eleventh day of March, 1659. in the Eleventh year of Our Reign.

These Gentlemen proceeded with much Wariness and Diligence in the execution of this Commission, the Effects whereof shall be made known hereafter; But in the mean time, we shall return to what passed between the Parliament and Army. Besides the private Meetings of some select Officers at Desborows House, the General Council of Officers (as they called themselves) met in Fleetwoods House, where they acted with as much formality, as if they had been the Supreme Legislators of the three Kingdoms.

It was a little before Cromwell's Death, that great preparation was begun for the setting forth of a Fleet to the help of the Swedes against the Danes, and that under the Command of General Mountague, nor did his Death put a stop thereunto, Sir George Ayscough being sent with a Squadron of Ships, though hindered from coming up to joyn with them, by reason of the freezing of those Seas, as hath been already mentioned: whereupon, for the better managing of the Charge, it was thought expedient that the House of Commons should be engaged in it, and a Narrative Report was made to them by Secretary Thurloe about the later end of February this year, concerning the State of the War betwixt the Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, in Relation to the Baltick Sea, and the command of the Sound. This took

1659

so far, as to gain a Vote for the providing a considerable Navy for the preservation of Trade, which was forthwith equipped, and General Montague sent with it to the Sound about the latter end of March, who was so straightned in his Commission, that he lay there without doing any thing, till he was called back by that part of the Long Parliament that subverted the Power that sent him.

The Upper House (as it now began to be called in a strain somewhat nearer Lords House) favoured the Military Council of Officers, but the Commons took much distaste at it, as if it portended a kind of Force upon their Councils. The Protector in the mean time advised with his Friends, how to free himself from the Embarrassments of the Officers of the Army; My Lord Faulconbridge, Colonel Ingoldsby, Colonel Bridge, Colonel Charles Howard, Major Knight, all Officers in the Army, and some few others, counselled him to send a Party to Desborow's house, to seize upon those that met there, which were eight or nine of the Chief Confederates, and immediately after to give their Commands to the next Officers to them, till he could have a fairer opportunity to put them into better hands; and to send for all the rest of the Officers to come to him, and to Command all of them to repair to their respective Commands, that were not obliged by Service in Parliament to attend that duty. These Counsels were very agreeable to his Inclination, but the Secretary of State and some others to whom he brake the business, diverted him from the first; but to the latter, of dismissing the Officers, he readily consented; and the next day he sent for them, and dismissed them accordingly: And the same day that this was by him done, the Commons openly debated against this Assembly of Officers, and Voted, *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave, and authority of the Protector and both Houses of Parliament.* And because in the Debate of these Questions, many that favoured the Army, had cunningly cast out some minatory Expressions, insinuating, That this way of proceeding might make them think themselves suspected, and provoke them to break forth into some act of opposition and disturbance, they passed another Resolve, *That no person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free Meeting in Parliament of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedoms in their Debates and Councils.*

The Upper House
jealous of the proceedings
of the Commons
and the Protector.

These were transmitted to the Upper House, to be confirmed there; but they made a slow progress in them upon divers late contracted Jealousies, not the least of which was from a late Vote of the Commons, wherein they declared at the acknowledgement of their Constitution, *That their acknowledgement of that House for another House of Parliament, should not prejudice the Peerage of the Land, or their Priviledges:* as also believing, that the Protector conspired with the Commons to weaken and divide, or subdue the

Power of the Army, in which they were somewhat confirmed; for that these Matters were Debated and Voted the same Day he had dissolved the Council of Officers, and dismissed them. The Protector had many of the Chief Officers of the Army fixed to him, but the inferior sort who were of Fanatick Opinions in Religion, and were more numerous, and had most influence upon the Souldiers, were for Fleetwood and Desborow: For it was artificially instilled into their Heads, *That the Protector did intend to cast them out of their Places, and put the Army into the hands of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nations, thereby to bring in the King, and destroy that Liberty of the Gospel they had so long contended for.* The Debate against the Army in the House of Commons, was on the nineteenth day of April, from which time the Meetings of the Officers were more frequent than before, and upon the two and twentieth day, the Protector was informed, that they would either themselves dissolve the Parliament, or compel him to do it. He called his Confidants about him, and made preparations against all accidents that might happen; and in the Evening many of his Friends encouraged him to take Horse, and appear in the Head of some Troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other Party had drawn up some men in the several Avenues to White-hall, and in Saint James's Fields, yet it was believed, if he had appeared with vigour and courage amongst them, respect of his person would have prevailed much with the Common Souldiers; but he was fearful and unresolved, of a Spirit unbecoming the Quality he assumed; and many of those about him were as irresolute as he; some advised one thing, some another, wasting their time in contradictions; and, as it happens in the Consultations of fearful people, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them in execution. Desborow his Uncle came to him from the discontented Officers, and pressed him much to sign a Commission to Fiennes to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till Desborow insolently told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by threats and importunities, he at length consented to it.

1659

The Inferiour Officers of the Army jealous of the Commons and the Protector.

The discontented faction of the Army in a posture of hostility against the Protector.

He is forced by Desborow to sign a Commission to Fiennes for the dissolving of the Parliament.

The next Morning, the House of Commons having heard of these Transactions at White-hall, Adjourned themselves for three days: but this their Adjournment proved a total Dissolution; for those that had made this breach upon them, proceeded further to compleat their purposes, and besides the foresaid Commission directed to Fiennes, caused a Proclamation to come forth in the Protector's Name, to publish the Dissolution of the Parliament in these words;

W Hereas We summoned our High Court of Parliament to Assemble and meet together at Our City of Westminster the 27th of January last, which hath continued until this present day; And whereas we did by Our Commission under Our Great Seal of England bearing date at Westminster this present 22^d day of April

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Parliament.

Rrrr

April for divers weighty Reasons declare Our Pleasure and Resolution to dissolve the said Parliament, and to that end did thereby constitute and appoint Our Right Trusty and Right well beloved Councillor Nathaniel Fiennes, One of the Lord Keepers of Our Great Seal of England, and other Our Commissioners in Our Name, this said present Twenty second day of April, to dissolve Our said Parliament, which was by them done according to the tenour of the said Commission in the usual place, and by vertue thereof our said Parliament is Dissolved: Nevertheless, We have thought it necessary with the Advice of Our Privie Council, by this Our Proclamation, to publish and make known the same, to the end all persons whom it may concern, may take notice thereof. Given at White-hall the twenty second day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1659.

Desborow and Fleetwood promise the Protector that his Power & Dignity should be continued.

Fleetwood and Desborow having (to get the power of the Army to them, and their Party) made this Breach upon the Parliament, and in it shaken the Protector's Government, intended of themselves, as it should seem, nothing less than to dethrone him, though by reason of what they had already done, they quickly found it was not in their power to prevent what they so little intended; they came to him together and apart several times that day after it was done, and protested to him, That his Power in all things, but the immediate Command of the Army, should be preserved intire; and even in that, nothing should be done, but in his Name, and by his privity; telling him, *They had not taken this course, but upon certain Assurance of the Designs of the Kings Party, and others, to disturb the publick Peace, which nothing could prevent, but the breaking up of that Parliament.*

The Officers of the Army oppose it.

He received not much Consolation from these Discourses, and gave little credit to them, well knowing, that it was far easier to draw the Officers of the Army into seditious courses, than to moderate them. He told them, he doubted not of their intentions, and that they had been practised upon to do that in haste, which they might have leisure enough to repent; and that they would find now they had made a Concussion of his power, it would be a Province too hard for them to re-settle it, and so it proved in effect; for at the first Meeting of the Officers at Wallingford House, after the emission of the fore-mentioned Proclamation, they would not hear of any thing in behalf of the Protector, and were so far from thinking of the continuance of his Power, that when any thing was moved tending that way, it was obstructed or diverted by Propositions of Government. Yet at last, when they had determined, that the Chief Command of the Army should be in Fleetwood, with a Power to dispose of all vacant Offices till farther Order, they were perswaded to allow the Protector a kind of Limited Supremacy (somewhat like that of a Duke of Venice.) But, the next day, whilst many of the Superiour Officers met at Wallingford House, in fur-

ther consideration of a Model of Government, the inferiour Officers being the most numerous, assembled in the Chappel at St. James's, having Doctor Owen, and other Independent Ministers with them to assist at their Devotion, where the matter was artificially so contrived, that the prosperity they enjoyed under the latter part of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, was much magnified; with some intimations of Advice to return to that Government, with which the Auditors were very much affected, but nothing more was done at that time. This was promoted by Lambert and his Friends wherein he appeared not openly himself, but set Colonel Lilburn to manage the Business, at whose Chamber his Friends had private Junctiōes.

The next day Fleetwood and Desborow were alarmed with this Countermine against their Designs; for the Inferiour Officers came now to open Declaration of their forwardness to restore the latter part of the Long Parliament, and to restore to their Commands Lambert and the rest of the Officers who had been displaced by Oliver Cromwell for disaffection to him; yet with so much respect to the Protector, and his Family, that they would have an Honourable Provision made for them. Fleetwood endeavoured to oppose this Torrent, suspecting Lambert's Ambition would quickly supplant him, if he got Power: but when he perceived it was already too great to be resisted, the Consideration thereof obliged both him and Desborow to comply, for the preservation of their Authority. However, to retard their proceedings, they propose, first, to have the Army settled and modelled in a way of Unity before they determined upon the Government, which was thought rational; and at a Meeting of a General Council of Officers, in order thereunto, they removed the Protector from his Regiment, and the Colonels Ingoldsby, Howard, the Lord Faulconbridge, and Colonel Bridge from theirs: Colonel Norton they displaced from the Government of Portsmouth, which they gave to Colonel Whetham, and made Colonel Edward Salmon Governour of Hull, in the room of Colonel Smith, who, by the recommendation of Fleetwood, had the Command of that Garrison given him by Oliver Cromwell. To Colonel Sanders they gave the Protector's Regiment of Horse; to Colonel Rich that of Ingoldsby's; to Sir Arthur Hazlerig Colonel Howard's Regiment of Foot, with the Government of Berwick, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth: To Lambert they gave the Lord Faulconbridge's Regiment, and to Okey that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Colonel Bridge: Major Packer, and Captain Gladman, Anabaptist Officers, who had been by Oliver Cromwell displaced were restored to their Commands: The Inferiour Officers, in all these respective Regiments, were suitably modelled according to the Opinion of their Colonels.

Thus Lambert was brought into the Army, wherein he quickly recovered much of his former power. After this, the Council of Officers was reduced to a smaller number.

The twenty ninth of April there met at Fleetwood's House, Lambert, Desborow, Sydenham, Cooper, John Jones, Berry, Hacker, Lilburn, Ashfield, Salmon, Zanchy, Okey, Sanders, Clark, all Colonels, and

The Superior Officers meet at Wallingford house to consider of a Model of Government, and the inferiour at St. James's.

Several Colonels removed from their Regiments and others put in their rooms. As likewise Governours of Towns and other Officers.

The Officers of the Army consult about restoring the Remnant of the Long Parliament.

1659 and Major General Kelsey, and Barkstead the Lieutenant of the Tower, where they debated the Election of a Council, which should have a Negative upon the Remnant Parliament, when it should be restored: But after much Debate, that was thought fitter for the Debate of the Parliament than them.

They next consult about some Articles, for the security of themselves and their Friends, and for a Foundation, on which they would oblige their Parliament to establish the Commonwealth Government.

They send These Articles being digested into form, and to treat agreed to by the General Council, a certain number of the Officers were deputed to meet with Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Mr. Scot, and Major Salloway, the prime leading men in this Parliament, to consider how they might be disposed to consent to them. Vane and those with him had been Treated with apart; but when they came to publick discourse, they were very reserved in their Answers; yet they gave them hopes of their consents, and of their endeavours to prevail upon others; but said, they could not undertake any previous Agreement, to oblige the Parliament, without their Authority and consent, at such time as they were met together.

This caution of theirs was disliked and suspected by Fleetwood, Desborow and Lambert; but the Inferior Officers were so far possessed in favour of them, that it was not time to contend. They therefore desired them to use means to draw as many of the Members as they could together with all convenient haste, because the Government was a kind of *Inter-regnum*; and the Officers in the mean time drew up a Declaration to invite them to sit, which upon the sixth of May was presented to the Speaker by Lambert, with about 13 or 14 Officers of the Army in his Company. The Declaration it self we have thought fit to insert, to shew the inconstancie of these new Politicians, that so soon altered from what they so solemnly declared; The Title was,

A Declaration of the Officers of the Army inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued sitting till the 20th of April, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

The Armies Declaration to invite the Remnant of the Long Parliament to sit again.

THe Publick Concernments of this Commonwealth, being through a vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances and Back-slidings of many, brought into that state and posture wherein they now stand, and our selves also contributing thereunto, by wandring divers ways from Righteous and Equal parts; And although there have been many Essays to obviate the Dangers, and to settle the Nations in peace and prosperity, yet all have proved ineffectual; The only wise God, in the course of his Providence, disappointing all Endeavours therein. And also observing to our great grief, that the good Spirit which for-

merly appeared amongst us, in the carrying on of this great Work, did daily decline; so as the Good Old Cause it self became a Reproach: We have been led to look back, and to examine the Cause of the LORD's withdrawing his wonted Presence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.

And amongst other things, calling to mind that the Long Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued their sitting until the 20th of April, 1653. were eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of GOD with them, and were signally blessed in that work (the Desires of many good People concurring with ours therein;) we judge it our Duty to invite the aforesaid Members, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said 20th of April 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648. until the 20th of April 1653. to return unto the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; and we shall be ready in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to sit in Safety, for the improving present Opportunities, for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the Commonwealth, praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.

Signed by the Direction of
6th of May the Lord Fleetwood, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

Thomas Sanford Secretary.

After the delivery of this, many of the most Eminent Members of this Remnant of the Long Parliament, having before consulted with as many of the rest as were in London, came also and gave a Visit to the Speaker, to signify their willingness to return to the Exercise of their Trust, (as they call'd it) in pursuance of the Invitation given them by the Army, and that they would meet the next morning, which was the 8th of May, at 8 of the Clock in the Painted-Chamber, where they desired his Presence to accompany them from thence to the Parliament-House; which he accordingly did, and they all went together, and took their Places. Thus ended the Reign, or rather the Usurpation of the Cromwells, being overthrown by those of their nearest Relations, from whom by Interest, they might have expected Support: But such was the Fate of this ill-acquir'd Dominion, to be subverted in its greatest Security, by the Ambition and Malice of those that assisted the Aspirers in the obtaining of it.

They agree to accept of the Invitation,

And take their places in the House.

1659

General
Monk
seems to
give his
Consent
to what
was done
in Eng-
land.

Upon the Dissolution of the Protectors Parliament, diligence was used by *Clarges* to acquaint *Monk* with all Occurrences; but the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, then in *London*, of *Fleetwood's* Party, had so dispersed Letters amongst their Friends, to ingage them for the restoring of this later part of the *Long Parliament*, that when he conven'd some of them at *Edenburgh* to sound their Tempers, he perceived they had been wrought upon; and therefore he judged it most prudent, to seem to approve of what was done: And to that purpose he writ a Letter signed by himself and his Officers, to the Officers at *London*, which gave them Assurance of his Adherence to them; (but if *Richard* had not dissolved his Parliament, *Monk* had then marched into *England* in favour of it.) They did not fear much any storms from the Army in *Ireland*, who of themselves could do little, without correspondence from *England* or *Scotland*.

They pub-
lish their
Intentions
by a De-
claration.
The
words of
the Decla-
ration ex-
tracted
out of the
Parlia-
ment Jour-
nals.

The first thing the Remnant-Parliament did when they met, after Election of their Officers, was the passing a short Declaration, which was ordered to be Printed and Published; in the Close whereof they declare; That they are Resolved through the Gracious Assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply themselves to the Faithful Discharge of the Trust reposed in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth upon such a Foundation as may assert, establish and secure the Property and Liberties of the People in reference unto all, both as Men and as Christians; and that without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers: And shall vigorously endeavour the carrying on of Reformation, so much desired, and so often declared for; to the end there may be a Godly and Faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright in the Land.

Sir George
Booth, Mr.
Booth, Mr.
Pryn, and
others of
the old
secluded
Members
claim their
privilege
of Sitting,
but are
kept out.

Sir George Booth, Colonel Rossiter, Mr. Pryn, and some others, Members of the Commons House of Pryn, and this Parliament, (formerly secluded by the Army) attempted to go into the House, but were all kept back by Adjutant Gen. Allen, except Mr. Pryn who slipt in, but they would do nothing whilst he was amongst them, but adjourned till the afternoon; and when he again would have entered, he was staid by some Officers of the Army.

About four days after the present small Parliament had sate, which was spent in making a Committee of Safety, and dispatching Intelligence of their being re-instated in their former Power, to several of their Members absent in the Country, whom they had not disabled from Sitting; the Officers of the Army present themselves with their Petition and Address, a thing they often insisted to have prosecuted, and was one of the occasions that heightened the differences betwixt them and this Parliament.

1659

The Title was, The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. The Address itself was in these words following:

Calling to mind the former Declarations of Parliament, and the Grounds therein inviting us to take up Arms, and those many signal Providences, wherein the Lord hath owned You and your Forces both by Sea and Land, in asserting that Righteous Cause, wherein the Civil and Religious Liberties of the people of these Nations were involved, so as that all open opposition was beaten down before you; and likewise weighing with our selves how in the several late Changes in Government, that publick Spirit which appeared in that Work, hath since that time been discouraged, and another raised up, drawing back to the same things you had contended against, even to the hazarding the Essentials of that Cause; we did upon serious thoughts of heart think it our duty once more to appear against those back-sliding ways: and Providence having brought the state of Affairs to the condition they were in some few days before your sitting, we found it necessary to assert amongst our selves some of the Fundamentals of our Good Old Cause, with some other things conducing to the Preservation thereof, with a full and fixed resolution, through the Assistance of GOD, effectually even to the hazard of our Lives to endeavour the Recovery and security of the same. And the same Good Providence holding forth an opportunity to us, to open unto You a Way for the further discharge of your remaining Trust in Parliament, we did by our Declaration of this instant May, humbly desire you would be pleased to return to the exercise and discharge thereof, as before the 20th of April, 1653. And having to our great rejoicing seen your Declaration of the seventh Instant, shewing, that you are resolved through the Gracious Assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply your selves to the faithful discharge of the Trust reposed in you; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth upon such a Foundation, as may assert, establish and secure the Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men and Christians, and that without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers, resolving vigorously the carrying on the Work of Reformation, so much desired, and so often declared for, to the end there may be a Godly and faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in these Nations; which so fully answers what our hearts were drawn

The Hum-
ble Peti-
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Address
of the Of-
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the Army
to the
Remnant
Parlia-
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1659 drawn forth to desire, that we could not any longer forbear to express our thankfulness for this door of hope again, opened towards the attaining a consummation of those things so much breathed after by the good People of this Commonwealth. And however we find our selves in some measure prevented, by the late Declaration and Resolves of this Parliament: Yet this nevertheless we have judged it our Duty to represent what was chiefly and unanimously upon our hearts, when we engaged in that which made way for your Return, which we humbly (as becomes us) lay before you:

1. That the Liberty of the Persons, and Property of the Estates of all Free People of these Nations, be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable according to Law, under the Government of a Free State and Commonwealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.

2. That there may be such a just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity, as that they may be a Protection, and not vexatious or oppressive to the People of these Nations.

3. That by an Act of Oblivion, all and every person and persons who have since the 19th of April, 1653. mediately or immediately advised, acted, or done any matter or thing whatsoever, in reference to the several Changes or Alterations in the Government of these Nations since the said 19th of April, 1653. or in order to the Publick Service, Peace, or Safety of these Nations, be Indemnified and saved harmless, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

4. That all Laws, Ordinances, Declarations, and Establishments made in the several Changes and Alterations of Government, that have been in these Nations since the 19th of April aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in Law, until particularly repealed.

5. That such Debts as have been contracted for the Publick Service and Affairs of this Commonwealth, and for the Charges of the Government, since the twentieth of April, 1653. be carefully paid and satisfied.

6. That all persons who profess Faith in GOD the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son the true God, and in the

1659 Holy Spirit, God Co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed or written Word or Will of God, shall not be restrained from their Profession, but have due encouragement and equal protection in the profession of their Faith and exercise of Religion, whilst they abuse not their Liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of Worship: So that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth licentiousness or prophaneness under the profession of Religion: And that all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null and void.

7. That a Godly, Faithful and Painful Gospel-Preaching Ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

8. That the Universities and Schools of Learning be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.

9. That such persons as have at any time since the twentieth of May, 1642. aided, or assisted, or adhered to the late King, Charles Stuart his Son, or any other person or persons whatsoever of that Party, against the Parliament or Commonwealth of England, and all other persons whatsoever that have made use of any Authority or Power under pretence of Law, or otherwise, to deprive or abridge any of the good People of these Nations of their Christian Liberty, or have or shall express themselves in any way mockers, scoffers, or revilers of Godliness, or of the Professors thereof, or are otherways scandalous or loose in their conversations, or have not given good satisfaction of their affection and faithfulness to this Cause, may be speedily removed out of all places of Power or Trust in the Magistracy, or other management of the Publick Affairs of these Nations, and that no such persons may be admitted unto any such Place of Power or Trust for the future.

10. And forasmuch as no godly or other good Interest can be preserved, or maintained, unless the persons who are chiefly

1659 chiefly intrusted with the management and exercise of the Government, be of suitable Spirits to those Interests, That those who are or shall be intrusted therein, be such persons as shall be found to be most eminent for Godliness, faithfulness, and constancy to the good Cause and Interests of these Nations.

11. That to the end the Legislative Authority of this Commonwealth may not by their long sitting become burthensome or inconvenient, there may be effectual Provision made for a due Succession thereof.

12. And for the better satisfaction, and more firm Union of the Forces of this Commonwealth, in this juncture of Affairs, for preserving and maintaining the Principles and other matters thereunto subservient, We do unanimously acknowledge and own the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* Lieutenant General of the Army, to be Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces of this Commonwealth.

13. That in order to the establishing and securing the Peace, Welfare, and Freedom of the People of these Nations for the ends before expressed, the Legislative Power thereof may be in a Representative of the People, consisting of a House successively chosen by the People in such way and manner as this Parliament shall judge meet, and of a select Senate, Co-ordinate in Power, of able and faithful Persons, eminent for Godliness, and such as continue adhering to this Cause.

14. That the Administration of all Executive Power of Government, may be in a Council of State, consisting of a convenient number of Persons qualified in all respects as aforesaid.

15. That all Debts contracted by his late Highness, or his Father, since the fifteenth of *December 1653*, may be satisfied, and that an honourable Revenue of Ten Thousand pounds *per annum*, with a convenient House, may be settled upon him, and his Heirs for ever; and Ten thou-

1659 sand pounds *per annum* more upon him during Life: And upon his Honourable Mother Eight thousand pounds *per annum* during her life, to the end a mark of the high Esteem this Nation hath of the good Service done by his Father, our ever Renowned General, may remain to Posterity. These having been the Thoughts and Desires of our Hearts, unanimously agreed upon before Your returning to Sit, and finding the spirits of divers of the honest faithful People of this Commonwealth led forth for the same things, and your selves by your late Declaration and Resolutions in a great measure assisting them; We thought it our Duty to the Nations, to You, and to the Honest People, humbly to present these, and beg the Blessing and Presence of the Lord with you in the prosecution and bringing forth such a Settlement as may be for the Honour of God, the Union, Joy and Rejoycing of all the peaceable People of the Commonwealth.

And we shall pray, &c.

This Petition was presented by *Lambert* the twelfth day of *May*, accompanied with *Desborow* and *Barkstead* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with twelve other Colonels, and two Lieutenant Colonels, we find entred in the Parliament Journal the words which *Lambert* spake at the delivery of it, which were these:

Mr. Speaker,

WE are Commanded by the Officers of the Army, to present before you their humble Petition and Address; there are several things contained in it, which have been a long time upon their Hands and no visible way of redress: Finding to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are Returned; In discharge of thir Trust, they thought it not fit to neglect this opportunity, but have Commanded us to present this Petition.

When he had said these words, he withdrew with those that were with him; and the House upon Debate Order'd their Speaker to return them the following Answer, which is likewise entered in the Journal of that Dayes proceedings.

I am

The
Speakers
Speech.

I Am commanded by the House to tell you, That they have read the Petition and Address that you have made here to Us; They have commanded me likewise to tell you, That as they found your Affection before they came hither, so they find that Affection continuing.

For the things contained in your Petition, they are things of great weight, and many more things of great weight are lying before the House; and it is concerning the Settlement, for which the Divine Providence of GOD hath brought us hither, who we hope shall never depart from us.

The House finds in your Advice much of Love and Affection, and have commanded me to acknowledge that Love and Affection you have shewn, and to give you thanks, very hearty thanks for your love and expressions of it; And accordingly in their Name I do give you very hearty thanks.

The House by Votes agreed to all the Articles of this Petition at the first Debate of it, except such as concerned the publick Revenue, Government, and the Protector, which were referred to a Committee, whom they directed to go to the Protector, and receive an acknowledgment from him of his Submission to the Government, before they would do any thing for him, and to take a State of his Debts: which being declared to him, with the Resolve of the House, the occasion of that Message: After Consideration, he delivered the following answer to them in Writing, with his name to it.

The Pro-
tector
Richard's
Submission
to the
Powers in
being.

I Have perused the Resolve and Declaration which you were pleased to deliver to me the other night, and for the information touching what is mentioned in the said Resolve, I have caused a true state of my Debts to be transcribed and annexed to this Paper, which will shew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that part of the Resolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themselves, how far I do acquiesce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament.

I trust my past Carriage hitherto hath manifested my Acquiescence in the Will and Disposition of GOD, and that I Love and value the Peace of this Commonwealth much above my own concerns; and I desire that by this, a measure of my future Deportment may be taken, which through the Assistance of GOD shall be such as shall bear the same Witness, having, I hope, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of GOD, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out amongst us) however in respect of particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the Government of the Nations, yet thorow the Goodness of GOD, I can freely acquiesce in it, being made, and do hold my self obliged as (with other men) I expect Protection from the present Government, so to demean my self with all peaceableness under it, and to procure to the utmost of my Power that all in whom I have any Interest, do the same.

Richard Cromwel.

A Schedule of his Debts was annexed to this Paper: what was contracted for the Funeral of his Father, they absolutely rejected, and made slow progress in the rest, and delayed to settle any Revenue upon him or his Mother, as was desired; but gave him two thousand pounds to discharge part of his own private Debts, and required him and all his Dependents, to remove from White-Hall in six days. Fleetwood discovered a little Discontent at this contempt put upon his Brother Cromwel, and that Family; but as soon as it was ordered that he should be Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Land Forces in England, Scotland and Ireland, for one year, in compliance with the twelfth Article of the Armies Petition and Address, he was left solicitous in the concerns of his Wifes Family: When the House voted he should Command the Armies, they likewise voted, He should have Power to Sign and Seal such Commissions for the Constitution of Officers under him, as should be approved by the Parliament, and nominated by Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, and the Colonels, Lambert, Desborow, Ludlow, and Berry, or the major part of them, who were made Commissioners for that purpose. And for his better Establishment, they directed a Bill to be prepared and brought into the House to be passed into an Act for his Constitution; which was done accordingly; but upon the second reading of it, they would not admit of that Clause, to Authorize him to Sign Commissions, but Ordered, That all Commissions, both to the Commission-Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, should be signed by the Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State, and delivered to the Officers gratis, by the Speaker in the Parliament House. They also at the same time Ordered, That the Government of Ireland should be by Commissioners nominated, and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Person, and that Colonel Henry Cromwel should be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament. This Gentleman had made himself very popular in Ireland, in his Government of that Kingdom, under his Father, and his Brother; but in regard there was a Council co-ordinate with him in civil matters, many of the Members whereof were of severe and rigid behaviour, the generosity of his Disposition was somewhat over-ruled; nevertheless, most people in distress there did receive such Effects of his Civility, where he had any manner of capacity to shew it, That they acknowledged he deserved to have been the Son of a better Father.

He had the Irish Army under good Discipline, and was so well beloved of the Officers, that it is probable he would not have consented to the change of Government; if he had had time to prepare against it; For his Brother gave him no intimation of what had hapned, nor any Commands to appear on his behalf; what he had heard, being only from the intelligence of private Friends. At the first Alarm, he advised with his Confidants what to do, and to prevent Confederacies against him, by any Com-

Fleetwood
voted
Commander
in
chief of
all the
Forces.

All Com-
missions
to the
Officers of
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the Spea-
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Henry
Cromwel
called
from the
Govern-
ment of
Ireland.

Combinations of the Officers of his Army he commanded all of them to their Charges, and (to use his own words) *not to hearken to any design of Innovation, how speciously soever the same might be presented to them.* Likewise he dispatched Cornet Monk to Scotland to General Monk (who came thither not till fifteen dayes after the alteration of the Government) to inform himself how he and his Army stood affected to it, who returned no other answer than a Copy of the Letters the Officers of his Army had obliged him to send to the Parliament.

In all probability, if Colonel Henry Cromwell had drawn his Army together, and fixed them to his Authority, and then declared against their proceedings at London, he might have shaken much the new foundation of the Commonwealth; for the Armies in England and Scotland were not then modelled, and the Officers many of them (as hath been said) Relations or Dependents of the Family of the Cromwells; but he was so doubtful of the success, that he undertook nothing, but peaceably submitted as his Brother had done, (though in more generous terms) to the Authority then introduc'd.

We purposely omit many particulars of these transactions, and others in the Journals of the Parliament, as their Constitutions of a Council of State for the more immediate executive Power of the Commonwealth, the Nomination of Judges, Commissioners of the Great Seal, and Commissioners for the Admiralty, and Government of the Navy, and Colonel Henry Cromwell's Letter to the Parliament, when he submitted to it, as not very essentially pertinent to this History.

Fleetwood and his Friends were troubled at the restriction of his Commission, yet he dissimulated his passion, and yielded to necessity, till a more favourable conjunction might give him opportunity to enlarge his power: however, both he, *Desborow*, *Lambert*, and many of them were dissatisfied with the way of receiving their Commissions from the hands of the Speaker, and would have remonstrated against it; but by enquiring into the temper of the inferior Officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed for that time. And *Fleetwood* himself, to dissimulate his acquiescence with great Submission and Protestation of Obedience to the Parliament, received his Commission in the House, from the Hands of the Speaker, and after him *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, and the rest of them in and about London, who had Commands in the Army.

The Parliament now became confident of its Power, and meditated to subject the Army wholly to it (which made them jealous of each other.) Although all the Armies and Navy had declared their concurrence in obedience to them; yet they displaced those Officers in both, whom they suspected in any manner to have been affected to *Cromwell*, or Monarchical Government. The seven Commissioners before named, to whom the nomination of the Officers of the Army was first committed, were continued in that Authority and very active in it. Those of the *Anabaptist* per-

swasion, were by them esteemed most firm to a Commonwealth, and by their Information they were much guided in the disposition of Places; but where any had been put out by *Cromwell*, for dissatisfaction to him, they were restored as of course. Colonel *Lockhart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, had made his submission; but shortly after, there was a desperate mutiny in the Garrison, at first suspected to be for the King, but it was quickly appeased, and found to be otherwise. And the better to regulate the Affairs there, and quiet the place, Lieutenant Colonel *Pierston*, Colonel *Ashfield*, and Colonel *Packer*, are forthwith sent over. Thus all things succeeded fortunately to them. Embassadors from all parts making haste to congratulate the felicity of their Government.

The Embassador from the United Provinces, was prepared with his Credentials for Audience within a fortnight after the first beginning of this new Commonwealth, and at his Audience, in the name of his Masters, he made a more than ordinary Profession of Amity, and desire of Unity and Confederacy with them. The Commissioners who had that in Charge, made great dispatch both in modelling the Army and Navy. *Pierston* and *Mason* two *Anabaptists*, Lieutenant Colonels under General Monk, undertook to know so well the Army in Scotland, that their information was much credited in the settling of it, and to weaken Monk's Power, they had designed to remove those he most trusted, and put others of their own Creatures into their places. Of all these passages the General had very good Intelligence; his Agent *Clarges* not omitting to acquaint him with all that passed with these Commissioners. And after a while he took publick notice of it in a Letter to the House, in which, among other expressions, he told them he had heard of their Intentions to displace many of his Officers, which he conceived they did not from any knowledge they had of their Persons or Qualifications, but the informations of others; and that he thought himself as fit to be credited in that matter as any, and did assure them, they were all honest and stout Men, and such for whose Fidelity and good Behaviour he would be engaged.

This Letter put a little stop to their Carriere, but did not divert their Resolutions: yet to give him some satisfaction, they sent him back word, they would be very careful in the placing or displacing of his Officers, and that in his own Regiments of Horse and Foot, there should be no alteration till such time as he were consulted in it. Monk was not satisfied with their Answer, but privately advised some of those Officers, whom he heard they would put from their Commands, to go to London, to solicit their own Concernments, and as much as they could obstruct and retard the proceedings of the Committee. That which was of most advantage to the preservation of his Officers, was an Order made, That such Officers as were new constituted for Scotland or Ireland, because they could not come to the Parliament to take their Commissions, should receive them from such Commissioners as should be appointed for the Civil Government of those Kingdoms

The Governour of *Dunkirk* submits to the change of Government.

The Dutch Embassador courts our restored Senate in a high manner.

Gen. Monk digests not the *Jun-ctures* designs of modelling his Army.

He useth his utmost industry to obstruct it.

Fleetwood, *Lambert*, & others receive their Commissions in the House from the Speaker.

doms respectively. And none being yet appointed for *Scotland*, that Affair rested a while in suspense, yet was not so far neglected as to hinder the designment of the remove of many, whom nevertheless the General underhand kept still in their Commands, till further order.

An Old Act of Assessment revived.

In the pretended Parliament begun at *Westminster*, in the Year 1656, An Act had passed for a three years Assessment upon *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, at thirty five thousand pounds per *menssem* on *England*, six thousand per *menssem* on *Scotland*, and nine thousand a Moneth on *Ireland*, to determine the 24th of *June* 1660, of which one years proportion was yet uncollected, which made the House to pass an Act on the 18th of *June* this year, to authorize the collecting of that money, knowing it to be less difficult to continue a Tax already imposed, than after the expiring of that to raise a new one. In this Act, they appoint the whole years Assessment to be paid into the Treasury, one Moiety on or before the tenth of *August*, and the other on the tenth of *October*.

Commissioners appointed for the Government of Ireland.

Having, as is aforesaid, recalled Colonel *Henry Cromwell* from *Ireland*, they appoint for the Civil Government of that Kingdom certain Commissioners, namely, *Steele*, *Robert Goodwyn*, *Matthew Thomlinson* and *John Jones*; and for the Command of the Army, Colonel *Edmund Ludlow*, who with the Title of Lieutenant General was immediately upon receipt of his Commission dispatched away.

The Kings Commissioners active endeavours to raise the Country for his Majesties Service.

In the mean time, the Kings Commissioners were not idle in ingaging as many as they could for his Service; and Captain *Titus* was sent by his Majesty to treat with Major General *Brown*, and such others in the City of *London* as he knew to be well inclined to his Interest. When he came to *London* and sent to *Brown*, he refused to have any Communication with him, and therefore he used the mediation of Mr. *Charlton*, and Mr. *Beverly* of *Lincolns-Inne* to treat with him, and they had several Conferences without any effect; for he being a Prudent Wary Man, was unwilling to hazard himself till he saw some Body of Men together, to busie the Army, and divert the Forces in *London* and *Westminster*. *Titus* then addressed himself to Mr. *Mordant* and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners, and was very assistant to them. So Active were these Commissioners, that most of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Wales* were engaged by them, and a day in *July* fixed for the Rising. Sir *George Booth* was to raise *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Shropshire* and *Flintshire*. Sir *John Carter*, *Denbighshire*. The Earl of *Stamford*, *Leicestershire*. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, (who also advanced money to buy Arms) *Suffolk*. Colonel *Rossiter*, *Lincolnshire*. Colonel *Popham*, *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, and to secure *Bristol* and *Taunton*. Mr. *Edward Dunch* and others, *Berkshire*. Major General *Maffey*, and the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, and Mr. *How*, *Gloucestershire*. Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Levertborp* and Mr. *Fanshal*, *Hartfordshire*. Mr. *Mordant*, Sir *Francis Vincent*, and Sir *Adam Brown*, *Surrey*; with many more in all places too long to name.

The first Rising was to be of such as had never engaged on the Kings side in the late Wars, thereby to draw the Army to less opposition; for the Declaration had no mention of his Majesty, but was called, *The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen and Citizens, Freeholders and Yeomen, in this once happy Nation*. The words of it were these:

Since it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the Spirit of Division to continue in this distracted Nation, and to leave us without any settled Foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Property, the Legislative Power usurped at pleasure, and contemned; the Army raised at first for our Defence abused, and misled into unwarrantable Actions by the Cunning and Ambition of some of the Superior Officers; no Face of Government appearing either in any Single Person, or a Body of Men in Council lawfully constituted, to whom the Grievances of the People may with any probability of Success be properly addressed. Therefore We being Conscious of our Duty, and sensible of our own and the Nations Ruine, if these Distractions continue, or issue in a more fixed oppression by some Settlement inconsistent with the Laws, Peace and Interest of these Nations, have taken Arms in Defence of Our selves, and all others who will partake with Us in the Vindication and Maintenance of the Freedom of Parliaments, against all Violence whatsoever of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property of the Good People of this Nation, who at present groan under Illegal, Arbitrary, and Insupportable Taxes and Payments unknown to our Ancestors. This being our Duty to GOD and to Man, and our only Design, we cannot despair of the Blessing of him who gives Victory; nor of the chearful concurrence of all Good People, nor of the undeceived part of the Army, whose Arrears and increase of future Pay, and Advancement of high Command, We shall by all means procure, suffering no Imposition of force on any mans Conscience; And to this We doubt not but all honest English-men will say, Amen, Amen.

The Declaration of Sir George Booth committed at the time of his Rising.

But yet many of the Kings Friends in all parts were to bring in their Aids, Colonel *Richard Arundel* and *Trelanny* undertook, if his Majesty would bring five hundred Horse into *Cornwall*, and Arms for as many more, they would raise the other five hundred: And Major General *Egerton* did as much in *Staffordshire*; and many others in other Parts. The Preparation could not be expedited with that haste as was intended, so that the day of Rising was deferr'd to the first of *August*, and Mr. *Cooper* was sent by Mr. *Mordant* to his Majesty to acquaint him with it; who was so soon dispatched, that he returned in five days to those that sent him to let them know, his Majesty would be present with them in a short time: With him Colonel *Roger Whitley* came into *England*, with some verbal Instructions to Sir *George Booth*, and some blank Commissions to disperse in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire* and *Flintshire*; He staid no longer in *London*, than to receive Mr. *Mordant*'s Commands, and some of the forementioned Declarations to carry with him to *Booth*. Captain *Titus* was sent to the King, to let him know all was ready: His Majesty there-
Ssss

Sir George Booth's Rising aided by the Kings Friends from all Parts

His Majesty thereupon remov'd privately from *Brussels* to *Calais*, about the first of *August*, which was two days after *Titus* came to him: He had in his Company only the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol*, Dr. *Quatermaine*, Mr. *Daniel Oneal*, and one *Maurice Delaval*, a Servant of the Marquess of *Ormond's*, with two other Servants, one belonging to the Earl of *Bristol*, and the other to *Oneal*, nor did they travel thither together, but by two and two: His Majesty had only Dr. *Quatermaine* with him, and the first place he came to from *Brussels* was a little Village where *Monsieur Marfin* met him, with whom he had much discourse about his Affairs. *Marfin* accompanied his Majesty to *S. Omers*, where they parted; and then he went directly to *Calais*, where the rest met him; but to avoid being known, they dispersed into several Lodgings, and his Majesty had with him only *Maurice* to wait on him. The Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, were at *Breda*, and were sent for to *Brussels*, but they arrived not till the day the King parted from thence, and after he was gone. The Duke of *York* with *Titus* followed his Majesty to *Calais*, but the Duke of *Gloucester* by his Majesty's appointment continued at *Brussels*, ready prepared to come over upon the first intimation. The King staid three days at *Calais*, and a Shallop was ready at *Bulloign* for his Transportation into *Kent*, upon the first news of any considerable Parties being in Arms.

The main of the Design prevented by discovery: But in the height of this Expectation, one Mr. *Baron* arrived from *Mordant* with the ill News of the disappointment of much of the Design in all the *South* and *West* parts of *England*, which was thought to be discovered by a Letter intercepted at *Reading* from the Lady *Mary Howard*, about the latter end of *July*; but it was known long before that Letter, to *Scot*, and some few other Members of the Council of State, which hastened them so much in a more than usual care in modelling the Army, and settling the whole Militia of the Kingdom, wherein the meanest Commission-Officer in any of the Trained Bands, Troops, or Companies, was to be approved in Parliament, and they had privately laid a contrivance to have Soldiers at most of the Risings of the King's Friends all over *England*: So that their accidental intercepting of the Lady *Mary Howard's* Letter by the officious diligence of a Post-Master, was rather a Service than a disadvantage to his Majesty, since thereby his coming to *England*, which might have exposed his Person to inevitable Peril, was prevented. Notice of this discovery could not be soon enough dispersed to prevent the appearance of many Gentlemen in divers parts. The Earl of *Lichfield*, with Sir *Adam Brown*, my Lord *Mordant*, (so we now stile him, in regard he here first declared his having received the Dignity of Viscount) and about twenty five others Rendezvoused near *Guilford* in *Surrey* but by reason of the taking of Sir *Francis Vincent* an active Servant of the Kings, there was so little appearance, that all divided to shift for themselves: the Earl of *Lichfield* and my Lord *Mordant* came disguised by Water in the Common Barge from *Chertsey* to *London*, and got privately

to Alderman *Robinson's* House, where they were for a while concealed.

The most considerable Body that got together was under Sir *George Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmurry*, and Major General *Egerton*, were met at the time appointed at *Warrington*, at first with a small Party; but they having the very Flower of the Gentry and Gallantry engaged among them, their numbers increased every minute: Colonel *Roger Whitley* delivered his Message to Sir *George Booth* from his Majesty, and the Declarations he had received from the Lord *Mordant*, with an account of his Majesty's Preparations beyond the Seas, and his readiness to come over upon the first notice; which was no small Satisfaction and Joy to the whole Party, which then consisted of about Five hundred men. The first thing they resolved, was to march towards *Chester*, and the first night they marched to a place called *Tradsum*, where they met Colonel *Werden*, who assured them that the Gates of *Chester* would be opened to them: And the next day they marched thither, and took possession of the Town, but the Castle was defended against them by *Croxton* the Governour thereof for the Parliament, who had one Company in it. The next day Major General *Egerton* was sent with a Party to *Chirk-Castle*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his approach, opened the Gates and joyfully received him. The next day he went with them to *Wrexham* (having left his Son to command the Castle for the King) and there many came in to them. The next day after, Colonel *Whitley* was sent with a Party to put a Garrison into *Harding-Castle* in *Flint-shire*, which was newly left by a Party of the Parliament Soldiers that marched from thence to *Denbigh-Castle* their next Garrison, but were seized by the Country, and brought Prisoners to Sir *George Booth's* Party. Colonel *Ireland* at the same time declared for them in *Le- verpool*, and Mr. *Brooks* one of the present Members of the House of Commons, willing to expiate his former mistakes, cordially joyned with them for the freedom of his Countrey, and met at the first Rendezvous.

The Parliament somewhat apprehensive of these Proceedings, caused all the Houses in and about *London* to be seized, and all the Avenues to the City to be guarded, and divers Troops and Companies to be placed in all the ways toward the *West* and *North-west* Parts. They had every hour news of the dispersing of several little Parties, and *Lambert* was ordered with a Brigade to march to suppress Sir *George Booth* and his Party. The Lord *Mordant*, as the most active Agent for his Majesty, was summoned on a great penalty to appear; and Mr. *Edmund Dunch* and *Brooks*, Mr. *Monk* two Members of the House whom they suspected to be engaged for the King, were on the penalty of a hundred pounds a piece required to attend the service of the House.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Reverend Minister, a Person of most firm Loyalty to his Majesty, and the only Brother to General *Monk*, came at this time to *London* in his way to *Scotland*, from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Sir *Thomas Stukely*, and others of his Majesty's Friends in the *West* of *England*.

Sir George Booth appears with several others in a considerable Body.

They take possession of *Chester* City, but the Castle holds out against them.

Chirk-Castle delivered to them by Sir *Thomas Middleton*.

Colonel *Ireland* and several others declare for them.

They at *Westminster* prepare for Defence, and send *Lambert* against Sir *George Booth*.

England. His business was to engage his Brother in his Majesties Cause, to promote the present Design being directed to receive further Instructions from Sir John Greenville. He came directly to Mr. Clarges before he saw any one, and communicated his business to him, and afterwards to Greenville, who much encouraged his undertaking, and shewed him two Letters he had received from his Majesty, one to General Monk, and the other to himself; which may not be impertinent to this History to be here inserted, to manifest the great Vigilance of His Majesty, whose eye was in every place where he had any prospect of assistance to his Affairs. That to Monk was as followeth:

SIR,

His Majesties Letters to General Monk and Sir John Greenville. **I** Cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do, and the good I expect from you, will bring so great a benefit to your Country, and to your self, that I cannot think you will decline my Interest. The Person who gives or sends this to you, hath Authority to say much to you from me; and if you once resolve to take my Interest to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it intirely to your own Judgment; And will comply with the Advice you shall give me. The rest I refer to the person who conveys this to you; and it is in your Power to make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always

Your Affectionate Friend,

July 21st 1659.

CHARLES R.

The other was to Sir John Greenville of the same date, in these words, Viz.

His Majesties Letter to Sir John Greenville. **I** Am confident that George Monk can have no Malice in his heart against me; nor hath he done any thing against Me which I cannot easily pardon, and it is in his Power to do Me so great Service, that I cannot easily Reward, but I will do all I can; and I do Authorize you to treat with him; and not only to assure him of my Kindness, but that I will very liberally Reward him with such an Estate in Land, and such a Title of Honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Interest: And whatsoever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his Advice, shall promise to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command (which Command he shall still keep) I will make good and perform upon the Word of a King.

CHARLES R.

Greenville earnestly pressed to have Clarges in gaged, and Mr. Monk moved it to him, with a promise of Great Advantage from his Majesty upon his Restitution. Clarges Replied, That he needed not these Temptations to oblige him to his Duty; and refused to have any Discourse concerning those Matters with Sir John Greenville at that time, well knowing, that the least jealousy of his actions from those in power, might make him useless for that future Service which could not be done without him.

But because all the ways to Scotland were obstructed, he took care to provide a Frigate for the Transporting of Mr. Nicholas Monk thither, and convey'd him safe on Shipboard fully instructed how to manage his Negotiations with Caution, and to communicate with none but the General, except Dr. Samuel Barrow Physician to the Army, a very discreet Gentleman, and Mr. John Price his Chaplain: The first of which was ejected out of Trinity-Colledge in Cambridge for his affection to his Majesty; and the latter, the Son of a Sequestred Minister, always educated in Principles of Loyalty, a good Scholar, and an honest Man; both recommended by Clarges to the General at his first going into Scotland, to be near his Person.

The King when he received the News from the Lord Mordant of the disappointment of the Design, went from Calais to Bullloign, and from thence by ealie Journeys, and very privately to Rouen. The Duke of York and Captain Titus stayed behind a while at Bulloign, and the parts adjacent, to be ready upon all occasions if any thing should intervene. His Majesty at Rouen was in Consultation which way to move, when Dr. Allestry came to him with the news of Sir George Booth's being in Arms, with Sir Thomas Middleton, and others, with great Forces in Lancashire, Cheshire and North-Wales, which put him in good hopes of Success. The first rumor of this Rising represented it very formidable, forasmuch as his Majesties Friends that lived at distance from it, were willing to receive it with the greatest advantage, so that the Numbers were believed to be much greater than they were, and by imagination advanced to what the willing Affections of the favourers of his Majesties Cause would have them. His Majesty sent the Marquess of Ormond to Paris to Transact some Affairs there, and went himself to St. Maloes by Caen, where he met the Earl of Bristol, and Mr. Oneale.

They at Westminster in the mean time were very active in dispatching Lambert on the Expedition against Booth, but first they issued forth a Proclamation to proclaim Major General Egerton, Colonel Robert Werden, Sir George Booth, Sir Thomas Middleton, and their Adherents, Traytors and Rebels, which was commanded to be proclaimed in all Market Towns, and read in all Churches.

Major General Maffey was very active in Gloucestershire, and if by an accident of the interception of a Letter his Design had not been ruin'd, he had certainly taken Gloucestershire.

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and

Mr. Monk negotiates with Mr. Clarges about the foresaid business

Clarges secretly conveys Mr. Monk on Shipboard for his transportation into Scotland.

His Majesty removes privately from Calais to Rouen.

Thence to St. Maloes.

Major General Maffey, the Lord Herbert, and others stir for the King in Gloucestershire.

and what with his own reputation in these Parts, and the assistance of the Lord Herbert of Worcester, Colonel Barron, Captain Glaynford, and others of the Kings Friends, they would have got together above three thousand Men, Miners and others, out of the Forest of Dean, and from about Stroud-Water, and other places. There was in Gloucester a Troop of the Army Horse under one Dale and a Militia-Troop commanded by one Crofts, who upon this Discovery caused three hundred Foot to be presently raised, and sent a Party of Horse to take the Lord Herbert, Massy, Barrow and Glaynford: They took the Lord Herbert, and brought him to Gloucester; Barrow and Glaynford defended themselves in Barrow's House, and upon Parol, to render themselves at Gloucester, were not taken. Massy and his Servant being taken Prisoners, Massy himself was set on a Horse, and a good stout Trooper set behind him, to hold him in his Arms, two rode on each side, and some Troopers before his Horse, and others behind: It was about the close of the Night, the Evening very dark and Tempestuous with Rain and Hail, insomuch that when they were going down a very steep Hill by Nimsfield-Road, about ten miles from Gloucester, the way to Bath, Massy's Horse, with the man that rode behind him fell headlong altogether, and tumbled down that steep Hill, whereby it hapned that the Fellow let go his hold, and most of the rest also; so that all the Prisoners, except the Lord Herbert, and Massy's Servant, escaped.

The Lord Herbert taken,

And Major Gen. Massy.

Massy escapes, together with several other prisoners.

Lambert marcheth against Sir George, and increaseth his Force.

Sir George Booth's Forces engaged with Lambert. Sir George defeated.

The Parliament sent to Dunkirk, for three Regiments to strengthen the Army; and Colonel Zanchy brought out of Ireland his Regiment of Horse, and Axtel's Regiment of Foot, which landing at Anglesey, marched to joyn with Lambert, who at his first march from London had not above 1500, but by Conjunction of several Troops and Companies that met him, increased to above 5000 before he engaged; Sir George Booth had not half the number, and those he had were without any Order or Discipline, because many of them being Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, were not without great Emulation, every one aspiring to Command, whilst no body obeyed. Sir George Booth having intelligence of Lambert's drawing near to him, thought to have got a days march before him into Lancashire, to have increased his numbers; and to gain time, he and Sir Thomas Middleton sent a Trumpeter with two Ministers, to shew the ground of their raising an Army, and desired a Treaty to save effusion of Blood: To which Lambert agreed, on condition they would first lay down their Arms, and surrender to him the Garrisons in their power. To this there was no reply; but some of Lambert's Men pressed so hard the next morning upon Booth, that at a Bridge near Northwich, a sharp Encounter was made between the Forces of each Party. The Boothians with much Courage defended the Pass, till they were overpowered by Numbers. Captain Morris, a gallant Loyal Gentleman was killed, and some few other

of Booth's Party; of Lambert's very few fell, and those that did, of no great Note; all the vanquished dispersed themselves; Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton got away. The Lord Kilmurry, Brooks, Major General Egerton, Sir William Oneale and others were taken Prisoners, and all the Garrisons immediately submitted to Lambert.

Sir George, although he had the good Fortune at that time to escape, was not long free, being seized at Newport-Pannel in a Disguise, as he was riding towards London, in order to his Transportation into some Foreign Part.

Taken prisoner at Newport Pannel.

The Curious that made Remarques on this generous Undertaking, as commonly wiser in the Discourse than Execution of any great Design, did much censure the Conduct of it. They said, that they had many Opportunities to have ruined their Enemies, but omitted all; That Colonel Zanchy from Ireland, landing in Anglesey, might have been met, and with good probability of Success fought with, ere he could have joyned with Lambert, they being with all their Force betwixt him and them; and that Colonel Lilburn, who was gathering men together in Yorkshire, might easily, by any small Force from Lancashire have been broken, and hindred in his Levies; and that many other little Parties, which in small numbers came from several Parts might have been met and dispersed, before they united; and that one Blow given to any one of them, would have added so much to their Reputation, that it might have brought great Accessions to their Party. Others were of Opinion that nothing was more Destructive to His Majesty than these Plots and Contrivances of Rising for him; and that the best Resolution he could have taken, since the end of the first War, was to have sate in Expectation of some favourable Advantage to himself from the Devision of his Enemies; for what could new raised men do against experienced and successful Souldiers? And where the late King with all his strength could not prevail, Parties could less expect to conquer. But doubtless this was a great mistake; for it was nothing else, but the restless and invincible Spirit of the Royal Party, that by keeping the Usurpers in a perpetual distraction and Alarm, hinder'd them from proceeding to a final Establishment of their Power; and supported the very Life and Credit of the Cause. And certainly, the Generosity of those Noble Persons cannot be enough commended, since they valued no hazard, in respect of their Duty to their Sovereign, and the Vindication of the Laws and Liberty of their Countrey, and have left such an Example of Loyalty to their Posterity, as we hope will be maintained, as long as the Fame of their Vertues and Honour shall endure.

The management of this Rising censured by many.

General Monk preparing to have marched into England, and joyned with Sir George Booth.

General Monk in Scotland, was so much prevailed upon, by the report of Sir George Booth's prosperous Success in his Enterprize, and the Importunity of his Brother Nicholas Monk, that he resolved to march into England in pursu-

ance

ance of *Booth's Declaration*, which was very suitable to his own Inclinations.

He consulted in this Matter besides his Brother, only Major *Ralph Knight*, Major of his own Regiment of Horse, Captain *Jeremiah Smith* likewise of his own Regiment, Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Physician to the Army, Dr. *John Price* his Chaplain, and Dr. *Thomas Gumble* then Chaplain to the Council of *Scotland*, in regard he had many Seditious Officers in his Army, who were Spies upon all his Actings, and therefore was obliged to be very wary, and circumspect in his Proceedings; inasmuch, that when Colonel *Atkins*, a Royallist of his antient Acquaintance, came into *Scotland* to him, about the same Errand that his Brother did, *Monk*, (for fear of awakening the Jealousie of the Factious about him) durst not shew him any Countenance or Respect, but rather the contrary, sending him away somewhat discouraged: When all was ready for his March, and a Declaration to that end prepared, he demurred for two days, upon the stop of the *English Packet*, in expectation of Intelligence from his Agent *Clarges*, from whom he two days after received the fatal News of the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*.

Is diverted by the News of his Defeat.

The King receives News thereof at *St. Maloes*.

The King being still at *St. Maloes* in preparation of a Vessel to transport him into *England*, had the first notice of these Misfortunes from Mr. *Brett*, an *English Benedictine Monk*, which in a while after was confirmed to him by the Marquess of *Ormond*, who came to him from *Paris*, with Particulars of it: The King (always present to himself in the most difficult Accidents of his Life) discovered not much alteration at this, though it seemed a Cross that it might very well no less sensibly affect him, than whatever had yet hapned to him prosperous, and giving Check to his Fortune; because hereby all his hopes became desperate, of his being ever restored to his Subjects, without such Foreign Force as should be able to afford Assistance and Supply, to their Endeavours for him, by holding his Enemies so long in Play, till by accession of his Friends, they might be strong enough to resist their greatest Power and Force: yet even in this Reflection, he had many Doubts in his Mind, for that many late Successes of the *English* in *Flanders*, had made them seem invincible to those, from whom His Majesty was to expect Assistance. But since now nothing but Foreign Aid could visibly raise his hopes, he resolved seriously to apply himself to the Treaty now in Agitation upon the Borders between *France* and *Spain*, about a Peace betwixt those two Crowns, which was managed by Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis D' Haro*, the two chief Ministers of the two Kings, to which his Majesty had an Eye long since, not doubting but he should in some measure be comprehended in it, so as to receive Assistance from those Princes his Allies, as soon as they should be freed from their Embarrassments; and in prosecution hereof he had commanded Sir *Henry Bennet*, a person of great Prudence and Address, his Embassador Resident in *Spain*, not to fail to attend *Don Lewis D' Haro* to the Treaty, and to be present there to negotiate his

He begins to derive his chiefest hopes from the peace between *France* and *Spain*.

Sir *Henry Bennet* negotiates for his Majesty at that Treaty.

Affairs. The Treaty being near Conclusion, his Majesty, for fear it should be ended before he came thither, made all possible haste to repair to those Parts; and in order thereunto, took his Journey forthwith from *St. Maloes* to *Reims*, where he met Sir *George Carteret*, and after some small stay with him, went from thence to *Nants*, and there his Company divided, till they met again at *Toulouse*; from thence he went by the Passage of *Oleron*, over the *Pyrenean Hills*, to *Saragosa*, the chief City in *Aragon*, and there he continued eight or nine days, and dispatched Mr. *Oneale* to *Fontarabia*, to inform himself of what passed at the Treaty; who, when he came thither, after some Conference with *Bennet*, they agreed to haste away Mr. *William Dungan*, an *Irish Gentleman* to the King, to let him know, the Treaty was prolonged, and that his Presence would very much quicken and advance his Affairs. His Majesty then immediately hastening by Post to the Treaty, continued incognito (as he had done all his Journey) till he came within three Leagues of *Fontarabia*, where he was attended by *Bennet* with Coaches to augment his Equipage; and from thence he resumed his State, and went in Publick.

His Majesty repairs thither himself,

He was met by the Baron of *Batteville*, a Person of great Honour and Civility (Governour of *Fontarabia*) with a Troop of Horse, a mile and a half without the Town; and when he came near it, all the Guns were discharged, and *Don Lewis* himself met him within the Gate. During his stay there, he was entertained in as splendid a manner as the time and place would handsomely admit. And during the Treaty, he had frequent Conferences with *Don Lewis D' Haro*, and was every day visited by him.

And is Honourably entertained by the Spaniards.

The Governing Power in *England* employed at the same time to attend on Cardinal *Mazarine* at this Treaty, and to promote their Concerns, *Lockhart*, who had continued ever since *Oliver's* Death, Extraordinary Embassador in *France*. The Cardinal lay at *St. John de Luz*, the nearest Town to *Spain*, on the *French Borders*, where he shewed so much Countenance and Respect to *Lockhart*, that the King thought it not decent to give him a Visit; but he received many from divers of the *French Nobility*.

Lockhart at the same time Agent at this Treaty for the *English Commonwealth*. Is countenanced and favoured by Cardinal *Mazarine*.

General *Monk* was inwardly very much troubled at these Disasters; and the more, because he found himself every day more and more incapable to remedy them: for the House displaced Colonel *Daniel*, the Governour of *St. Johnstons*, and many other Officers whom he much trusted, and were about to remove the rest: so that seeing which way things were likely to tend, and thinking it better to resign of his own accord, than to be worm'd out of his Command; or at least remain but like the Image of a General, and serve only for a Prop to other mens designs, he sent a Letter upon the third of *September*, to *Lenthall* the Speaker, to be communicated to the Parliament, to desire a Dismission from his Command; pretending, That he was infirm in his health, and had long continued in that remote Country; and therefore requesting, now that

General *Monk* sends a Letter to the House, signifying his willingness to be dismissed from his Command.

that all Insurrections, which threatened disturbances to the Peace of the Nations, were allayed, he might be permitted to return into his own Countrey, to end his days in quiet.

The said Letter through Clarges his perswasion, is kept off by the Speaker from being read.

The Army begins to contrive the recovery and advancement of their Power.

Consultations among the Officers of the Army, promoted by Lambert, in dislike of some miscarriages of the Junto.

This Letter, though it was not sent to Clarges to be delivered, as usually all his Packets were, because he suspected he would have opposed that resolution of his, and been very backward and dilatory in the delivery of the Letter; yet Mr. Nicholas Monk giving him Intimation of it, the Matter was so ordered, that the Letter came to his hands, and by him delivered to the Speaker, with whom he dealt so effectually, that he agreed to delay the offering of it to be read for ten days, till a Packet came from Scotland to contradict it: Yet Clarges was put to great perplexity in this Business; for Vane, Salway, and those that affected not, or suspected the General (having private advice of this Letter) often call'd to have it read; and had not earnest and dextrous prevention been used to divert the House with other business, by some that loved the General well, and were prepared by Clarges, he had by this Despondency rendred himself incapable of doing that, for which he seemed by Providence especially chosen and markt out.

The Defeat of Sir George Booth and his Party, heightened much the Spirits of the Chief Officers of the Army, who began now to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Greatness, which was somewhat of late lessened by the Parliament, and in Designation to be wholly subjected to them. To effect this, there was a strict and private Correspondence held between some of the Officers at London, and Lambert; and those with him in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Parts adjacent. The Difficulty was, how to ingage the inferiour Officers (who were somewhat affected with their immediate Dependence on the House, by receiving Commissions from the Hands of the Speaker) to obviate this. It was advised to attempt nothing at the General-Council of Officers in London: but to begin with those of Lambert's Brigade, as most exalted by their late good Fortune; and therefore apter to be seduced by any plausible advantages of Power. These therefore were all conven'd to the number of Fifty, at Derby, the 16th of September, the first thing on which they began their Debate, was the Constitution of the Army; the Unity, Discipline, and Conduct whereof, they said was invaded by a Party of Neuters and Malignants: They complained of several Miscarriages in the Civil Administrations of Government, and of the Inactivity and Backwardness of Persons in Authority and Trust in the Counties, and the Defection of many Corporations, both which appeared in the time of the late Insurrection. They also seemed much to resent the Parliaments unwillingness to prosecute the Proposals of the Army at their first sitting, as an Expedient for Settlement, with many other things of like Concernment. These things were artificially insinuated into the Minds of the inferiour Officers who were easily enough drawn to an Opinion of their own Power, and to think themselves qualified to give Laws to all but themselves.

However, these Matters were at first only Treasured of in Generals, It being moved and agreed, that Colonel Zanchy, Colonel Michel, Major Creed, and some few others, should meet as Committees for the rest, to reduce them into Form, which was accordingly done. Lambert himself went privately to London, and Lieutenant-Colonel Duckenfield, a great creature of his, presently followed, to acquaint the General-Council of Officers with these Proceedings; and shortly after, the whole Matter being digested into the Form of a Petition, was sent up in a Letter inclosed to Colonel Ashfield, Colonel Cobbet, and Duckenfield; by whom, or any one, or more of them, it was to be delivered to Fleetwood, to be communicated to the General Council of Officers: and at the same time, when this was sent to London, an Officer was dispatched with a duplicate of it to General Monk, and a Letter with it to desire his Concurrence, and that the Officers of his Army might joyn with them: which Letter was subscribed by fourteen of the chief Officers employed under Lambert.

Sir Arthur Haslerig had secret Intimation of these Consultations at Derby; and the next day after the Petition came to London, which was on the 22d. of September, he moved the Parliament, at their first Sitting, against it, exclaiming with much earnestness against the Officers of the Army, who (he said) were attempting alterations in the Government, to the setting up a Single Person over them.

This put the House into a Jealousie of Lambert; to whom in their private Discourses, they attributed the whole Contrivance; and though he outwardly appeared passive in it, they said he aspired to succeed Cromwell: And because it was not yet time to effect his purpose, in his own Person, he would set up Fleetwood to be General of the Armies in England, Scotland and Ireland; and establish himself in the next Command to him, to be thereby able, with less envy, to compass his Ends. For Fleetwood, they said, was of an easie nature, and would be contented with the Name of General, allowing Lambert the power of it, till he should find a fair Occasion, to assume it in his own Right; and when he should have so gotten the Sword, he would not long want the Scepter.

Fleetwood confessed he had the Copy of a Petition, but seemed much perplexed at Haslerigs laying such an Imputation on the Officers of the Army, and endeavoured to justify their Innocence, as tending nothing less than what was alleadged; but all he said could not allay the heat raised by Haslerig, inasmuch, that they ordered, that Ashfield, Cobbet and Duckenfield, whom he affirmed to have the Original in their Hands, should that After-noon attend the House with it, and appointed Fleetwood to give them notice thereof, and to bring with him the Copy he had. Monk made no Progress in Scotland in this Affair, nor did he think fit to call together his Officers about it; but some of them that were Anabaptists attempted privately to get Subscriptions, till they heard of the severe Reflection that was made upon it by the House: Whom in the After-noon,

Their De-fires concluded to be drawn up into the Form of a Petition.

Haslerig vehemently opposeth the Ar-mies proceedings,

And possesseth the House against them. The Junto's Censure of Lambert, in reference to this Business.

Fleetwood endeavours to justify the Officers of the Army, but in vain.

At field, noon, the three Officers mentioned attended with their Petition: And because it was That, on which the chief Foundation was laid of that difference betwixt the Remnant Parliament and Army, which ended in the Dissolution of both, and was never yet Printed, We have thought it material enough to be here word for word inserted.

To the Supreme Authority of these Nations
the Parliament of the Commonwealth
of England, &c.

The Humble Petition and Proposals of
the Officers under the Command of
the Right Honourable the Lord
Lambert in the late Northern Expedition.

Humbly Sheweth,

The Tenour of the Armies Petition and Proposals.
That whereas we, with others who desire to fear the Lord in these Nations (though by our provocation we were ripe for destruction) have been again saved by the Lord, and have had a late view of his appearance as of old; in the beholding of whose gracious Footsteps, as we cannot but rejoice, so our selves tremble, lest the fruit of all (which the Lord may expect, and his People long earnestly for) become abortive now in the day of our deliverance: We therefore present unto your Honours Consideration these ensuing Proposals which we humbly lay before you:

1. That the Humble Petition and Address of the General Council of Officers at Wallingford-House to the Parliament, which was so unanimously and chearfully agreed to, and approved of, in a day of our greatest Confusions, may not be laid asleep, but may have fresh Life given unto it; It being upon farther and clearer grounds still upon our hearts, as the best and only Expedient yet offered (notwithstanding many Essays) to a happy and durable Settlement, being a fixed and firm Fence and Boundary (under God) for the securing the Civil and Spiritual Liberties which the Spirit of the Nation is unwearied in travel, not only to invade, but upon every opportunity (as We have often seen, and lately had a clear Evidence of) is ready to attempt the ruine and destruction of the same.

2. That whereas God having given a Spirit to the Army fixed and faithful to the Interest of his People, and Our Good Cause; when many who had been Friends, were either Apostates, Malignants, or Neuters, Joyning with the old Enemy, leaving the Parliament and Army, and their few active Friends singly to conflict with their late difficulties; And having now no such hopeful way like to prevail to ruine and frustrate what we have so long Contested for, as by working Divisions in the Army, making Breaches, begetting Mis-understandings, and dissolve its Unity, wherein, under God, its greatest strength lies: We do therefore, as the most effectual means for the maintaining the Discipline and Conduct thereof, and preserving its Unity inviolable, Humbly Propose, That his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood may be settled Commander in Chief of the Armies (his Commission expiring

within a few Months;) that the Lord Lambert be the General Officer and Chief Commander of the Army next and under him; and also, that the Lord Desborow be the Chief Officer of the Horse under them: And that General Monk be the Chief Officer and Commander of the Infantry: They being all Persons under whose Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, We have had eminent Success, Victory and Deliverance in the days of greatest Straights, and have been signally blessed and owned by the Lord; to Whom, and not to Man, be the Honour of all.

3. That having had very sad experience of a grand Apostatizing Spirit gone through the Nations, and amongst many of those who were intrusted for the Safety thereof, very few acting or appearing in several Counties for the preventing the Plots; and suppressing the Power of the Enemy in the late Rebellious Design, and many others not only flattering, but falling in with them, whereby a total ruine was threatned, and had been effected, had not the Lord in Mercy prevented: We therefore humbly Propose, That there may be a diligent enquiry in all parts, by faithful men employed to that purpose, what intrusted Persons have been guilty of any Contrivance, and acted against the Commonwealth Interest, and that they may be proceeded against accordingly. And likewise what Persons upon wicked purposes have been Neutral in such a distracted day, when their Assistance, according to their Employments and Trusts, would have been not less useful than seasonable; and that all such may be removed from their Places and Employments, Civil and Military; and that such, who on the contrary in this Juncture of the discomposed Affairs, declared their owning of this Interest, either in the County Troops, or Militia Volunteers, or otherwise, may be looked on as Friends, encouraged, satisfied their Arrears, protected from Injuries, countenanced by you, and as they are capacitated, invested with Authority in their several Countries.

4. That in the late Insurrections, some considerable Corporations, have not only aided, abetted and countenanced the Enemies Design, but have also made use of the Arms lodged with them, and themselves appeared in the Rebellion, willingly receiving the numerous accession of all engaged therein: Therefore We humbly Propose, That such Corporations may be discountenanced, and that You would be pleased to give Your Signal mark of disfavour against them; As also for the future, so to regulate Corporations, that such Persons well Qualified according to the Government of a well Constituted Commonwealth may be intrusted with Authority of Magistracy in every of the several Towns: That so the Footsteps of Monarchy may be rooted out.

5. We humbly offer, That all Persons whatsoever, Magistrates, Ministers or others, who have openly or secretly stirred up, or provoked the Inhabitants of these Nations to War and Commotions against the Parliament, and particularly to the late Insurrections, (of which is visibly apparent, many of them have not only been Abettors, but in their Persons appeared with Instruments and Weapons of War, as some of Us know) may be proceeded against, as You in your Judgment shall think fit.

After

The House signify their displeasure, and vote against the effect of the Petition. After the reading of this Paper, the House adjourned till the next Morning, and Ordered then to resume the Debate of it, and that no other business should intervene; And at their meeting, they Voted, *That to have any more General Officers in the Army than are already settled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth; and that Fleetwood shall acquaint them with this Resolve.*

They had it under Consideration, to have imprisoned those that brought the Petition; but because the chief and most remarkable design of it tended to set up some new General Officers in the Army, they thought it enough to declare against it.

Fleetwood the next day, at a Meeting with many of the Leading Officers at his own House, informed them of the Parliaments displeasure signified in their late declarative Vote against the Petition and Proposals, and they thereupon resolved to decline the insisting thereon; but agreed, that some of their number should draw up somewhat in Writing of a more moderate nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an adherence to their Authority, in opposition to the King and his Party, (whom they styled the *Common Enemy*) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the *Commonwealth* against all disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a General Council of Officers to meet for that purpose the 27th of September, in the Chappel at *Somer-set-House*.

Another Petition brought into the Council of Officers more high than the former. And the said Petition was at the appointed time prepared and brought into the General Council by those to whom the care of framing it was committed, with a long Preamble, and many Proposals far different from what was expected by many that were then present; for there seemed at their former meeting, to be a general sense and opinion, that they should humble themselves for what they had before done without the permission and consent of their Masters, and make some Declaration of their intention, never to interpose more in matters of Government. But contrary to this, they arraigned them for what they had done against the Petition of *Lambert's* Brigade, and for what (they said) had been groundlessly and without cause alledged against them; and were so far from acknowledging their offences, thereby to recover the good opinion of the House towards them, that they justified their own proceedings with a kind of Reprehension of those that mis-informed the House concerning it. Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Sanders*, Major, *Daberon*, Major *Barton* and Major *Breman*, with many others, did much oppose the carrying on of this Representation, which retarded the Progress of it. And some of the dissenting Officers writ to General *Monk*, and sent him a Copy of what was brought in, with all the debates thereupon, desiring him to imploy his Credit with *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* to put a stop to it; as that which would, if not prevented, put an irreparable Breach betwixt the Parliament and the Army.

Monk was somewhat at a stand to know how to behave himself in this matter, but to avoid suspicion, he writ to *Fleetwood* a Courteous Letter of his opinion of the whole Affair, but insisted chiefly on that part of the Petition wherein it was proposed, *That no Officer or Souldier should be cashier'd or dismiss'd from their Places, without a due Proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own consent, except in case of Reducement or Disbanding; desiring they would add (after the words Court-Martial) or by order of the Commander in Chief of the Army upon the place; alledging, That although the removing or displacing of Officers or Souldiers, otherwise than by Sentence of Court-Martial, was a thing rarely practised: yet if a General, or the Supreme Authority, should be understood to be restrained therein, it might encourage the more Inferiour Officers and Souldiers to affront the Superiour, and the General himself, and would in time make the Army a kind of separate Corporation from the Parliament.*

This Letter came not to *Fleetwood*, till the greater part of the Officers had agreed to the Representation to be presented to the House. But *Monk's* intention was to make his advantage of this deviation, and to that end, sent his Brother *Nicholas* to *London* to *Clarges*, to Authorize him principally to acquaint such of the Members, as he thought most fit, *That if they would assert their own Authority, he would march into England to justify it against any opposition.*

During this Debate at *London* of the General Officers, all imaginable endeavours were used by the Dissenters, to protract and lengthen the time, but they were by much over-nimbred. And the Petition was Signed by 230 Commission-Officers of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who were then in and about *London*.

The Leading Members had from time to time Notice of the Progress of this Petition, and the matter of it, so that to prevent the Officers of the Army, even in the most reasonable of their Demands, They made many Orders concerning Pay of the Souldiers, and Mariners, and Provisions for the maimed Souldiers, and Orphans, and Widows of such as were killed in their Service. To the Souldiers they ordered, that all the Arrears, as well of those of the Army, as the Militia-Troops and Companies should be paid out of the Moiety of such Moneys as should be raised by the Sale, or other disposition of the Estates of Delinquents Sequestred, and to be Sequestred upon the late Insurrection, and out of one Moiety of Money to be raised by the Sale of Forests and Chaces, excepting *New Forest*, and the Forest of *Deane*. And excepting such Timber and Trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of, for the use of the Commonwealth. And to the Officers and Mariners of the Navy, they ordered the other Moiety of the Money to be raised upon Delinquents Estates. And also that *Hampton-Court-House*, Parks, and *Somer-set-House*, (except the Chappel which was reserved for a French Congregation) and all other Mannors, Parks, Houses and Lands contained

Monk writes his sense of it in a Letter to *Fleetwood*.

Monk offers himself to march into the assistance of the Parliaments Party.

Orders made by the Juncto of Commons, for the encouragement of the Souldiers, the better to ingage them to their Interest.

Orders for the sale of *Hampton-Court*, *Somer-set-House*, &c.

The rem-
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contained in the several Acts for Sale of the King and Queens Lands, should be sold, and the Money go to that use. And for the maimed Souldiers, Orphans and Widows, of such as were slain in their Service, they ordered the Committees formerly constituted for inspections into the Publick Treasuries, to pay two months pay to them, and to take care to put such of their Children to be Apprentices as were fit for it. They likewise to gain themselves the more general Esteem, considered of some way to satisfy part of the Debts contracted to raise Arms against the King, at the beginning of the War, upon the Publick Faith of the Parliament, which had been long neglected; and in order thereunto, they ordered, that the other Moiety of the Money to be raised by the Sale of the Forests (except as aforesaid) should be employed towards the payment and satisfaction of those Debts. The House imagined that these their Proceedings would so far satisfy the Generality of the Officers of the Army, as to divert them from the delivery of their Petition; and many of the most active Members in credit with the leading men did what they could to hinder it, but could not prevail. And upon the 5th of October, Colonel Desborow, with many others, came to the Door of the Parliament, and sent the Serjeant to inform the Speaker, that he, with some others of the Officers of the Army, attended with something to be presented to them, whereupon he was called in with those in his Company, and in the name of the rest spake these following words.

Desborows
words at
the delive-
ry thereof.

"I Am Ordered by the General Council of the Army, with the rest of these Gentlemen, to wait upon you, to present unto you their Humble Representation and Petition; and they humbly desire you would accept it, as that which proceeds from the Hearts of those who desire nothing more than that the Lord would strengthen your Hearts, in carrying on that good Work of settling these Nations upon the Foundation of a Free Commonwealth, whereby the Religious and Civil Liberty of the good People thereof may be preserved and secured.

Having said this, he and those with him withdrew, and the Petition, being delivered by the Serjeant at Arms attending, into the Speakers Hands, was by his direction read. The Title was,

The Humble Representation and Petition of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

The sub-
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the Ar-
mies hum-
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sentation
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tion.

In the Preamble they set forth, "That having had by their Order some late Votes of Parliament Communicated unto them by Lieutenant General Fleetwood their Commander in Chief, occasioned by a Debate in Parliament upon the Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the Command of the Lord Lambert in the late Northern Expedi-

tion; they have enquired diligently into their Hearts and Ways with reference thereunto, and finding nothing amongst them but Faithfulness and Integrity to the Parliament and Commonwealth, they are sensible that there have not wanted some Persons who have endeavoured to beget mis-understanding betwixt the Parliament and the Army, and to that end have represented their Actions and Intentions so, as it is taken for granted, that there hath been irregularity amongst them, at which they fear they have taken offence, whereas if there had not been an Anticipation, they are persuaded it would have appeared to all unprejudiced Spirits, that neither they (who for the generality of them were ignorant. (for so they pretended) of that whereat the offence was taken, nor their Faithful Brethren of the Northern Brigade, who signed the said Petition and Proposals, did design or intend any thing tending to the interruption of the Parliament, the prejudice of the Peace of the Commonwealth, or any other bye or sinister respect, not becoming the Trust reposed in them. Wherefore being sensible of the Evils that Persons abroad may make from the least apprehensions of Difference betwixt the Parliament and the Army; and that they may, as much as in them lies, remove all occasions of surmise, justify their own Innocency before them, and frustrate the expectations of any, who by blowing up the Coals of Dissention, hope to warm themselves thereby; They have thought it their Duty to present their naked Thoughts to them, hoping they will find so much of Integrity and approved Faithfulness in them, for the welfare of the Commonwealth, as may continue a firm Confidence of them, and engage their Zeal against all such as shall go about to reproach their Faithful Army, or any Member thereof for the future, especially considering that the Peace of these Nations depends much upon a Cordial and Affectionate Union of the Parliament and Army, and an uninterrupted good understanding of each other.

It could not rationally be believed, that these men could think this their manner of Proceeding suitable to the temper of Subjects to their Superiours, or that it could tend to any thing but that which they seemed to avoid; namely, a Breach betwixt their Parliament and them. But a clearer manifestation of this was apparent in their Proposals annexed to this Preamble, ushered in with Four bold Declaratory Assertions; of all which we shall insert the words themselves as they were presented. Where they say,

We do humbly and plainly declare,

1. That notwithstanding what any persons may suggest or say to the contrary, We are not for, nor suggest, nor intend, nor will we suffer, any such Proceedings, as shall tend to the setting up of any Single Person, or persons, as whatsoever in Supreme Authority: And for a demonstration hereof, We may appeal to your own Judgments, upon our late Actions, wherein since

T t t t

our Declaration of the sixth of May last, We have with all Industry and Faithfulness endeavoured to render our selves serviceable to you and the Commonwealth, and have chearfully observed your Commands, some of Us with our Lives in our hands in your late Service; wherein to our great encouragement the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the Good Old Cause, for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this Parliament to the Discharge of their remaining Trust, We did with simplicity and plainness in our Humble Petition and Address presented to you, manifest our Hearts and Desires, and that with much unanimity and fulness of consent which we apprehended was well accepted by you.

2. That we have not since changed our Principles, leading to a well-regulated Commonwealth, wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civil may be fully secured, and Persons of known Integrity, Piety and Ability employed in Places of Trust and Concernment; but resolve by the Assistance of God to remain constant to them: And make it our humble Prayer to God, that he would incline your Hearts effectually to prosecute the same, and make you Instrumental in bringing forth such a Foundation of Government, whereby all the Good People of these Nations may rationally expect that such Liberties and Rights shall be preserved to them and their Posterities. And we can truly say, that it is in our Hearts earnestly to desire, that God would Crown you with the Honour of making these Nations happy by such a Settlement as may not be liable to every Change of Governours, to have the Peace thereof disturbed by introducing new Governments.

3. Whereas a Petition and Proposals were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade, that (under the Command of Major General Lambert) hazarded themselves in your Service with good success, whereby through the Blessing of God upon them, and others of your faithful Friends and Servants, the Peace of this Commonwealth is still continued: And the said Petition was sent up to some Officers here, to be presented to the Lord Fleetwood; which hath been by some interpreted to evil and sinister Ends, and from thence suggestions derived, as if there were intentions to violate the Parliament, to set up a Single Person, or another General: In order thereunto, We do sincerely profess, (whatever the design of any Persons may be to promote such Causeless Jealousies) We have had no other than Faithfulness and Candor in our Hearts and Actions towards the Parliament; nor do we apprehend (with submission we may speak it) any reason or cause of offence to be conceived against your faithful Servants, who lately gave so ample proof of their Fidelity and Courage.

4. We cannot but esteem our selves unhappy, to have been so mis-represented to the Parliament, as should occasion such a publick Admonition upon Record; and considering what evil use may be made of these things by a Publick Enemy, and to the end they may be disappointed of their hopes, and all such Persons discouraged as shall go about for the future to promote Jealousies, or by mis-information to beget Divisions betwixt the Parliament and their Faithful Servants the Army: And that a

good understanding may be preserved between them; We humbly pray,

1. That the Officers of the Army, and particularly those who have reason to bear the marks of Your Favour for their Faithfulness in the late Northern Expedition, may stand right in Your Opinion, and have your Countenance.

2. That whatsoever person or persons shall for the future Groundlessly and Causelessly inform the House against your Servants, thereby creating Jealousies, and casting scandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Justice and condign Punishment.

3. That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty in a peaceable and submissive way, to Petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by your selves asserted, allowed and approved of; We cannot but also assert the said Liberty, and humbly Conceive, that your Faithful Servants of the Army have no way forfeited their Rights as Free-men, and that therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to submit their humble Desires to the Parliament.

4. That You would be pleased to take into Your serious Consideration, the necessitous Condition of the poor Souldiers of your Armies, and that all possible care may be taken for their timely supply, their Wants being such as earnestly call for it: And that some speedy and effectual course may be taken to provide for the Maimed Souldiers, and the poor Widows and Orphans of such as have been slain in Your Service, that the blessing of God may be upon you.

5. That such who have freely offered themselves in the several Counties and Cities of these Nations, to own and stand by you and your Cause in the late Insurrections, with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have your Encouragement, and be employed in Places of Trust and Command.

6. That it being a thing granted by all, that without due Execution of Martial Discipline, the Peace, Union and good Government of an Army cannot be preserved; the Discipline of the Army may be preserved inviolable, and in particular, that no Officer or Souldier of the Army may be Cashiered or Dismissed from their Places without a due proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own Consent, except in cases of Reducement or Disbanding.

7. That it being judged necessary by the Parliament, for the keeping of the Army under such a Conduct as may render the same serviceable to the Commonwealth, to appoint a Committee of Nominations, for the proposing of Officers to the Parliament for their Approbation; We humbly pray, That no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Consideration of the said Committee, and be by them presented.

8. The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of so great Concernment to the Peace of this Commonwealth, and his Commission at present (as we conceive) expiring within a few Months, We humbly pray, that the Consideration of that matter may come before you, and some such effectual course be taken therein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army to Confusion.

9. And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and against all discouragements whatsoever

soever, proceed in the carrying on of that good Work intrusted in your Hands, for the Glory of God, and advantage of these Nations. In the prosecution whereof, through the help of our God, We shall be found (notwithstanding all endeavours to the contrary) faithful to You and this Commonwealth.

The Junta dissemble at first their distaste at these Proceedings of the Army.

The Insolency of these Proposals, gave our present Senators reason to suspect their Authority to be of no long continuance; but in regard many Officers of the Army dissented from the Representing and Proposing Party, they imagined the rest would not be very hasty to make a Rupture: Therefore they resolved to assert their Power at any hazard; in order whereunto, they had many sharp Debates, about this Representation and Petition; but in the end they concluded with moderation, and directed their Speaker to call the Petitioners into the House, and acquaint them, "That the Parliament had read their Representation and Petition, and taking notice of the good Expressions therein of their Affections and Faithfulness to this Parliament and Commonwealth, had Commanded him to give them the Thanks of their House for them; and to let them know, that they had already taken into consideration the Relief of the Poor Widows, Orphans, and maimed Souldiers, to whom Pensions had been formerly allowed; and had also settled a way for satisfaction of the Arrears due to the Officers and Souldiers, and would endeavour to bring the same to speedy effect.

The Council of Officers labour to get Subscriptions to their Representation.

Desborow gives an Account of this Answer to a General Council of Officers who assembled that Afternoon on purpose. It was not unknown to them, that the House resented their Address, and that in such a degree, that it was evident they intended to alter the Constitution of the Army. To provide against this, they thought fit to strengthen their Party, by getting more Subscriptions to their Representation and Petition, and immediately they agreed upon the Form of a Letter to be sent to Ireland, and another to Scotland, and to every Regiment in England; for the Signing and Dispersing of which, they nominated from among themselves a select number in the Nature of a Committee. That to General Monk, was in these Words:

Right Honourable,

A Letter from a Committee of the Council of Officers to General Monk concerning the Armies Representation.

"WE do by Command from the General Council of the Officers of the Army now in London, transmit the inclosed to you, being a true Copy of the Representation and Petition, which was this day by them humbly presented to the Parliament; and the Votes of the House passed thereupon: And are further to signify as their Desire; that the same may be communicated to all the Commission-Officers of that part of the Army under your Command, and the Subscriptions of all taken to the Representation and Petition, that are free to Sign the same; which being so Signed, it is desired you will be pleased to cause them to be close sealed up,

"and returned to Thomas Sandford Esquire, Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood, who is to give an Account thereof. As we have thus fulfilled the General Councils Pleasure, we are well assured you will be pleased to comply with their Request; which is all at present from

Your humble Servants,

J. Lambert, Rich. Creed, John Desborow, John Mason, William Packer.

The General had intimation of this Letter, from Clarges before it came to his hands, with a full Narrative of the Occurrences that passed upon the delivery of the Representation; which made him resolve to admit of no Subscriptions in Scotland. And when the Letter came to his hands, He returned in Answer to it; That he thought it unfit to have any Subscriptions made to that, to which now the Parliament had given an Answer, lest it should be understood to make a Party against them. And in pursuance of this Resolution, he sent Orders to all the Regiments under his Command, to forbid them to subscribe.

The Substance of General Monk's Answer.

The House a little before this Agitation, had begun to Court General Monk very much, as thinking it a matter of no small importance, to gain him wholly to them. And he having sent a Letter to them, (which they received two days after the delivery of the the Representation of the Army) to acquaint them with the peaceable condition of Scotland in obedience to their Government, wherein he moved something in favour of some of his Officers, and commended the temper of his Army: They returned him answer the same day with the thanks of the House, and let him know, The high esteem they had of the Services which with so much Valour, Prudence and Faithfulness he had performed; and that they had granted the desire of his Letters, with assurance to him and his Officers and Souldiers under his Command, of returns of Favour from the Parliament answerable to their merit

He is courted by the Parliament party.

And complemented by a Letter with gratulatory expressions for his good Service.

Upon the tenth of the said Month, they took the Proposals in the Armies Representation into Debate:

To the First they Answer,

"That the Officers of the Army have received, and shall from time to time receive marks of the Favour of the Parliament, and countenance answerable to their Merit and Faithfulness.

To the Second they Answer,

"That it is the Duty of all Persons, especially the Members of Parliament, to inform the House of any thing, which in their apprehension may concern the publick Safety; And it is the undoubted Right of the Parliament to receive, and debate those Informations, and to resolve what they think fit thereupon.

The House takes into Debate and answers, one by one, the Armies Proposals.

To the Third they Declare,

"That every Member of the Army, as Freemen of England, have right of Petitioning the Parliament: but withal, think fit to let them know, That the Petitioners ought to be very careful both in the manner, and in the matter which they desire; That the way of promoting and presenting the same may be peaceable; and the things Petitioned for not tending to the disturbance of the Commonwealth, nor to the dishonour of the Parliament: And that it is the Duty of Petitioners to submit their Desires to the Parliament, and to acquiesce in the Judgment thereof.

In Answer to the Fourth Proposal,

"They Order Two months Pay to be forthwith paid to the Officers and Souldiers of the Army in England, out of the Six months Assessment of Five and Thirty thousand Pounds a month now due; And that the Council of State do give Order, that the same be paid accordingly; And that Two months Pay be also issued to the Officers and Souldiers in Scotland and Ireland. To that part of the Proposal, To provide for the maimed Souldiers, and the poor Widows and Orphans of such as had been slain in their Service, They refer the former Votes made in their behalfs.

To the Fifth Proposal they Answer,

"That such Persons as have been Faithful and Active for the Parliament in the late Insurrection, the Parliament will take care to give them all due encouragement as occasion shall be offered.

This Resolute Proceedure of the Members at Westminster, filled the Army with strange Rumours: And they in the mean time to provide against all Accidents, consulted, If any Breach should be made upon their Government, how to leave them that did it as destitute as might be of Means and Authority to maintain themselves in such Actings. And since nothing could more weaken them in such Confusion than want of Money, They for a time deferred their further Consideration on the Proposals of the Representation, and made an Act against the raising of Money upon the People without Consent of Parliament; wherein they enacted,

An Act of the Remnant against raising of Money without Consent of Parliament.

That all Orders, Ordinances and Acts, made by any Single Person and his Council, or by both or either of them, or otherwise, or by any Assembly or Convention pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the Nineteenth day of April, 1653. and before the Seventh of May, 1659. and which have not been or should not be Enacted, Allowed and Confirmed by this present Parliament, should be declared, deemed, taken and adjudged to be of no force or effect from and after the said Seventh day of May, 1659. And that

no Person or Persons shall after the Eleventh day of October, 1659. Assess, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Custome, Impost, Excise, Assessment, Contribution, Tax, Tallage, or any Sum or Sums of Money, or other Imposition whatsoever, of this Commonwealth, without their Consent in Parliament, or as by Law might have been done before the Third of November, 1640. And that every person offending contrary to this Act, should be adjudged to be guilty of High Treason, and forfeit and suffer as in case of Treason.

That which chiefly provoked them to the hasty making of this Law, was a Letter which had been communicated to them, under the Hands of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Cobbet, Packer, Barrow and Creed, directed to Colonel Okey. It was much to the same purport with that sent to General Monk before mentioned, and in the same Form: This Letter was by accident delivered to Okey; for there being many Letters signed, to be sent to the several Regiments, which were left to be disposed of by Fleetwood's Secretary, he, amongst others, directed one to Okey; who, as soon as he had it, shewed it to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and he to the House; who looked upon the Contents thereof, to be such as tended to the fomenting of the Army against them; but respite the Consideration of it till the next morning, which was the twelfth of October.

That Night Mr. Nicholas Monk arrived (after Mr. Monk not above four days Journey from Scotland, and had Orders from the General to tell Clarges, That he was resolved, if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own Authority against the Army, he would assist them in it, and if required thereunto, march into England in their Defence.

Clarges, early the next morning, communicated this to Walton, Haslerig and Scot, who were so much encouraged by it, that at the first sitting of the House, they moved, that the Doors might be shut, that none of their Members might go out; and then after a long and brisk Debate, they Ordered that the Commissions of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsey, Ashfield, Cobbet, Packer, and Barrow, who subscribed the said Letter should be void.

They had it in motion, to declare at the same time, that the next immediate Officers to them should have their Commands conferred on them, but delayed that till the next day, yet ordered the Names of those Officers to be brought to them, and before they parted, they made an Act, appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army; wherein they first repealed and made void the ACT, Constituting Charles Fleetwood, Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised, and to be raised by Authority of Parliament, within England and Scotland, and all Power and Authority thereby given; And that all the Armies for the future should be governed by Commissioners; in the place and stead of a Lieutenant-General. These Commissioners were, Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Haslerig, Morley, Walton and Overton, who were impowered to execute all

A Letter to Okey, the chief cause of the speedy putting forth of this Act.

The Commissions of Lambert, Desborow, and others, voted void.

An Act appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army, and removing Fleetwood from the Chief Command thereof.

and

and singular the Powers and Authorities, incident or belonging to the Office of Lieutenant-General, from the 11th of October, 1659. to the 22d of February, 1659, &c.

Lambert removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him successively advanced.

Col. Morley and Moss ordered with their Regiments to Guard the House. Lambert, with the Reg. that adhere, stops the Passages to the Par. House. The Speaker forced to return.

Lambert and his Party dissolve the Remnant Parl. by hindring the Members from coming in to the House. A Council of Ten Army Officers appointed to be Managers of the State-Affairs pro tempore.

They likewise Ordered the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for Discharge of the said Officers Commissions, to the respective Persons whom it concerned: And because Lambert was the most considerable Person, and the next Officers to him were men they knew, and in whom they confided, they immediately ordered Camfield, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to have the Command of his Regiment; and that Skepper the Major should be advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Bradshaw to be Major of the Regiment. Three of these, lately Constituted Commissioners for the Government of the Army, met at Night, in the Speakers Chamber at Westminster, and Ordered Colonel Morley's and Colonel Moss's Regiments, as a guard to the Parliament, who possessed themselves of the Palace-Yard, and the Great Hall: Lambert on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him, if Matters were driven on at that rate, as they were begun against him, thought best to play his Game, while it was in his power to prevent; and to that end drew some Regiments together, who marched to Kings-Street, and possessed themselves of all Avenues to the Parliament.

In the morning the Speaker came with his Coach towards the House; but at the Entry into the Palace-Yard, he was stopt by Lieutenant-Colonel Duckenfield; and after a little Expostulation was forced to return. The Souldiers on both sides kept their Station till towards the Evening in a posture of Hostility, ready to have fired one against the other, only expecting when the Word would be given for Onset; so that it was verily thought the Business would have come to a sharp Conflict between them: but they were better advised, insomuch that the Council of State meeting at White-Hall, and ordering all of them to draw off to their Quarters, both Parties agreed thereunto, and marched away that Night: However, Lamberts Party obtained their Desire, forasmuch as none of the Members were permitted that Day to assemble; and for the future, Fleetwood took care always to keep good Guards at the Door of the Parliament-House, to prevent them from Meeting. The next Day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met at White-Hall, and chose Ten Persons as a Council, for carrying on the Affairs and Government of the Commonwealth, till further Order. These were Fleetwood, Lambert, Whitlock, Sir Henry Vane, Desborow, Sir James Harrington, Major Salway, Berry, Sydenham, and Archibald Johnson a Scotchman, commonly called the Laird of Warreston; And at Wallingford-House, the same Day, the General Council of Officers agreed, That Fleetwood should be Commander in Chief over all the Armies; that Lambert should be the next Chief Officer under him; and Desborow Commissary General of the Horse; and that all the Officers to be constituted in the Army, should be nominated by Sir Henry Vane, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborow, Ludlow and Berry; but

in especial manner they took care for the preparing of Articles of War, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army, as that which would be most necessary for their Consistence. In this they were very industrious; and in all the time since the first modelling of their Armies, their Discipline was so exact, that the Carriage of their Souldiery was very tolerable to the People, and that made their Enormities, in reference to the Government, less obnoxious to Vulgar Censure. Some mentioned General Monk to be considered in their Distribution of Offices, but were not hearkned to; and those that opposed it, assured the rest, that he had little power over the Officers of his Army; and if he disagreed to their Counsels, he might easily be displaced: They had not yet received his Resolution concerning the Subscriptions about which they writ, to be made by his Officers to their Representation and Petition, and therefore were ignorant of his Dissent from their Actions: So that in Confidence of his Concurrence, they dispatched Colonel Cobbet to him, with a large Narrative of the Reasons of their Proceedings.

The prevailing Party of the Army no great Favourers of Gen. Monk.

The Lord Mordant, and some others of the Kings Friends lying at Callais, immediately upon the News of these Disorders in England, dispatched Mr. Nicholas Armorer to his Majesty, who was then at Fontarabia, industriously soliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large promises from the Spaniards, and for the defraying the Expences of his Journey, he received from Don Lewis D' Haro a Present of Twenty Thousand Crowns: His Majesty had once a purpose to have gone directly to Madrid; but upon the Advice brought to him by Mr. Armorer, in hopes that something might fall out in England to his Advantage, he chose to return to Brussels. The Earl of St. Albans coming up to the Borders to the King, just upon the Dissolution of the Treaty, met his Majesty at Bayon, in his Return from Fontarabia; Cardinal Mazarine being before departed from St. John de Luz, not having received any Visit from his Majesty before his departure.

Mr. Armorer sent by the Lord Mordant to the King at Fontarabia to inform him how matters went in England. The King returns from Fontarabia towards Brussels meeting the Earl of St. Albans by the way.

The Earl of St. Albans conferred much with the King whilst he staid with him, which was not long, and then he went to Paris, whither the King followed him incognito by easie journeys; and after some stay there, went from thence to Brussels.

At this time such of the Kings Friends as had opportunity were very active in his Service, amongst whom the endeavours of Mr. Evelin of Says-Court near Deptford in Kent, is not to be omitted, who having some acquaintance with Colonel Herbert Morley, one of the five Commissioners for the Command of the Army, whose Birth, Education and Interest in his Country rendered him unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the ruine of his Country; he attempted with just and honest Arguments to draw him to the Royal Party, to which he believed he might be very useful, as having a greater credit than any of his Party in Suffex, where he lived, in case his Majesty should Land there, and having also

also a good Influence upon the Fleet, and two of the Army Regiments.

Morley, after some Hesitation, was perswaded by Mr. Evelyn to return to his Allegiance, and he desired him to intercede with the King for a Pardon to himself and some few others of his Relations, (which he named) and then departed into his Country, and gave him notice how to correspond further with him.

The Council of Officers consult about a Frame of Government.

The Council of Officers had frequent Meetings at White-Hall, and a Junctio of the wisest of them were in deep Consultation, how to make such a Frame of Government as should be durable and lasting against all Attempts whatsoever. They found most of the Gentry in England to be some way or other involved in the late Endeavours for the King, and were advising of a way to seize all their Estates, and divide them amongst their own Party; whereby the Riches of the Nation, the most powerful of all Interests, would be absolutely changed into the Hands of Persons irreconcilable to Monarchy. This was such Advice, as if it had succeeded, might have proved fatal, and laid a Foundation to Slavery, never to have been subverted.

A certain number of Persons called to take upon them the Government, under the Title of a Committee of Safety. Their Instructions.

The General Council, on the twenty sixth of this Month, nominated twenty three Persons to be intrusted with the Management of Publick Affairs, whom they called a Committee of Safety; and the next day they invited them to sit, and gave them Powers and Instructions; of which the chief were,

1. To execute all the Powers of the late Council of State, together with Authority to call all Delinquents to Account, that were in the late Insurrection, and to proceed to a bringing them to Justice, and to give Indemnity to all Persons that had acted for the Service of the Common-wealth, since the Year, 1649.
2. To oppose and suppress all Rebellions and Insurrections.
3. To treat with Foreign States and Princes.
4. To raise the Militia in the several Counties.
5. To dispose of all Places of Trust that are void, and to remove such as are Scandalous.
6. To make Sale and Compositions for all Delinquents Estates.

Their Names.

The Names of these Governours were, Bulstrode Whitlock, lately made Keeper of their Great Seal, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborow, Steel Chancelour of Ireland, Sir Henry Vane, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salway, Walter Strickland, Berry, Lawrence, Sir James Harrington, the Laird of Warreston, Alderman Ireton, Tichborn, Hewson, Clark, Bennet, Colonel Lilborn, Cornelius Holland, Henry Brandriff, and Robert Thompson.

They likewise published a Declaration, in the Close whereof they Declare; That

The substance of their Declaration.

'They think themselves obliged, for preventing the manifold Evils and Inconveniences which must necessarily fall upon the other Good People of the Nation, as well as themselves, by reason of the several Orders, Acts, pretended Acts, or other Declarations,

'or any of them, Enacted, made or past on Monday the tenth of this Instant October, and on Tuesday and Wednesday then next following, to declare them, and every of them null and void to all intents and purposes: and likewise all Acts, Orders and Proceedings thereupon had or done in as full and ample manner, as if the said Orders, pretended Acts or Declarations, and every of them, had never been: all which they publish and declare, that all Persons concerned may take notice thereof, and no Person whatsoever suffer any further prejudice thereby, hoping that all peaceable, well-minded, and unprejudiced persons will acquiesce in the necessity and Justice thereof.

'They further Declare to the World, that it is upon their Hearts, and they earnestly desire, and shall endeavour, that a due Liberty may be assured to all the Free-Born People of these Nations, both as Men and Christians; That a full and through Reformation of the Law may be effected; as also, that a Faithful, Godly, and Painful Gospel-Preaching-Ministry may be encouraged and provided for, by some certain Way that may be less troublesome to them, and less vexatious to the People, than that of Tythes. And further, that they have no Aim or Ends to set up a Military or Arbitrary Government over the Commonwealth: But have already provided, that the Civil and Executive part of Government shall be lodged in a Committee of Safety; and they obliged in a short time, to prepare such a Form of Government, as may best suit and comport with a Free-State and Commonwealth, without a Single Person, Kingship or House of Peers: and that they shall to the utmost of their Endeavours labour to obtain those desirable things so often declared for; and to maintain and preserve the Peace of these Nations in their several Stations and Places; and shall hope, that God for his own Glory, and the good of his own People, will give a blessed end of these Troubles, by a happy Settlement upon the Principles formerly declared for; and which have been, and still are, so earnestly breathed after, by all those that truly fear his Name.

And then to Cajole the Godly Party (as they called them) they proceeded to tell them;

'They doubt not but such being truly sensible of the many Temptations besetting them on every hand, the great Difficulties they laboured under (and know not what further Straights a Day may bring forth) will say on their behalfs, Who are sufficient for these Things? And out of former Experiences being taught, That the Lord is a present Help in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them before the Throne of Grace, That the LORD himself may appear, and carry on his own Work in their Hands: And if it shall please him by his Spirit, to stir up those that fear his Name to be instant on their behalf, they shall not fear what evil Man can do unto them. These

The Exorbitancy of their Actions somewhat restrained by the mixture of some moderate men among them.

These unreasonable Men, impatient of all Government, thought by these Insinuations, to silence all Gainfayers, and to make the People believe, they could frame any Government, and not be obliged to submit to it. Their Confidence was great, and their frequent Invasion of several Constitutions so successful, that they thought they were not by any to be opposed, in the most extravagant of their Actings; yet in this Design of theirs, they had the better grounded hope, in regard *Vane*, *Whitlock*, and *Salway*, and some others of the most prudent of their Party, assisted in their Councils.

Whitlock indeed, was much censured for his Conjunction with them; but some wise men, that marked this Demeanour, and the Moderation he used, did believe, that if he had not in a great measure restrained the Exorbitancy of their Intentions, they had in the short time of their Tyranny, done much mischief to many of the King's Friends.

The substance of General Monk's Letters to Fleetwood and Lambert.

That which put the greatest Check to their Career, and gave some Life to the fainting Hopes of all good men, was the Arrival of Letters from General *Monk* in Scotland, to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*; which came to them the twenty eighth of October, in the Evening. He complained therein, Of their Violation of Faith to the Parliament; and declared his Resolution, to endeavour to restore them to their Power, against all Opposition whatsoever.

Clarges dispatched away into Scotland by the Grandees of the Army, together with Col. Talbot, to solicit Monk to a Treaty.

Fleetwood, *Lambert* and *Desborow* immediately met at *White-Hall* in much Confusion; and about twelve at Night they sent Major *Haynes* to desire *Clarges* to come to them; who when he came, after some question of his knowledge of the Generals Proceedings (to which he made very wary Answers) they desired him to go into Scotland with Colonel *Talbot*, (whose Regiment was then at *Edinburgh*) to prevail with *Monk* for a Treaty of Mediation, to prevent the effusion of Blood. They said, they chose *Talbot* to accompany him, because he was very grateful to the General.

Clarges was very glad of this opportunity to get away, (for he feared to be much worse Treated,) and they were so pressing for his Departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his Journey.

Monk well inform'd of all passages in England.

In the mean time, *Monk* in Scotland had by an express from *Clarges*, which came to him the 17th of October, received exact Information of the Interruption of the Parliament; and at several times before, he had notice of all the Proceedings introductory to it, which made him expect no less, and therefore gave him time to prepare for what hapned.

What Forces he had, and how dispersed.

He had in Scotland at this time ten Regiments of Foot compleat, each consisting of a Thousand Souldiers, besides Officers; except four Companies which had been drawn into England a little before upon the Alarm of Sir *George Booth's* Rising; his Numbers of Horse were but small, having had two Regiments of them likewise removed upon the same occasion: so that there remained with him but two Regiments of Horse, viz. his own, and Colonel *Philip Twisleton's*, and one Regiment of Dragoons,

Commanded by Major General *Morgan*: The Foot were dispersed at great distances, Eight Companies of his own Regiment lay at *Edinburgh*, and two of them at *Dalkeith*, where his Residence usually was: All Colonel *Talbot's* Regiment was quartered in *Edinburgh*; Nine Companies of Col. *Wilks* his Regiment were in the Cittadel at *Leith*, and one of them in the Castle at *Edinburgh*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Read's* Regiment were at *Sterlin*, and the Tenth in *England*; Eight Companies of Colonel *Overton's* Regiment at *Dundee*, and two of them in *England*; Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment lay at *St. Johnstons*; Colonel *Savvies* Regiment at *Aire*; Colonel *Cobbet's* at *Glasgow*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Fairfax's* Regiment at *Aberdeen*, and the other in *England*; and part of Colonel *Smith's* Regiment at *Inverness*; and the rest of the Garrisons in the *High-lands*: The Horse and Dragoons lay in several places near the Foot-Quarters; but at such distances, as might not incommode the Country.

The late Commissioners of Nomination, whilst they sat at *White-Hall*, had much changed the Officers in all the Regiments both of Horse and Foot, which raised great Discontents amongst them: They had given Colonel *Daniel's* Regiment to *Pierston* his Lieutenant Colonel, an *Anabaptist*; They had also displaced *Hubblethorn*, who was Major to Colonel *Talbot's* Regiment; *Hughes*, who was Major to *Wilkes*, they had reduced to be but Captain, and preferred one *Knolles* an *Anabaptist* to his Command; *Johnson* the Eldest Captain in his own Regiment of Horse, they put out, (and many more too long to mention) in all the Regiments; few or none of those New Officers chosen at *White-Hall*, to supply the places of those removed, were yet come into Scotland: So that General *Monk* taking that Opportunity to retain all the displaced Officers in their respective Commands, made them, who had been thus disoblighd before, thereby intirely depend on him.

Monk keeps in those Officers whom the Commissioners had displaced.

Having resolved to stand upon his Guard, and Declare against the Army in *England*, the first thing he did, was to Consult which way was best to secure these Regiments, and the several Garrisons with least hazard; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more use of Execution than Counsel, he made very little hesitation in what he intended to Act: He was most diffident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which during his Absence in the Dutch War had been so transformed, that most of the Officers were become *Anabaptists*) and the three Regiments in *Glasgow*, *Aire* and *St. Johnstons*.

And removes those whom he himself distrusted.

The first minute that he had Notice of the Disorders at *Westminster*, which was on the before-mentioned 17th day of October, he sent Captain *Jeremiah Smith* of his own Regiment of Horse, to *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, to signify his Pleasure to Major *Hubblethorn*, Major *Hughes*, and Captain *Johnson*, to have them come to him to *Dalkeith*: The first was Major to *Talbot's* Regiment of Foot; the other, to that of *Wilks's*, quartered at *Leith*; and *Johnson* command-

commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horse.

The General signifies his Resolution to several of his Officers, to march into England, to reestablish the Parliament, and hath their consent and encouragement.

These came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain Morgan of his own Regiment of Foot, and Miller of Wilks his Regiment, who had the Guards of Dalkeith House: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the Generals Regiment, were both Anabaptists, and at that time absent; Lieutenant-Colonel Cloeberry of Read's Regiment, was by chance there, and was advised with. The General communicated his Intelligence to them, and his Resolution to march into England with a part of his Army, to re-establish the Parliament; To which they all freely consented: Hubblethorn gave him perfect assurance of all Talbot's Regiment of which he had now the Command; because the Colonel, and Pounel the Lieutenant-Colonel were both in England: And indeed much must be attributed to the Courage and diligence of that Gentleman, whose Regiment was by him intirely, both Officers and Souldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quartered at Edinburgh, gave a great Reputation to the whole undertaking: For although some in all the Regiments, and many in most, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the Generals Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all apter to follow in any Design (as most naturally are) than to begin the Action: Captain Johnson had been by the Nominators at London removed from his Troop, but was now by the General restored to it; and as he was Eldest Captain of the Regiment, by the absence of

Great preparations in Monk's Army, for the fortifying themselves against the prevailing Faction in England.

Major Knight, he had the Command under the General of all his Regiment of Horse, and was well beloved by them: Major Hughes gave him hopes of making all Colonel Wilks his Regiment at his Service: Hubblethorn (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was Ordered to draw it early the next Morning into the High-Street at Edinburgh, and to let all the Musketeers have Matches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; and Johnson was Commanded to be ready in Edinburgh at the same time, with his own Troop; and that of one Captain Symnel's, an honest stout Officer: Hughes was appointed in the absence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were sent for the next morning to confer with the General, to secure the Cittadel at Leith: He had upon some kind of expectation of Change, kept Captain Witter (of the Regiment lying at St. Johnstons) and Captain Robson (of the Regiment at Aire) both at Edinburgh, and had sent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, one to secure the Cittadel at St. Johnstons, and the other at Aire; which were very difficult service to perform, in regard that most of the Officers in those Regiments were very ill-disposed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the sending an Express to Major Knight, who was then in York-shire at his own House, to hasten him to his Command.

The next day after Dinner the General mar-

ched to Edinburgh, with only Captain Smith's Troop of Horse, having before dispatched away Witter and Robson. Morgan had been sent before to Edinburgh, to draw up his Regiment, but had Orders to give them neither Match, Powder nor Ball: As soon as he came into the High-Street, and found the Regiments in that Order he expected, he retired a little into his Quarters, to model his own Regiment, and sent for Morgan to him, whom he immediately made Lieutenant-Colonel; Captain Nicholas he promoted to be Major, and at the same instant displaced all whom he knew to be disaffected to him, and such of them as were dangerous he imprisoned: which done, he marched with both the Regiments to the Gray-Friars Church, where he called together the Officers, and told them, *That the Army in England had broken up the Parliament out of a restless uncontrollable disposition of being pleased with nothing that tended to the welfare and happiness of the People; that though they had lately taken shame to themselves (in their publick Declaration) for their former Apostacies, yet now, finding the Parliament unapt to humour them in all their Extravagancies, they were weary of them: He said he was resolved to make the Military Power subservient to the Civil, and that since they had their Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament, it was their Duty to serve and obey them against all opposition; which should be his Practice, and he expected their Concurrence and Assistance to joyn with him. But if any were dissatisfied, and would declare it to him, they should have free Liberty, without Reflection, to leave the Service, and have Passes to go home.*

The General marches to Edinburgh, and there orders all things to his best advantage.

His speech to his Officers.

Upon this, Colonel Wilkes and his Lieutenant-Colonel with all that were present, unanimously declared to live and die with him; Captain Johnson was then dispatched to Barwick, to secure that Garrison, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Mayers; and he did it very effectually, and it was a Service of great Advantage to Monk's Designs; Captain Hatt, and Captain Dennis, two well approved Officers of Colonel Cobbet's Regiment, being both at Edinburgh when these transactions were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then quartered at Glascom, and to march with it to Edinburgh, came thither before any knowledge of the alterations at the Head-Quarters, and privately consulted with such of the Regiment as they were confident of before they publicly discovered their Orders. Lieutenant-Colonel Young, who was there in chief, in the absence of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppose it; but he being presently secured, Hatt and Dennis performed their Instructions, and immediately marched the Regiment to the General.

Captain Johnson secures Barwick.

Capt. Hatt and Dennis bring off Col. Cobbet's Regiment to the General.

Captain Witter, as soon as he came to St. Johnstons, drew up two Companies, whom he most confided in, upon the Sands before the Cittadel, and proposed to them what he had in charge from the General; whereupon they all shouted in consent to it, at the noise whereof the Souldiers coming in confusion out of the Cittadel, he marched with the afore said Companies

Capt. Witter takes possession for the General of the Cittadel of St. Johnstons.

panies into it, and took possession thereof; He made Lieutenant-Colonel *Keine*, and Major *Kelk* Prisoners; the first whereof was afterwards upon his consent to joyn with the General, releas'd from his Imprisonment, but *Kelk* was still detained. Of this Regiment at *St. Johnston*, *Witter*, for his handsome performance of this undertaking, is by the General advanced to be Major.

And is made Major of the Regiment.

Robson gets possession of the Cittadel at *Ayre*, and is made Colonel of the Regiment.

Robson at *Ayre* was more deliberate in the execution of his Orders; he dealt so with the Officers, that most of them except the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, agreed to comply with the General. The Lieutenant-Colonel privately got away to *Carlisle*, and secured that Garrison for the Army in *England*; the Colonel temporiz'd a while, but finding his Arts succesful; and thereupon flying away into *England*, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to *Robson*, for his good Service; and sent into *England* for Colonel *Daniel*, who had been a little before displaced, (and *Pierston* his Lieutenant-Colonel advanced to the Command of that Regiment) to take again his Command of Colonel thereof.

The settlement of these two Regiments gave much encouragement to the General, in reference to the carrying on of his design; and the rather, in regard he himself had look'd upon it as none of the easiest works to compass.

He made no alteration at first in those Companies which belonged to Colonel *Overton* at *Dundee*, because he had hopes to gain him to declare for him with the Garrison at *Hull*, then under his Command; and in regard they were on that side of the River *Tay*, they could not have done much if they had oppos'd. He sent to Colonel *Fairfax*, who quartered with his Regiment at *Aberdeen*, to haste with it to *Edinburgh*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloeberry* was sent to *Read*, his Colonel at *Sterlin*, to appoint him to march to the General with all his men except two Companies, which were to be left for the safety of the Town and Castle. And at the same time, he sent a Commission to *Inverness*

to Colonel *Man*, to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the place of *Smith*, (who adhered to the Army in *England*) and appointed him to send three of his best Companies to *Edinburgh*. He dispatch'd also some trusty Officers to the Horse Troops, and then went himself to *Leith*, to settle the Cittadel and Regiment in obedience to him; upon his first coming, he displaced *Knolles*, and confined him, and restored *Hughes* to be again Major to the Regiment, and likewise some other *Anabaptist* Officers were put out, and others placed in their rooms; Capt. *Clifton*, who with a Company of this Regiment from *Leith*, had the Command of *Edinburgh* Castle, upon promise of faithfulness and Service to the General, was by him continued in his Command with Trust and Confidence. And thus these three Regiments of Foot at *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, were in one Afternoon pretty well settled till more time could be allowed to refine them.

Smith's Regiment at *Inverness* given to Colonel *Man*. The General marched to *Leith*, to settle the Cittadel, and Regiment there.

And thence to *Linlithgow*.

Upon the 21st. he marched some Companies of Horse and Foot to *Linlithgow*, intending to

go thence to *Glasgow*, to settle *Cobbet's* Regiment, of which he was in some doubt; but he there received intelligence of what was done by *Hatt* and *Dennis*, and therefore went no further.

He there also had notice of the submission of the Cittadel at *Ayre*, and that *Barwick* was rendered to him, where Colonel *Cobbet* was stay'd and detained in Prison, as he was coming into *Scotland* with his Regiment, and it was seasonably done; for if he had been permitted to pass, the opinion which was had of him by the Soldiers, might have much hindred the General's proceedings. He was brought with a Guard to *Edinburgh* Castle, and kept there, the General being much incens'd against him, upon private advice that he had instructions to have seized him, if he had not agreed to the Armies Actions in *England*. At *Linlithgow* at a Council of Officers, it was advis'd that some way should be used to draw off the Independent Churches in *England*, from favouring the *English* Army, which would have much weakened that Party; if it had succeeded, for most of the inferiour Officers were of that persuasion; for the effecting of this, a Declaration was fram'd, agreed to, and published and disperf'd all over *England*: And at the same time, another Declaration was also made to satisfy the Kingdom in general, with the reason of his taking Arms, alledging that he did it for the vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the freedom of Parliaments.

Col. Cobbet detain'd prisoner at *Barwick*.

Two Declarations published by the General, in vindication of these proceedings of his.

Two Expostulatory Letters were also writ, the one to *Fleetwood*, and the other to *Lambert*, blaming the violence of their Proceedings against the Parliament, and another to the Speaker, to be informed of the Condition wherein the House then was; declaring therein, that whereas there ought to be a right understanding between the Parliament and the Army, he would be ready, in case the Army persisted to disobey their Orders, to assist them with the Forces under his Command, according to his Duty.

By this time, Major *Knight* was returned out of *England*: for hearing of the disorders at *London*, and that some jealousies had been entertained of him, upon an Information that he had been some months before engaged with the Lord *Castleton* in Sir *George Booth's* Rising, he thought best for his own security, to make all possible haste down to his Command; his Arrival fell out to be three days after the General had first declared; *Morgan's* Regiment of Dragoons, was made a Regiment of Horse; and Major *Farmer* was sent with a Troop to secure *Carlisle*, who when he came thither, did not march into it with Confidence, as *Johnson* did into *Barwick*; but sent in to treat with the Governor, and was so long doing it, till *Elton* that Commanded the Town, had fixed the Soldiers to a Resolution of keeping him out. Moreover, *Monk* considering that his Army could not be got together in six weeks time, to march into *England*, he therefore to amuse the Faction there, sent Major *Knight* with four Troops of choice Horse, and six Companies of Foot, to surprize *Newcastle*. The Horse-Troops

Major *Knight* arrives in *Scotland*.

Maj. *Farmer* sent by the General to possess *Carlisle*, is kept out by the Soldiers.

Major *Knight* sent with a Party to seize *Newcastle*, but is prevented.

were Commanded by *Knight, Johnson, Wilmot, and Simnel*, and the Foot by *Miller, Mansfield, Collins, Winter, Seymour and Belcham*, all Gallant and well resolved men. But being come as far as *Morpeth*, he had advice, that some Forces were got into *Newcastle* before him, which being intimated also to the General, he presently countermanded him and his party to *Anwick*, where he staid for some time; the not-taking *Newcastle*, was no discouragement to the General or his Army; for upon more deliberate consideration he thought the miss of it rather fortunate, than prejudicial to him, since if he had taken it, it would in all probability have been immediately besieged by *Lambert*. And then he must have been obliged to attempt the relief of it, and fought before he could have been well enough prepared for it, and thereby have hazarded his whole design.

Monk invites
Lieutenant-Gen.
Ludlow in
Ireland
to a conjunction
with him.

Col. *Lilburn* in
Yorkshire
makes all
possible
opposition
against
Gen.
Monk.

The General at the same time that he sent the before-mentioned Letters to *London*, did likewise send a Messenger with Letters to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who Commanded the Army in *Ireland*, to move him to joyn with him, or at least to represent to him so fair an account of his Action, as might induce him not to be his hinderance in any of his Undertakings.

Colonel *Lilburn*, who lay at *York* with some Forces, upon the first Rumour of *Monk's* Declaration, drew what Forces together he could, and without staying to be well informed of the Reasons of *Fleetwood* and *Lambert's* breaking up the Parliament; He drew all the Officers in those parts to enter into an Association against *Monk*, and to joyn with the Army at *London*, in whatsoever they designed.

He endeavours to
seduce the
General's
Secretary
from his
Service,
but pre-
vails not.

He also writ to Mr. *Clarke*, the General's Secretary, who was an active useful Instrument in his affairs, to seduce him from his Service; the truth is, the greatest part of *Clarke's* Estate was in *England*, and he was a man of so civil and ingenious a conversation, that he might have been the better excused in a Neutrality to both Parties, and his Interest did direct him to it. But he was resolved to hazard all his Fortunes in the General's bottom, and would not by threats or cunning, (which were both used by *Lilburn* to him) be prevailed with to quit his Party. For which his Fidelity and Constancy at this time, he was ever after so much esteemed by the General, that he trusted him with his most secret transactions.

He intercepts the
Generals
Letters to
Maj. Gen.
Morgan.

Major General *Morgan* had lain long sick of the Gout at *York*, and began about this time to recover his health. The Letter which *Monk* sent to him was intercepted by *Lilburn*, which *Morgan* little resented, but thought it advisable so far to conceal his passion (till he might have convenient opportunity to get into *Scotland*) as to seem to *Lilburn* rather to dislike than approve of the General's proceedings.

Talbot and
Clarges ar-
rive at *E-*
denburgh,
and are
well recei-
ved by the
General.

Colonel *Talbot* and *Clarges* came not to *Edenburgh* till the second of *November*; they were both very well received by *Monk*, but especially *Clarges*, being his Brother-in-law, with whom he had that night much Conference in

private. The General wondred that *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* would send him, and thought it a good Omen to his success, that he had him to assist his designs. *Clarges* frankly asked him what was the true end he aimed at in this Enterprize; telling him, that it was impossible for him to be ever trusted after this Rupture if he patched up a Peace with the *English* Army, and withal acquainting him that he observed a great Consternation in the Officers and Souldiers as he passed, and that he believed many of them would fall off to him.

The General (as the most reserved man then living) was in some trouble to be pressed to discover his Intentions, and at that time opened himself no further than to let him know he was resolved to endeavour to free his Native Country from the slavery it was under, and to effect it, he thought it one of the best Expedients would be to restore the Parliament; but in their Admission to sit (if it were by his Arms) he would make no difference betwixt them, but let in as well the Secluded Members as others. Having said this, he conjured *Clarges* to secrete, being very sensible that the jealousy had on him by the Army was so great, (it having been often cast in his dish, by some of his ill-willers, that the King was in the bottom of his Designs) that all he could contrive, would be little enough to beget a Confidence, even in his own Party to engage with him.

As to the present Condition of his Affairs, he acquainted him that he had about Seventy thousand pounds in money, part whereof was already in his Treasury, and the rest would in a short time be paid into it. And that all his Magazines were very well stored with Ammunition, Arms, and all other necessaries, and that he had in part modelled his Army fit for his purposes, and should in a while perfect it. *Clarges* let him know, that the wants in *Fleetwood* and *Lambert's* Army were very great, and that upon *Lambert's* Expedition they were not able to advance one month's Pay for his Army, which would make them by free-Quarter be very burthenome and distastful to the Country. So that if by a Treaty, or any other means he could protract time, his business might be done without hazard. The General replied, That he thought the Overture of a Treaty from *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* might be improved to his great advantage, for he could not in a months time draw his men together. And that his sending *Knight* with a Party to lodge at *Anwick*, was to make them think him in greater readiness than he was, the more thereby to distract their Levies. The General then resolved upon a Treaty, and the next Morning summoned his Chief Officers together, to nominate Commissioners, and to resolve upon Instructions for them, he chose to advise with his Officers in all these matters to free them from Suspicion. Colonel *Talbot* was very glad his Journey was so successful to obtain a Treaty so easily. The General and his Officers met, and at the first Proposition they consented to the motion for a Treaty, and when he put them to name fit Persons to be Commissioners, they referred it to him.

He

Mr. Knight He then appointed Major Knight, and Lieutenant Colonel Clocherry to be two, and put it to them to name a third, and they proposed Colonel Wilks, who was reputed to be a good Religious man, and acceptable to Fleetwood, and the Officers in England. They then came to consider of Instructions, and were so hot in debate, that the question was not without much contest carried for allowing them a fortnights time for the Treaty. The General was perplexed in his mind at this; for he would not have them limited to time, because that was the only thing he wanted, yet he discovered no displeasure: however, in the rest of the Instructions, he so invented matter to confound their Debates, that they had no power given them to conclude any thing; and they were to insist on the restoring the Parliament: But if the Members should refuse to sit, then to debate of some other Form of Government. They were likewise to provide for an Act of Indemnity for all Acts done since the first of October, and to take care that the Arrears of such part of the English Assessment as was appropriated to the Pay of the Army in Scotland, should be forthwith paid; and that a Godly, Learned and Faithful Ministry, with competent maintenance, and other encouragements, should be continued in the Three Nations; the like regard being had to Schools and Universities, with many other matters sufficiently remote from the present Affair. Moreover, it was particularly inserted, That they should provide, that the Acts of the Army in England, should not be deemed the Acts of a General Council of the Army, without the Concurrence of the Officers of the Armies of Scotland and Ireland.

These Commissioners were hasted away, and Lambert was so far advanced with his Army, as to meet them at York, where he told them he had full Power from Fleetwood, the Officers of the Army, and the Committee of Safety, to treat and conclude with them of all differences. They seemed not averse to it, but when they began to enter upon the matter, and proposed the Restitution of the Parliament, he told them, Fleetwood and the Officers at London had agreed with him and his Officers not to conclude of any thing concerning that matter, without the common consent of all, and so they went forwards towards London. Nevertheless, as a thing previous to the Treaty, it was by both Parties accorded, that the Forces of neither should advance from their Quarters, and that there should be a free uninterrupted intercourse of Letters during the Treaty.

The Army of Horse and Foot with Lambert did amount to near twelve Thousand, and Monk had not above half the Number; nevertheless he had this advantage, that he paid all his Men, and the other did not. The way he had for providing Money, was very accidental: The late Parliament (so called) about the latter end of June (as is before expressed) had made a short Act to authorize the payment of a years Tax upon England, Scotland and Ireland, appointed to be raised by one of Cromwell's Parliaments: and they in that Act directed One Moiety of Money to be paid the First of August, and

the other the tenth of October following. The Proportion for Scotland to pay of this Tax was Six Thousand pounds a Month; and in regard the Country was poor, and burthened with many other payments, the General writ to all the Commissioners of Shires, and indulged them so far as to grant them forbearance of payment till the tenth of October for the first Moiety, and two Months after for the rest, which they readily undertook to do, and performed it for the most part: And this he had represented so effectually by Clarges his Agent to the Parliament, that he got twenty thousand pounds in Money to be sent into Scotland towards the pay of his Army, till that money could be collected. And that was the bulk of all the Money he had in this undertaking; but it was increased by Excise and Customs, and other Duties; for after he declared, he seized on all. And of this we make the more particular mention in this place, because some, ignorant of these Transactions, have published, That the General had an Assessment raised for him at a Convention of the Nobility of Scotland; which was first invented by the Seditious in England to his prejudice, and afterwards, because uncontradicted, believed for a Truth.

Lambert was informed by his confident Lilburn, that Major General Morgan (who had been some time sick of the Gout in York) was dissenting from General Monk's Proceedings, and that he would be willing to go to him to dissuade him from the pursuit of them; and therefore he dealt with him to take a journey thither (on pretence of repairing to his Charge, which was then in Scotland) to use the credit he had with him to an Accommodation betwixt them: Morgan (who waited only for an occasion to get away) was glad of this Overture, and undertook to do his part in this business, so that at a days warning he began his Journey from York towards Edinburgh. He had with him one Troutbeck a Chirurgeon (upon pretence of taking care of his health) a very subtle Intelligent Person, excellent in his Profession, and withal of great Discretion, and much beloved by the Souldiers of both Armies, and of considerable Interest among them. These got safe to Edinburgh about the seventh or eighth of November; and the coming of Morgan was a good Accession to Monk's Party, and a great encouragement to all the Officers and Souldiers: For he was esteemed by them to be next the General, a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the Three Nations, having been near Forty years a Souldier, and present in the greatest Battels and Sieges of Christendom for a great part of that time; and particularly in Flanders, where he Commanded a Brigade of Foot, he acquitted him self to the astonishment of his Enemies, and the admiration of Marshal Turenne, and all the French Commanders in that Service with him. At his first coming to the General, he asked him aloud merrily, If he would lay down his Arms, and be Friends with Fleetwood and Lambert? To which he was answered by him, If they would restore the Parliament, he had little more to say, and if he pleased, he might let them

Major Gen. Morgan takes his Journey into Scotland to Gen. Monk.

His joining with Monk, a matter of much importance.

The Discourse between the General and him at their first meeting.

them know as much. Morgan replied, I promised to ask you the Question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it: I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your Fortunes in all your undertakings; You know I am no Statesman; I am sure you are a lover of your Country, and therefore I will joyn with you in all your Actions, and submit to your Prudence and Judgment in the Conduct of them.

This generous Friendship was kindly received by Monk, and it was the more valuable, in that it was done in a time when the Army in England was at its greatest height; and that in Scotland very inconsiderable in respect of the other, and not yet well settled; for a day or two before, one of the Troops of Morgan's own Regiment ran over Tweed to Lambert.

He privately delivers a Letter to the General from Mr. Bowles a Minister of York.

The effect of the Letter.

Clarges sent to Fairfax, Rossiter, and others to engage them to General Monk.

Col. Talbot prevailed upon by Lambert to take part with him.

In the evening Morgan was private with the General, and delivered him a Letter which he brought from Mr. Bowles a Minister of York, a very eminent Man of those parts, and of great Credit with my Lord Fairfax, and many others of good Note in that County, (Clarges being yet at Edinburgh, and consulted with in the business.) The Letter imported, That the Lord Fairfax, and many others of good Interest in Yorkshire, were willing to joyn with the General, but that they disapproved of his Declaration which was restrained to the Restoring of that Part of the Parliament only which sat after the Seclusion of the rest; and was filled with many Protestations for the asserting of no other than a Commonwealth Government. To this the General answered, That Clarges could witness his Intentions in those Particulars, That what was printed in his name, was not (at that Conjunction) to be regarded as the Result of his own Reason, because his Writings were drawn by other hands; and till his Affairs had a firmer Consistency, and he more Power in his hands, it was unseasonable for him to contradict what was done; since all that was writ could scarce prevail with the Army to believe he had not a design to set up the King in his Government. The Conclusion of this was to send Clarges to Fairfax, Rossiter, and several others to engage them; it being thought expedient at the same time, to imploy all possible care to amuse the Parliament and Army, till the General could get a power in his hands to justify other Counsels. Clarges was dispatched to Bowles, with a Letter of Credit to him, to cause a belief in him of what he should acquaint him with, on the part of the General, and another Letter to the same purpose to my Lord Fairfax, from whom he was to have an Address to Rossiter in Lincolnshire.

Talbot knew nothing of these Traverses, but carried himself with much moderation all the time of his stay, and with so much profession of respect to the General; That he assured him, If he would go to London and be a Neuter, he would preserve his Regiment for him: Which he promised to do, but was afterwards by the importunity of Lambert, prevailed upon to act contrary to that Engagement, and (some think) to his own Inclinations; for he was esteemed by all that knew him to be a Person not averse to a better and more just Government than he at that time lived under, and was

obliging to all the Gentry where he lived, that needed his assistance and help.

Fleetwood could not conceal his fears; for the same Week that Talbot and Clarges were sent to endeavour a Reconciliation, before he had any return from them, Captain Dean, one of the Treasurers, and not long after, Mr. Caryll the Minister, with Colonel Goffe and Whaley, were sent to the General on the same Errand: Likewise Mr. Hammond and Mr. Barker were deputed in the name of the Independant Congregations in and about London, to mediate a Peace betwixt the two Armies.

Mean while, Clarges and Talbot took their leaves of the General to return home. The pretence of Dean's coming into Scotland before Caryll and Whaley, was to look after his Charge; for he was one of the Treasurers at War; but he privately dispersed Tickets as he travelled, to seduce Monk's Souldiers from him, bringing him withall a Letter from Fleetwood, which contained an Offer of what Command in the Army he should desire, upon the least private intimation of his inclining to take part with him. This made the General to believe there were some jealousies betwixt Lambert and him; which he might have improved to the breaking of one of them; but he chose the more generous way, and refused the Offer; letting him know, He sought not himself, but the good of the Nations, and when that was obtained, he would rather lay the Command he had, down, than seek to enlarge it.

Lieutenant-Colonel Barret came at the same time from Ireland with a Letter from Sir Hardress Waller, John Jones, and the ruling people of that Country, (for Ludlow was then in England) declaring their Refusal to joyn with the General; letting him know by their said Letter, bearing date the fourth of November;

That at a General Meeting of the Officers of the Irish Army, they Unanimously resolved not to approve of the Resolution he had taken, which tended (as they alledged) to the Engaging of part of the Armies of these Nations against their Brethren, or the dividing of them in Interest or Affection; being well assured that such a Practice would be found in the Issue to be nothing else but the opening of a door for the Common Enemy to come in, (whatever Umbrage should be put upon it) and destroy those very Persons and Authority, on whose behalf their Affections inclined them to undergo very great difficulties. Adding, That they held it a Duty incumbent on them towards him (as their honourable Friend of whom they had a very high esteem) in the behalf of all the People of the Lord in these three Nations, to bear their Witness against any such Resolution or Practice, and to improve their utmost endeavours to prevent the same.

The General was not at all discouraged at this return to his Civil Letters and Declaration sent thither, having at the same time received Advice from Cornet Monk, by another hand, That Sir Charles Coot, Sir Theophilus Jones, and a very considerable part of the Army were resolved to Assist him; That Sir Hardress Waller himself might in time be drawn

Capt. Dean, Mr. Caryll, Col. Whaley, and Goffe sent by Fleetwood to G. Monk.

Fleetwood by Letters courts Monk to side with him.

The ruling Faction in Ireland declare their resolution not to joyn with Gen. Monk.

Another Party in Ireland inclineable to the General.

drawn to joyn with them, and that he doubted not in a short while to receive good effects of their endeavours.

Dean and Barret sent back into England with a check. But in the mean time, upon notice that Dean and Barret were active to withdraw the affections of the Souldiers from their Duties, they were thereupon sent away from Scotland with a severe Rebuke; the General being unwilling to punish them by Imprisonment or any severer course, because they came to him on publick Business.

Cap. Guillim endeavours to betray two Companies of the Generals men, but is found out. These Men did much mischief amongst the Souldiers, who were many of them by their inveiglements seduced; two Troops of *Trisleton's* Regiment of Horse, commanded by *Ashley* and *Dean*, refused to joyn with the General, and thirty three of them were dismounted, disarmed and cashiered, and Foot-Souldiers put on their Horses; but forty of *Dean's* Troop with their Colours ran into England; and two Companies of Foot of the Regiment which came from *St. Johnston's*, being quartered at *Dunbar*, had like to have been betrayed to *Newcastle* by one Captain *Guillim*, who had been lately of that Regiment, and was discharged; This *Guillim* procuring leave to go into England, came to *Dunbar*, where he made the Souldiers believe that he was by the General restored to his Command, and had order to secure Captain *Thompson*, who then Commanded them, and to carry them in Boats to *Berwick*; some of the Sergeants so far gave Credit to him, that they placed a Guard upon *Thompson*, whilst he in the mean time was hiring Boats to carry them, and was so earnest in it, that he would have taken any, though never so leaky, for their Conveyance: This put the Men into some jealousy, inasmuch, that they desired to see his Orders, whereupon he leaped upon his Horse, and ran away.

The General takes care to reform his Regiments. At *Sterlin*, a Troop of Colonel *Sanders's* Regiment were in the like Disorder, and about thirty of the Men dismounted, and others put in their places. This obliged the General to be more circumspect in the reforming his Regiments; so that he discharged all the Officers whom he any way suspected, and sent them into England. In Colonel *Fairfax's* Regiment eighteen Officers were displaced; and in most of the rest some were put out, in all, to the number of seven score Persons: Those Regiments wherein least alteration was made, were *Talbot's* and *Read's*; the first, through the diligence of *Hubblethorn*, who a while after deservingly, upon *Talbot's* joyning with *Lambert*, had the Regiment conferred upon him; and the latter, by the Care and good Example of the Colonel, who was a Person that always loved and esteemed the General.

Clarges excuses Major Gen. Morgan to Lambert. *Lambert* was much troubled when he heard that *Morgan* had deserted him, and when *Talbot* and *Clarges* came to *York*, he complained of it as a kind of Breach of Faith, but was quickly by *Clarges* better satisfied: for he assured him, he heard him move General *Monk* to a Peace with him; but being Major-General of that Army, he could not refuse to do his Duty, in staying there where his charge was, since the Difference between the two Armies was not

yet come to that degree, to make it beyond hopes of Reconciliation; and that he might rather further the same by his Presence, than Absence.

Clarges, as hath been already mentioned, had received a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*, from the General, and some Instructions to *Roffiter*, and several others; about which he was secretly to confer with *Bowles* the Minister at *York*, to whom also he brought a Letter of Credit, for what he should propose to him; *Bowles*, with whom he had much Discourse, desired to be fully informed of the Generals Intentions, and was by *Clarges* so well satisfied in them, that he undertook to negotiate with the Lord *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and several others in *Monk's* behalf; and for Evidence of it, he advised him to stay privately in *York* till he went to confer with the Lord *Fairfax* at his House at *Nun-Appleton*, six miles from thence, (that he might know what Advice to send into Scotland) which he accordingly did. And at his return, acquainted him, That *Fairfax* would rise by the midst of *January*, and he might be confident *Bethel* and *Smithson* would joyn with him, who were men of good Interest, and well-beloved of the Souldiery in *Lambert's* Army: On the other side, *Bowles* pressed to know what expectations the General had from other places, and was by *Clarges* informed, that Colonel *Whetham* at *Portsmouth* was a great Friend to the General, and he doubted not, but he would take the first Opportunity he could to declare with that Garrison for him, which he liked very well; for *Whetham* was a moderate Man. He told him likewise, that Colonel *Hacker* with his Regiment would raise some men in *Notttinghamshire* and *Leicestershire*, and Colonel *Hutchinson*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig* would joyn with them; and that *Okey* was labouring to make Disturbances in *London* amongst the Regiments there. *Bowles* at first was not well pleased that he should make use of these Aids: but when he was acquainted by *Clarges* with the Reasons which induced him to it, he was satisfied.

The first thing the General design'd, was to break *Lambert's* Forces, to make himself Master of all the Armies; and to effect this, it was requisite to refuse no help, since the major part of the whole would be such as he could make use of to model the rest, to any purpose he should imploy them in. Then they found out a secret Messenger to send with intimation of this Conference to *Monk*; and *Clarges* went towards *Lincolnshire* to pursue his Negotiations; but about *Doncaster* he had so grievous a fall from his Horse, as he was riding Post, that his Life was despaired of; but after a little stay there, he was brought to a Village betwixt *Tuxford* and *Newark*, where he was forced to stay ten days ere he was able to travel; nevertheless, in the mean time he sent Expresses several ways, and by the means of one *Bristow*, a Confident of Colonel *Roffiter's*, he had opportunity to send to him, and had his Answer; which was, That he would joyn with *Fairfax*, and do what he should direct. When he came to *Leicestershire*, he heard nothing of *Haslerig*, but that he had, in despair of doing any

Clarges his Conference with Mr. Bowles

Clarges Negotiations retarded by a Misfortune that befel him.

Hastlerig having promised Aid against Lambert withdraws for fear of giving encouragement to the Kings Party.

Clarges deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to abet Monk's Designs against Lambert.

A Conference between Monk and the Commissioners of the Independent Churches.

The effect of Mr. Caryl's Speech in the name of the Churches.

any thing, retired to *Woodstock*; and the Reason he gave for it, was, *That if he should raise Forces in his County, it might give occasion to the Kings Party to Arm, and thereby hazard the whole Cause; and that therefore it would be better to close with the Army in all their Exorbitances, than venture with so much danger to oppose it.*

Clarges was somewhat troubled at this Discouragement, but omitted not to proceed in his Endeavours; and thereupon sent to many of the Council of State, who were retired, to draw them privately to *London*, to assist with their Counsels, in promoting the Restauration of the Parliament; which he did upon observation amongst the Souldiers of *Lambert's* Army, that they favoured much the Declaration of *Monk*, for restoring that Authority, and were only diverted from joyning with him against *Lambert*, upon a Jealousie of the Kings being in the bottom of his Design; which was often insinuated by the Council of Officers at *London*, in their publick and private Debates: So that in the immaturity of that time, nothing could more advance *Monk's* purpose of subduing the *English* Army, than to beget a Confidence in them of his adherence to his Declaration.

This Practice prevailed so far, as to get the Council of State together in *London*, where they had many private Meetings: but in the meantime, the Commissioners for the Independent Churches, which were sent into *Scotland*, were solicitous to divert *Monk* from the prosecution of the War; and so far the Business proceeded, that there was a Conference appointed with them at *Haly-rood-House*, where were present to treat with them, General *Monk*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Syler*, Doctor *Barrow*, the Judge Advocate of the Army, and Mr. *Gumble* one of the Generals Chaplains.

At this Conference, Mr. *Collins* an Independent Minister (who had been one of the Preachers of the late Council in *Scotland*) was admitted to be present as a Neuter.

Mr. *Caryl* was the first that spoke, who in a long and studied Speech declared, *That the Commissioners had desired him to speak for them; That they all came, not do deliver their own Sense of the Generals Proceedings, but the Sense of the Churches, (for so upon every occasion he called the Independent Congregations) That the Churches had not given them Commission to enter into the Merits of the Cause, nor to Debate whether Lambert's Action of turning out the Parliament were justifiable or not; but only to present it to his Lordship as their Opinion; That though that Action could not be justified, yet his Lordship had not a Call to appear against it, in that manner he then did; That his Lordship had only in Charge to keep Scotland in quiet, and was not bound to take notice of any Differences that should happen in England. (Nor indeed could it reasonably be expected of him, he being in a place where he could not be supposed to have such true and timely Information, as was necessary in a Business of that Concernment)* He proceeded to shew Reasons why the General should go on no further, telling him,

That it would put a Strife amongst those that hitherto had been Brethren engaged all along in the same Cause, partakers in the same Dangers, and the same Successes amongst those that still in their Papers and all their Addresses called and owned one another for Brethren, and that at a very unseasonable time, whilst the Cananites and Perizzites were in the Land: And thereupon he took occasion to enlarge himself upon all the Advantages the King and his Party would reap by this Quarrel, and all the Dangers the People of God (for so he called his own Party) might run into; And at last by way of Aggravation, he told the General, That what Inconveniences soever should happen, would be laid at his Door, in regard he would appear to have been the Beginner of the War.

At this the General, in a little heat, interrupted him, shewing, *That the War was already begun by Lambert and his Party, who had offered violence to those, from whom they had all received their Commissions; not sparing freely, and at large to lay open their restless Instability, which would not suffer the three Nations to enjoy any settled Government at all, but keep them in a perpetual Circumvolution, till they were in danger to be brought to utter Ruine; repeating much of their Declarations, and many of their Actions; and declaring, That if they continued in that Course, he was resolved to oppose them to the uttermost, and would (to repeat his own words) lay them on their Backs.*

Caryl and his fellow Commissioners endeavoured to excuse that Expression of theirs, which stirred up the Generals anger; and *Barrow* on the Generals side, did qualify and mitigate his Answer, not thinking it meet wholly to disoblige so considerable a Party as the *Independents*, as things stood at that time; and so by degrees Expressions came to be very calm on both sides, both being in expectation of the issue of the Treaty then on foot, between the Commissioners of the Army of *Scotland*, and those of the Army in *England*; but after this time there was no more Meetings, for upon News from *England*, that Matters were tending to Accommodation, these Commissioners thought their Business done, and made haste to return to *London*.

Clarges, disabled by his Fall, could not get soon enough to *London*, to prevent the hasty conclusion of the Treaty there, (which was concluded on the fifteenth of *November*) although he endeavoured by several Letters to Major *Knight*, one of the Commissioners, to prevent it, forasmuch as the rest of them were so prevailed on by the importunity of the *English* Officers, or else so terrified with their great Preparations, that he could not hinder the speed of it: As he came to *London*, he passed by *Cambridge*, and settled there a Correspondency with Mr. *Pradman*, one of the Fellows of *Kings Colledge*, by whose Care and Secrecy all his Packets were conveyed safe to *Scotland*, when all the ordinary ways were obstructed. Mean while, being much troubled to find, that that very night he arrived at *London*, the Treaty betwixt the Commissioners on both parts was concluded, he seriously expostulated with the Commissioners about

The General's Answer.

The Treaty ended between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

about their precipitant proceeding, telling them what Progress he had made in his Negotiations, and that by the midst of *January* there would be in many places such strong Diversions made, that the General could not but obtain his Ends: That his Money would last till the beginning of *February*, and by that means his Men would be so united and encouraged, that if he did nothing but lye still, *Lambert's Army* by their great wants which made them insupportable to the Country) must break off themselves.

Knight was very sensible of his Error in this hasty Conclusion, and the rest were so far convinced, that in their Letter of the sixteenth of *November*, to the General-Council of the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, giving them an Account of the conclusion of the Treaty, they confess, they had exceeded their Instructions, out of a Suspicion, as the Posture of Affairs then stood, that the Issue of the Difference, if longer continued, would not be to the Advantage of themselves, or of their Brethren of *England*, but of the Common Enemy.

The Agreement it self consisted of Nine Articles, which were expressed in the following words, *viz*,

The Articles of Agreement between the Commissioners of the two Armies.

1. That we will to the uttermost of our Powers, in our several Capacities, oppose the Interest and pretended Right of *Charles Stewart*, in and to the Government of these Nations, as also of all and every Person claiming a Right or Title to the said Government, or any share therein; together with, under or from him, or any other Person or Persons pleading or pretending such a Right or Title, by virtue of his or their descent from the same Line with him.

2. That we will not give our consent unto, but will oppose to our utmost Power, the setting up of any Single Person whatsoever, in the place of and for the Chief Magistrate of these Nations; and will endeavour to our utmost, that the Government of these Nations may be settled in the way of a Free-State, or Commonwealth, without a Single Person, Kingship or House of Lords.

3. That no form of Government shall be determined of, and asserted by any part of the Army, as the Supreme Legislative Authority of this Commonwealth, and the Territories thereunto belonging, without the Approbation and Consent of a General-Council of the Officers of the Army and Navy of this Commonwealth; which General-Council shall consist of two Commission-Officers for each Respective Regiment, chosen by the Commission-Officers of the said Regiment, or by the Major part of them who can conveniently meet together; and likewise such Governours of Garrisons as are not Regimented, and can conveniently be spared, may be called to the said Council, and ten Officers of the Fleet, chosen by a Council of the Officers of the Fleet; and that the Quorum shall be thirty one, and the day of their Meeting to be the sixth of *December* next at *White-Hall* in the Old Council-Room.

4. That a Parliament, or a Supreme Delegated Authority of this Commonwealth, be with all possible speed Constituted and Summoned in such

manner and form as shall be by the aforesaid General-Council agreed unto; and the Qualifications of the Members thereof, to be agreed on by the Lord *S. John*, the Lord *Warriston*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lord *Whitlock*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, Colonel *George Thompson*, Colonel *Berry* and Mr. *Scot*; together with the Lord *Steel*, Colonel *Barrow*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Dobson*, as Commissioners for the Army in *Ireland*; and three Commissioners for the Army in *England*, to be appointed thereunto; with the three Commissioners for the Army of *Scotland*, whereof the Quorum to be Nine.

5. That the Proportion of Money out of the Assessments of *England*, formerly appointed for the Supply of the Forces of *Scotland*, be duly paid and no further stop upon the same, but that it may be returned by Bills of Exchange, or otherwise with all convenient speed, and any former Order and Orders to be made void.

6. That the case of the Officers of the Army of *England* and *Scotland*, that are suspended or displaced, or that have laid down their Commissions since the Eleventh of *October* last, only by reason of the precedent Differences, be determined by fourteen Commissioners of the Army in *England* and *Scotland*, or the major part of them; the one half of the said Commissioners to be chosen by the Council of Officers in *England*, and the other half, of the Council of Officers in *Scotland*; and that forthwith the said Officers be discharged from their Imprisonments or Confinements. The Day of Meeting of the said Commissioners, to be the first day of *December* next, and the place of their Meeting to be at *Newcastle upon Tyne*.

7. That no Officer, or Souldier, or other Person of these Nations, that have acted in the late Differences betwixt the late Parliament and the Army, or between any of the Forces of this Commonwealth, for or against each other, relating to any Difference, since the tenth of *October* last, be questioned for the same, but fully indemnified, and all Unkindness to be put in perpetual Oblivion.

8. That a Godly, Learned, and Faithful Ministry, with competent Maintenance, and other Encouragement, be continued in the three Nations, and that the Universities and Schools of Learning be so Countenanced and Reformed, as that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.

9. That the Forces of Horse and Foot respectively, both of *England* and *Scotland*, that have been drawn forth by reason of the late Difference, shall forthwith March to such Quarters in both Nations where they may best secure and preserve the Peace of the Commonwealth, against the Enemies thereof; and that there be no further difference or appearance of difference amongst Us.

We the Commissioners hereunto appointed and authorized by General *Monk*, and the General Council of Officers in *Scotland*, do this fifteenth of *November*, 1659. in the name, and on the behalf of the said General *Monk*, and General Council of Officers in *Scotland*, fully Consent and agree to the aforementioned Agreement, and

and every part thereof, and do engage our selves and every of us to the full performance of the same.

Present as Witnesses,

R. Barrow, R. Brown, R. Knight,
Edw. Smith,

Signed,
Tim. Wilkes,

Jo. Cloeberry.

Signed as the Agreement of the General Council of Officers of the Army met at Wallingford-House the fifteenth of November, 1659. And I do for my self, and in the name of the said General Council, consent to the aforementioned agreement, and every part thereof, and do engage to the full performance of the same.

Witnesses,

R. Barrow, Edw. Swift,
Bry. Leavens, Ro. Brown.

Signed,

Ch. Fleetwood.

Wallington and Lloyd, two Captains of the English Army at London, were sent with this Agreement to General Monk to put it in Execution; and as they went, Major Cambridge of Lambert's Army was sent by him in their Company. But Clarges was careful to send a Copy of it to him some days before they arrived; and the General was in much perplexity at the Receipt of it, as that which distracted his Design almost past recovery; he was resolved not to accept of it, but could not well tell how to decline it.

The General consults how he might with the handsomest pretence refuse his Assent to these Articles.

To take any pretence from those Articles which excluded the King's Government, would confirm the suspicion which was fomented of his secret Intentions for the Royal Family; and to ground his Dissent from the Subscription of the Commissioners, where they assume an authority (which they never had) and undertook for the performance of that Agreement for the General and all his Officers would not be thought material enough to continue the breach betwixt them; That which was most plausible, was to break it upon the Sixth Article, where it was provided, *That all the Officers displaced by General Monk, might be in a Capacity of being restored to other Commands; and all those put by him in their place (wherein his strength consisted) be removed;* he called together a few of his Confidants to advise what to do; these were Major General Morgan, Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Lydcott, Doctor Barrow, and Mr. Gumble; Lydcott was admitted, because he was from a private Captain newly preferred to the Command of Cobbet's Regiment, and therefore by interest supposed to be averse to this Agreement. The General and these Gentlemen having had much discourse of the business, they all thought it fit to disapprove of the Agreement, but differed in the manner; but at last it was by Barrow proposed, and agreed to by the General and the rest, That they should not declare a positive dissent to what their Commissioners had done; but urge, that there was something untreated of, further to be agreed upon; and some of those things consented to by their Commissioners, which without further explication,

could not stand with their Declaration or Instructions; and that therefore it should be desired, that two more might be allowed to be added to their Commissioners, to meet a like number of theirs to be thereunto authorized, to put a more absolute period to their differences.

The same Evening, Wallington, Lloyd and Cambridge arrived; and the next morning at a General Council of Officers at Edinburgh, when the Agreement was communicated to them, they were so artificially prepared, that they unanimously disrelieved it, and a Letter was framed, which they all subscribed, to the same purpose with what was agreed on the day before, and Lloyd and those with him went with it to London.

The City of London was very much discontented at the Committee of Safety, and Fleetwood became doubtful of them: But to heighten them the more, General Monk sent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, which was delivered to them by Mr. Atkins and Colonel Markham, about the seventeenth or eighteenth of November: wherein he acquainted them,

That at the first notice he had of the Force upon the Parliament, he had sent a Letter to them, declaring his Resolution to endeavour their Re-establishment, and that his Army was very Unanimous to concur with him in it; but that Letter miscarrying, he had with the advice of his Officers now again written to them, to let them know, they were constant to their first Resolution; and were the more confirmed in it, for being informed that the Authors of that Force had proceeded so far as to null and make void some Acts of Parliament; (which the King when he was at the highest, never attempted to do, and which no true Englishman can endure to see done, by any but Parliaments themselves) and after they had subverted the Foundation of an ancient Government, were contriving by their own Power and Authority to set up a new Government over the Nations, Adding, that if this should be suffered, he knew not to what purpose so much Blood had been spilt, so much Treasure spent, and so many Engagements made; They must take upon themselves the Guilt of all, and look upon this Slavery they had brought upon themselves, as a Judgment upon them for their Murders, Rapines and Perjuries: He protested to aim only at the restoring Parliaments to their former Freedom and Authority, and the People to their Just Rights and Liberties; in which he expected to be sure of their Assistance. As to Religion, he told them, he intended not that those that truly feared God, should be abridged of their Worship, but he should be unwilling that some under pretence of maintaining that Liberty, should endeavour the overthrow of National Ministry, and by consequence leave the greatest part of the People to utter Ignorance and Atheism: Concluding nevertheless, That Religion was not that about which he did at present contend, being desirous to leave that to the Consideration of the Parliament, for the Defence whereof, he and those with him were resolved to venture to the utmost; and if he should miscarry through want of their timely aid, it would be too late for them by their

own

own strength to assert their Freedom; And if he succeeded, it would be dishonourable for so Famous a City, and so much Concerned, that its Liberty should be asserted without its own help: inciting them therefore now whilst so great an Army is waiting on him in the North, to use their Endeavours in the South, &c.

The Letter look't upon as fictitious, and the Messengers imprisoned.

This Letter was dated the 12th of November at *Edinburgh*, and did so much incense the Committee of Safety, that the Gentlemen who delivered it were put into Custody: And the more to aggravate the business, Monk's Commissioners were either so imprudent, or so unsincere, as to declare, *That they believed the Letter was fictitious*; which made the City less active in pursuance of the Contents of it.

Whilst things were thus traversed in London, Fleetwood, Lambert, and all the Officers in England, could not dissemble their Confusion of Mind upon Monk's refusal to ratify the Treaty, and sending for a Blank Pass to insert new names of additional Commissioners; and many Expulstatory Letters passed betwixt them about it, but more especially betwixt Lambert and his Officers, and him; for they were very apprehensive, that this motion of a Blank Pass for adding to their Commissioners, or the naming of new ones, was only meant to gain time; but at last they did consent to it, though it never came to any effect, as shall be hereafter discovered.

Nine of the Old Council of State meet.

Nine of the old Council of State met privately in London the nineteenth of November, they a little resented, that General Monk's Commissioners did not communicate their Counsels with them, yet omitted not to give him all the encouragement they could; And in order therunto, one Captain Elms, with Horton a Servant of Sir Arthur Hazlerig's was sent with a Letter to him to Scotland; wherein they signified,

And send a Letter to the General.

That his faithful Actions in discharge of his Trust and Duty to that Parliament, and for the good of the Three Nations and Posterity in these Times of so great Hypocrisie and Defection, was most gratefully acknowledged by them; and they assured him, his Service was exceedingly well resented by all sober and interested persons, that love a Commonwealth; and that he might be confident, that they would adhere to him, and to their utmost promote the good Cause which he had hitherto with so much Wisdom and Courage highly owned, and that it was their Resolution to stand and fall with him in defence thereof; and that they would, as occasion should offer it self, the Lord enabling, be assisting to him according to his Declaration for removing the Force from this Parliament, that so they may Sit with Freedom, and, by Gods blessing, lay a Foundation of a happy and lasting Settlement.

This Letter was Subscribed by
Tho. Scot, President, Arthur Hazlerig,
Herbert Morley, Valentine Walton,
Robert Reignolds, Anth. Ashley Cooper,
Robert Wallop, Josias Berners:
Henry Nevil,

This was a great Encouragement to the Officers in Scotland; for the wisest of them did conclude from these appearances of Action at London, that their Party was increased in England, imagining that otherwise they durst not have so openly acted.

Colonel Whetham at Portsmouth was labouring to frame a Design of declaring for General Monk with that Garrison; and Colonel Morley, Walton, and Hazlerig went privately towards him to Treat about it: But before they went, the Council of State, at another Meeting before the time appointed by Parliament for their continuance was expired, framed a Commission, wherein they constituted General Monk Absolute Commander in Chief of all the Armies in England and Scotland, which was Dated the 24th of November, sealed with their Seal, and left in the hands of Clarges, till a safe Messenger might be sent with it to him.

As soon as Fleetwood had received General Monk's Letters against the Ratification of the Treaty, and his desire to have two more Commissioners added to his, to renew the Treaty at Newcastle, Wilks, Cloeberry, and Knight, the Commissioners had their dispatch, and a Pass to license their repair thither; But before they got to Newcastle, at a Meeting of all Lambert's Officers, a Letter was framed, and sent by Colonel Zanchy to General Monk's Officers, and one from Lambert to the General himself.

In that from the Officers they write, *That they had advised their General to acquaint General Monk, that if he pleased to appoint two Commissioned Officers of his Army to be added to those already in England, and signifie their Names to him, a safe Conduct should be forthwith given to them; but withall, That nothing in the Agreement be parted from, nor any new matter, or further explanations admitted, which are not consentaneous to what is already concluded; And that the General Council (agreed upon in the third Article of the Agreement at London) to meet upon the sixth of December, may accordingly hold their meeting. And in a Postscript to this Letter, they complained of the detention of Colonel Cobbet, who, they said, was a Publick Messenger, and desired therefore he might enjoy his Priviledge accordingly, except by some miscarriage he had forfeited the same. Colonel Zanchy was very kindly receiv'd by General Monk and all his Officers, and they met together with all convenient haste to give him his dispatch; acquainting him, That they should not disown any thing in that Agreement that was conformable to the Instructions by which their Commissioners were authorized; but what should appear to be beyond, they insisted to have it Treated on and explained. As to the third Article, mentioned in their Letter, they would not admit of any meeting in pursuance of it, till the whole should be concluded. And concerning Cobbet, they alledged, That he came not to Scotland as a Publick Messenger, but as a Colonel to Command a Regiment (after his Commission had been vacated by the Parliament, the day before their Interruption) and without any leave from General Monk; And that the General had intimation from a Person of Credit, That he had a design*

The Parliament party begin busily to appear against Lambert and his Faction.

The effect of a Letter from Lambert's Officers to Monk's.

The Conference of Monk and his Officers with Colonel Zanchy.

X x x x

design to seduce the Army from their obedience, if not to seize on his Person. This Letter was signed the 7th of December at night, and the next day Colonel Zanchy was to have returned with it to Newcastle, but upon Intelligence received, that a Party of Lamberts, consisting of three Regiments of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with two Drakes was marched into Northumberland, and that sixty Dragoons had possessed themselves of Chillingham Castle, near the Scotch Borders, the Colonel was staid; and the General, at three of the Clock the next morning, marched out of Barwick, and sent order to draw his Forces together toward Coldstream, a very convenient Pass upon the Tweed, where he settled his Head-Quarters. A little before this, his own Commissioners were come to him to Barwick, where he confined Colonel Wilks for discovering, or at least not pursuing some private Instructions; but after a while he was released, upon satisfaction that what he did was out of Ignorance, and not Malice.

Col. Whetham at Portsmouth declares for Monk.

Colonel Whetham at Portsmouth, very generously declared for General Monk, with that Garrison, after he had secured Captain Peacock, and Captain Brown, and some other refractory Officers, that he was jealous of.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Burroughs of Scotland wait upon the General at Barwick.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Burroughs of Scotland, being summoned to wait upon the General, and he having appointed them to be at Barwick the thirteenth of December, he came on that day thither to meet them accordingly, releasing Zanchy, and sending by him a Letter to Lambert, wherein he acquainted him, he would by the next Post more fully inform him of his Resolutions.

The Scotch Commissioners appointed five to attend the General, and treat with him, which were the Earls of Glencarne, Rothes, Weams, and Eglington, and Mr. Alexander Bruce. These presented a Paper to the General, consisting of five Proposals.

Their Propositions.

1. That the Lord General may be pleased to appoint a Committee in each Shire, for regulating the Affairs thereof, in order to his Lordships Commands, and their own preservation.

2. That his Lordship will allow each Shire presently to raise (for the securing the Peace, and their own safety) some small proportion of Horses, under the Conduct of such Persons as his Lordship shall think fit to trust.

3. That his Lordship will declare, for the greater encouragement of the Shires, at the return of their Commissioners, if the Treaty shall break up, and take no effect, immediately upon the notice thereof, that he did authorize the Shires to put themselves in the best posture they can for his Assistance, and their own Defence.

4. That for the said effect, his Lordship will be pleased to furnish each Shire with some proportion of Arms, upon payment of just Rates thereof, within one Months time after the Receipt of them.

5. That all Gentlemen who are free to comply with his Lordships desires, may for themselves and Servants have Liberty to carry their Arms.

The General, upon the receipt of this Paper, The General advised with some select Officers about an Answer to it, viz. Colonel Fairfax, Major Jeremiah Smith, Colonel Lydcot, Colonel Read, and Doctor Barrow. And the chief Question debated on, was, whether they should permit the Scots to Arm for their Assistance? Colonel Read was for Arming them: He argued, that it was a common danger, and they ought to make use of any aid that could be obtained for their defence. The General himself told them, That if he should draw all the men from his Garrisons, he could make his numbers of Foot quickly equal to Lamberts, but he had hitherto declined that, being unwilling to put Scotland out of English hands, and that he doubted not, if he could get a few more Horse than he had, even with those Foot he had without weakening his Garrisons, he should well enough defend himself against Lambert.

Others were of opinion, that although they should not imploy whole Troops, or Companies of Scots, yet they might safely mingle a good party of them with the English. But Doctor Barrow was against all motions of Arming the Scots at that time, believing if it were done, many of their own men might desert them, but if the General would take any opportunity, though it were but to beat up any of Lambert's Quarters, so that they might once come to Blood, that the division being likely to increase after such an action, he might then strengthen himself with what Accessions he pleased. Nevertheless, he moved that some privately might confer with the leading men of the Scotch Gentry, to try if they would be brought to provide any numbers of Horses, on which the General might mount English to reinforce his own Troops. This last was approved as to the main Question; but upon the whole debate, they agreed upon particular Answers to every Article in the Generals name.

1. To the First, That he would authorize the Noblemen and Justices of the Peace of each County with the Advice and Consent of the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, to put in execution such Orders and Commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the Peace of the County. The Generals Answer to the Scots Propositions.

2. To the Second, That he would allow the Counties next adjacent to the High-Lands, viz. to the County of Dumbarton and Sterlin, Forty men to bear Arms; To the County of Perth, Forty men in Arms; To the County of Forfar and Kinkardine, Forty men in Arms; And to the County of Aberdeen, Forty men in Arms, which are to be a Guard for the security of the said Counties against Thieves and Robbers. And for the rest of the Shires, his Lordship would take care, if he should have occasion to remove farther out of Scotland: And he would allow the Heretors of the above-named Shires, to make choice of a fit Person to Command the said respective Guards; They giving Security to the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, for their Fidelity and good behaviour, in Six hundred Pounds Sterling.

3. To the third, His Lordship deferr'd his Answer, till the Issue of the Treaty now intended

intended between him and the English Army.

4. To the Fourth, That he would furnish them with fit means for their defence, whensoever he should apprehend their Peace and Safety to be in imminent danger.

5. To the Fifth, Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as should subscribe to live peaceably, and Act nothing to the prejudice of England, should have liberty with Passes to wear their Swords, and have four Servants armed for their Attendants.

Glencarn's Arguments to the General, for arming the Scots to his assistance.

At a Conference with the Scotch Commissioners, upon the delivery of these Answers to their Propositions, they seemed unsatisfied with them, and the Earl of Glencarne in the name of the rest, told the General, Since they were willing to hazard their Persons and Estates with him, they hoped he would not deny them to Arm for his Assistance and their own Safety, since if he should engage and be worsted, they should be exposed to great ruine for their Affection and Respect to him, from which otherwise, by a Neutrality, they might be secure. To which he answered, That if that should happen, they should then Arm to what numbers they pleased. To this the Earl Replied, That the Country were now willing to rise in Confidence of his Conduct and Courage, but if his Force should be defeated, they would not be perswaded to it. And besides, they could not under six weeks time make their Levies. And if permission were now denied, the Enemy, if Victorious, would be in their Bowels before they should be in a posture of Defence.

The Scotch Nobility depart home from Barwick.

The cautious General would not be prevailed on with these Arguments, and so they departed, he returned to Coldstream to his Quarters, and the Scotch Noblemen and Gentlemen to their several Countries.

They had absolutely refused the raising any Horse to mount English, yet this came to no breach between them and the General, in regard, before they left Barwick, the General acquainted them with Intelligence he had received from England, of the distractions in the English Armies and other Affairs, which made them to fear less than before, their own peace at home, and so all parted with mutual respect.

The General prepares to make defence against Lambert, if occasion were.

After this meeting, the General was contriving how to break off the Treaty with Lambert, which he had hitherto, not without great Artifice delayed; but he considered, that as soon as that should be done, Lambert would march towards him, and therefore he made preparation to fight him, if occasion should urge him to it. In order to which, he sent an express to Clarges, to provide him some good Horse-Officers, and send them by Sea in a nimble Bark. Mean while, in Northumberland the Eagles raised him two compleat Troops, and more Horse were raising. He increased his number of Pikes in each Company, to be equal to his Musquets, as thereby to be better able to make defence against Horse, in which Lambert's greatest strength was placed.

What advantages he had against Lambert's Army.

Coldstream was nine miles from Barwick upon the Tweed, and he had quartered all his men so conveniently, that he could draw them

all together in six hours; for the Villages are much thicker upon the Scotch than English Borders. And if Lambert marched towards him, the Villages in Northumberland being thin, he must have quartered at such distance, that his men would have been exposed to great hazard of being often disturbed in their Quarters. And if he had marched to fight, the General, being upon the defensive part, could have brought as many hands to action as he. Or if he had marched to Carlisle, to have invaded Scotland that way; Monk would then have marched directly to London, and should have been two or three days march before him. Or if he had divided his Army, the General would have presently fallen on the nearest part to him. In this posture he lay at Coldstream, when he received Intelligence from Clarges "That there were many great differences in London, between Fleetwood and the City. That the Apprentices, and several others in favour of him, had many Consultations to make disturbances; that they were framing a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Common-Council, to press their Interposition for the restoring the Parliament, and preservation of Magistracy, which was endeavoured to be suppressed by the Committee of Safety, who emitted a Proclamation to prohibit all gathering of hands to Petitions, which incensed the young Men so much (being fomented by wiser heads) that they rose in many places in a tumultuous manner. And thereupon, Colonel Hewson was sent into London to suppress them, whereby a rumour was raised, that the Souldiers came to plunder them, and all Shops were shut up, and many reproachful Words passed in the Streets, between the Souldiers and Apprentices, to that heat of Passion, that two of the Apprentices were slain, and about twenty wounded, and the rest for that time dispersed. But the Souldiers were so vilified, scorn'd and hiss'd, that they were ashamed to march, and many Officers when they went into the City, durst not wear Swords for fear of affronts, and that many of the Private Souldiers, especially the Horse, wished themselves with him; Captain Izod, and others, being active to draw them from Fleetwood's Party. That he had sent Captain Goodwin with some Horse-Officers to him by Sea to Barwick, and that Goodwin had his Lordships Commission for Commander in Chief, of all the Armies in England and Scotland. And that he had treated with Mr. Phillip Howard, who had undertaken to raise an hundred Gentlemen well armed and mounted in Northumberland and Cumberland, on Condition to Command them for his Lifeguard, which he had promised his Lordship should consent to; but that just as he was preparing for his journey, he was taken with the Small Pox, but his Elder Brother in the mean time, had writ and undertook to promote the Levies of the Men; that he had treated with Colonel Redman, a gallant Horse-Officer, and Colonel Bret, who had been both by Ludlow removed from their Commands, to draw off the Irish Brigade

Differences between the City of London and the Armies Party there.

The Souldiers affronted by the Apprentices, notwithstanding.

Oppositions from all parts increase against Lambert's faction.

“from *Lambert*, many of the men having been
 “before Commanded by them, and therefore
 “easily perswaded; and that Colonel *Morley*,
 “Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and Colonel *Walton*
 “were active in *Portsmouth*, and all the Foot
 “which were sent to besiege that Town, had
 “seized on their Officers, and carried them Pri-
 “soners into it, and five Troops of Colonel
 “*Rich* his Regiment, and two of Colonel *Ber-*
 “*ries* were come in to them; That those of
 “*Berries* were commanded by Colonel *Crooke*,
 “who was lately their Major, and is sent into
 “the Isle of *Wight*, where his Forces are increa-
 “sed to seven Hundred: And at *Taunton*, and
 “several other places, there was great defection
 “amongst all the Souldiers; That Sir *Michael*
 “*Livesey* in *Kent* had raised two Regiments,
 “and Colonel *Gibbons* was joyned with him,
 “and Vice-admiral *Lawson* had with two and
 “twenty Sail declared for the *Parliament*, and
 “was come into the *Hope*, stopping up the River
 “of *Thames*. And the *Block-houses* near *Grave-*
 “*end* on both sides the River, had also declared,
 “That the Lord Mayor and several Aldermen,
 “have had many ineffectual Treaties with *Fleet-*
 “*wood*, and the Chief of the Army, and Com-
 “mittee of Safety; the City demanding the
 “management and conduct of their own Mili-
 “tia, and the Instant Restauration of the *Par-*
 “*liament*, or the calling another, which are re-
 “fused to them, and the discontents thereby
 “much augmented.

A Letter
of Advice
from *Monk*
to *Lam-*
bert.

Upon Receipt of these Letters, the General
 writ to *Lambert*, by Major *Bannister*, one of the
 Officers at *Barwick*, acquainting him, That since
 his last by *Zanchy*, he had certain Advice, That
 three of the Commissioners appointed by Act of *Par-*
liament, for the Government of the Army, were now
 in *Portsmouth*, acting by vertue of the same Au-
 thority, upon which he Acted, and declaring for the
 same ends: And that he and the Army were there-
 by obliged in Honour and Duty, to take their Ad-
 vice and Consent in all Affairs that relate to the
 Cause they are now engaged in, which he doubted
 not, but he would judge reasonable and necessary;
 and therefore he desired a safe Conduct for the Major,
 to acquaint them with what had passed in the se-
 veral Overtures betwixt them; but withall, he
 told him freely, he could not think it adviseable to
 proceed further in Treaty (and he expected the other
 Commissioners would be of the same mind) till he
 remanded all those Troops he had sent into *North-*
umberland, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*,
 during that time.

The Trea-
ty be-
tween
Monk and
Lambert
broke off.

Lambert's
Party dai-
ly de-
crease up-
on the ap-
pearance
of the
Portsmouth
Commis-
sioners.

Lambert upon advice with his Officers would
 not let *Bannister* pass, but sent him back to *Bar-*
wick, for he began now plainly to perceive, that
 the General intended nothing less than to treat
 further; whereupon both sides prepared for
 War: but *Lambert* was so daily alarm'd with
 the success of the Commissioners at *Portsmouth*,
 and the daily submission of several Troops and
 Companies of men, that he thought it more ne-
 cessary to march Southward to assist his Friends in
London, than hazard Battel with General *Monk*.

Fleetwood, and the rest of the Committee of
 Safety were in no less disorder than *Lambert*,

but that which most amused them, was the De-
 claration of *Lawson* with his Fleet for the *Par-*
liament (which was chiefly transacted by the endea-
 vours of Colonel *Streater*, an Active Instrument for
 the King in all these Revolutions, who was forc'd
 to fly thither upon discovery of a Design he had to
 seize on the Tower) for they thought themselves
 sure of *Lawson*, and by his defection (added to
 the rest) their Authority came to be generally
 despised, even by their own Souldiers, so that
 they abandoned all; and *Fleetwood*, with great
 contrition and submission, in behalf of his Con-
 federates, sent to the Speaker to desire him to
 send to the rest of the *Parliament* Members, and
 with them to return to the exercise of their Trust
 and Power for the Government of the Nation;
 acknowledging, That the Lord had blasted their
 Counsels, and (to repeat his own words) spit in
 their faces.

Fleetwood
submits,
and de-
sires the
Members
to sit a-
gain.

Upon this several Members met privately in
 the Speakers House, and gave Colonel *Okey*, Co-
 lonel *Markham*, Colonel *Allured*, and Colonel
Moss orders to draw the Regiments about *West-*
minster to a Rendezvouze in *Lincolns-Inne-fields*;
 which being performed accordingly, the Souldi-
 ers declared to live and die with the *Parliament*,
 and marched down *Chancery-lane*, where at the
Rolls they made a halt till the Speaker came to
 them, and received their acknowledgements,
 and from thence by his Orders, they went to their
 Quarters, having first from him received the
 Word.

Several
Regi-
ments, be-
ing drawn
up in *Lin-*
colns-Inne-
fields, de-
clare for
the late
Members.

And two days after, that is to say, on the twenty
 sixth of *December*, in the Evening, the Speaker
 and the Members of *Parliament*, resumed the
 Government, and sate in the *Parliament-House*,
 having met first at *White-hall* in the Council-
 Chamber, from whence they went on foot
 through *Chanon-Row* (the Mace being carried
 before the Speaker) to *Westminster-hall*, where as
 they pass'd, the Souldiers upon the Guard stood
 in Ranks, and made acclamations. At their first
 meeting, They Ordered Colonel *Alexander Po-*
pham, Colonel *Thompson*, Mr. *Scot*, Colonel *Okey*,
 Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Colonel *Matthew Al-*
lured, and Colonel *Markham*, or any three of them,
 to order, direct, and Conduct the Forces of the Army,
 and all other Forces, and to Command the same to
 suppress all Tumults, Insurrections, and Rebellions,
 and all such Forces which shall oppose or resist the
 Command of the *Parliament*, and to observe such
 Orders and Directions as they should receive from
 time to time from the *Parliament*, or the Commis-
 sioners appointed by Act of *Parliament*, to Command
 the Army, or any three of them, till they shall come
 to *London* or *Westminster*, or until the *Parliament*
 shall take further order.

They take
their Seats
again in
the *Parli-*
ament
House.

They or-
der seven
Commis-
sioners for
the ma-
nagement
of the Ar-
my.

From these Commissioners an Order was
 sent to *Lambert* to disperse his Forces, but they
 were upon breaking before notice thereof came
 to him.

We made some relation of a Treaty betwixt
 Mr. *Evelyn* and Colonel *Morley*, which at this
 time Mr. *Evelyn* thought to bring to some ad-
 vantageous issue; for *Morley* upon this Change
 had his Regiment restored, and with it the
 Government of the Tower conferred on him,
 and

and his Brother Colonel Fagg had also a Regiment; Mr. Evelyn had done for him towards his Majesty, all he desired, for Pardon of him and his Friends; but when he came to him with the report of it, he was very reserved, and would not entertain any discourse with him of that matter, and after one time would rarely admit him into his Company, which made him suspect he had altered his Intentions, and put him to the hazardous experiment of a sharp and expostulatory Letter; but he was newly involved with General Monk, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper in intrigues of the like nature, which he durst not communicate; and Affairs were not yet mature enough for the things which Mr. Evelyn proposed, nor was he assured of the Officers and Souldiers in the Tower for such a Service; but it is most certain he received such impressions from Mr. Evelyn's former discourses, that he was one of the forwardest of his Party to embrace all occasions for the King's Service, as was evident by his early, vigorous and hazardous opposition in Parliament, shortly after their sitting, to that impious Oath of abjuration of the King's Family and Line (hereafter mentioned.)

The Irish
Brigade
brought
off to
Monk by
Redman
and Bret.

The man-
ner of
surprizing
Dublin
Castle.

When the Parliament thus reconvened, and Lambert in his declension; the Irish Brigade submitted to Redman and Bret, and was brought off by them; and at the same time, the Souldiers of two Dunkirk Regiments, then with Lambert, were in Mutiny for the General, who scarce had received Information of these Actings, when Captain Campbell also arrived at Coldstream with Letters from Sir Hardress Waller, and others from Dublin, with Intelligence of the Surprisal of Dublin Castle by Captain Foyer and Captain Bond, which was thus performed; one of Bond's men softly knocking at the Gates, the Sentinel opened the door, and as he opened it, the rest presently rushed in, and on a suddain surprized them within, and seized on Colonel John Jones, Miles Corbet, Colonel Matthew Thomlinson, Colonel Richard Lawrence, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Jones, Mr. Standish the Treasurer, and Tombes the Store-keeper: The Design was chiefly managed at Dublin, by Sir Theophilus Jones, Trevor, the three Warrens, Colonel Bridges, Thompson, Lisle, Worder and Temple, having been two months in Agitation, and was the more dangerous, because but in one of Five Foot Companies that Quartered in the City, they could repose any Confidence; neither durst they communicate their Intentions with more than one Officer of that Company, and some few Officers of Horse, whom they engaged out of three Troops; and so much they differed about the time of putting the business in execution, that till the night before the action, they had not resolved it: The pretext made use of for the business, was their Meeting to promote a Petition in the Army to call a General Council; which so dazed the Eyes of the Commander in Chief, and several other of his Confidants, that they suspected no other thing to have been intended. And that which the Execution was most remarkable is, that not one drop of Blood was shed. The next day after, the City of Dub-

lin drew out their Militia, and declared with them; and although they had but eight hours notice, there appeared above two thousand Foot, besides Horse.

Cornet Monk was privy to the design, and sent to Wexford, Waterford, and those parts, to incline them to joyn in it: But Sir Charles Coote and his Brothers had the hardest Task in the Province of Connaught; but they overcame all difficulties, and in a very short time brought the whole Souldiery and Garrison there to obedience, and in less than a Weeks space, Limrick, Clonmel, Youghal, Ross, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Dundalk, Antrim, and many other places declared their Concurrence.

The General always carrying an even temper in his behaviour, seem'd not much exalted with this News; yet since it was likely to prove of no small Concernment to himself, he presently dispatch'd Captain Campbell back, with great acknowledgments of these Services, and desired to be supplied by them with six Troops of Horse with all convenient speed: This good news was seconded with advice from Bowles of the Lord Fairfax's Rising in York-shire, which was somewhat sooner than his promise, but very seasonable to make a diversion to Lambert's Forces, with whom Colonel Lilburn's Regiment joyned by means of Major Smithson, who was a great lover of General Monk, and Colonel Redman came in to them with the Irish Brigade; Colonel Bethel, Sir Henry Cholmley, Captain Strangwaies, and Mr. Arthington also joyned with them; the said Messenger also informed him, that the Parliament was again Sitting, and that Fleetwood had submitted to them; which made the General immediately march (for he heard that Lambert kept his Brigade together, and intended to oppose the Lord Fairfax and his Friends, and having quitted Newcastle, was marched towards them;) wherefore on the second of January at night he advanced with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, and marched to Wooller: He had the day before sent Colonel Knight with three Troops to Morpeth, to whom he that night sent Orders to seize on Newcastle, which he did by six of the Clock in the morning. Major General Morgan was left sick, and Colonel Read, who commanded the Rear of the Army, marched the next day with two Regiments of Horse, and three Regiments of Foot, with which his whole number amounted in all to five thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. By that time he came to Morpeth, he had Information that Lambert's whole party was of themselves dispersed into several Quarters in Submission to the Parliaments Orders. And to assure him of the Parliaments Sitting, he received a Letter from the Speaker, dated the 27 of December of thanks for his Service; wherein the restitution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care and Courage.

The knowledge of this did more than any thing perplex the General, as one of the most fatal Accidents that could happen to him; for by their over-hasty Resumption of Power, back'd with a great Army newly return'd to their Obedience, he despaired of doing the good he intended to his Country, and thought

Sir Charles
Coote redu-
ceth all
Connaught
to a com-
pliance
with the
present
Design.

The Lord
Fairfax,
and several
of
Monk's
Party
joyning
with him,
rise in
York-shire.

Gen. Monk
begins his
march into
Eng-
land.

He re-
ceives a
Letter of
thanks
from the
Speaker.

no longer of continuing in Arms than till a fair Opportunity should be offered him to lay them down and retire, without making them jealous of him; For he expected they would not have thought their Sitting safe, till his arrival at London with his Army, and then he would have restored all the other Members with them without undertaking to judge of the Difference betwixt them.

Here receives an Address at Morpeth from the City of London by their Sword-Bearer. As likewise from the Gentry of the County in all parts as he marched along. He is visited at York by the Lord Fairfax.

When he came to Morpeth, Mr. William Man, the Sword-Bearer of London, came to him, with a very respectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of London; to which he made a civil Return the next day from New-Castle, and thence he marched with continued Journeys to York, where he continued five days, and all the way as he marched from Cold-stream he was met by the Gentry, and saluted by all the People as he passed, with great Acclamations of Joy. Colonel Waters the Sheriff of Yorkshire, met him betwixt Allerton and Topcliffe, several of the Gentry having attended him the day before at his first entrance into the County. At York he was visited by the Lord Fairfax, whom he received with much kindness and respect, and very civilly acknowledged Mr. Bowles his diligent and industrious acting in his Concerns; there he modelled Lambert's and Lilburn's Regiments of Horse, and gave the first of them to Colonel Bethel, and the latter to Smithson, and chang'd most of the other Officers.

The new restored Members begin very Actively in settling their Affairs; and on the second of January they name one and thirty to be of the Council of State, passing an ACT for their Constitution; and several Instructions for them to Act by: amongst which it was provided, that none should sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family and Government.

The Names of the intended Counsellors of State were;

The Names of the Persons nominated for the Council of State.	Sir Arthur Haslerig,	Mr. Henry Nevil,
	Colonel Morley,	Colonel Fagg,
	Mr. Wallop,	Mr. John Corbet,
	Mr. Scot,	Mr. Tho. Challoner,
	Mr. Love,	Mr. Say,
	Mr. Weaver,	Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,
	Colonel White,	General Monk,
	Mr. Reynolds,	Lord Fairfax,
	Mr. Robinson,	Vice-Admiral Lamson,
	Mr. Rob. Roll,	Josias Barners,
	Sir James Harrington,	Serjeant Terril,
	Colonel Thompson,	Slingsby Bethel,
	Sir Tho. Widdrington,	Alderman Foot,
	Colonel Dixwell,	Alderman Love.

The form of an Oath of Abjuration to be taken by all the Members of the Council of State and Parliament.

The Oath was in these following words: viz.

I do hereby Swear, That I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stewart, and the whole Line of the late King James, and of every other Person, as a Single Person, pretending, or which shall pretend to the Crown or Government of these Nations of England, Scotland or Ireland, or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; And that I

will by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and constant to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any Single Person or House of Lords, and every of them in this Commonwealth.

This Oath being stricter than any that had ever been imposed, was by many disliked; however, the leading Men that promoted it in Parliament affirmed, *That without this, they could have no certain assurance of Power; And that the Hollanders, and those of the Confederated Provinces could never be fix'd in their Government, till they had made a Renunciation of the King of Spain.* And to that height this business was brought, that not thinking it enough for the Council of State, they drove on to have it ordered, that every Member in the House should also take the said Oath: This was strongly opposed by Colonel Fielder, Weaver, Dove, Hutchinson, both the Purities, Ingoldshy, and many more of the soberer sort, *Who alledged it would be a Confining of Providence to make such an Oath, a Snare to many good Men, and a Terrour to such as were truly Conscientious, who might suspect this to be a fore-runner of many Oaths to fetter their Consciences.* Of these more moderate sort of men, Fielder and Ingoldshy only were thought Favourers of the Kings Party, but the rest were such of whom they had no manner of Jealousie at that time; though afterwards they appeared much inclined to a Conjunction with the Secluded Members, and well disposed to Monarchy: So that when the Act for the Council of State came to be executed, in that part of it which was the Administration of the Oath, Mr. Weaver, Colonel Morley, Oliver St. John, Colonel Fagg, the Lord Fairfax, and many more, even a third part at least of their number refused it, and were therefore not admitted to Sit and Act.

The Oath opposed by several of the House.

Whilest the General staid at York, he had Intimation, that Overton was taking Beds into Hull, breaking the Ice in the Grays, and making such preparation as if he took him rather for an enemy than a Friend; wherefore he sent Major Smith to him, one well known in that Garrison, to inspect into the condition of it, and writ a Letter to Overton, to expostulate with him about the Matter: who returned in Answer to him, *That he perceived Rumour had rendred Hull as doubtful to him, as it had his Design dangerous to them and others; but he was glad to hear that he adhered to this Parliament in their present Constitution, against the re-admission of the Secluded Members, a free Parliament or Single Person, one of which had been continually charged upon him by the Common Cry of the Army.*

The Leading Members of Parliament, finding this difference growing amongst themselves about the Oath of Abjuration, contrived how to draw the General to their Party; and in order thereunto, Scot and Robinson, two of their Members were sent to meet him upon the way to gratulate his Return, but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath as soon as he came to London, before he took his place in the Council of State.

OF

Of these their Instructions *Clarges* having timely notice, was resolved to be with the General before them; but before he went, he privately got from Quarter-Master-General *Butler* a List of all the Quarters in *London*, for a purpose which shall be discovered hereafter.

On the twelfth of *January*, the House, to testify their Confidence in the General, passed a Vote, To approve of all he had done in order to the Service of the Parliament; and Ordered their Vote to be Printed: When he removed from *York*, he sent one of the *Dunkirk* Regiments of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Clark*, and Major General *Morgans* Regiment of Horse, into *Scotland*, which, with those he left in Garrison there, he thought enough to secure the Peace of that Kingdom, till time should admit further Consideration thereof. He left Colonel *Fairfax* his Regiment at *York*, and disbanded some Companies of *Ashfield's* Regiment, and mingled the Private Souldiers thereof amongst his Regiments to fill up the Companies: And then having given the Council of State an Account of what he had done, he proceeded in his March towards *London* with four Regiments of Foot, viz. his Own, Colonel *Reads*, Colonel *Lydcotts*, and Colonel *Hubblehornes*; and three Regiments of Horse, viz. his Own, Colonel *Knights*, and Colonel *Cloeberries*, which made his number in all 5800 besides Officers; that is, Four Thousand Foot, and Eighteen Hundred Horse; He came the nineteenth day of *January* to *Nottingham*, where *Clarges* came to him the day following, on which day also, *Scot* and *Robinson* arrived at *Leicester*; and, because the next day was *Sunday*, they rested there, and met the General upon the Road, betwixt *Leicester* and *Nottingham* the twenty second.

At *Nottingham*, *Clarges*, having had secret Conference with the General, communicated to him in what Condition all Affairs stood at *London*, and that they had there two thousand Horse, and eight thousand Foot, most of them modelled to their own Principles; That the Horse were the Regiments of *Okey*, *Hazlerig*, *Rich*, and *Desborow*; and though they had newly given the last to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, yet all the Officers under him were of the same Mould as the former. The Regiments of Foot were commanded by *Ayres*, *Markham*, *Streeter*, *Fitch*, *Moss*, *Fleetwood*, *Morley* and *Fagg*; of all which, he could have no assurance but of the two last: for *Morley's* men were firm to him, deserted their Officers in the *North*, and declared for him; and *Fagg's* was a new Regiment, raised about *Portsmouth* in his behalf. He told him, That except he could get all these Horse and Foot out of *London*, (except *Morley's* and *Fagg's* Regiments) and disperse them into several Quarters, and march his own men thither, and be Master of *London*, he could never expect to do any good for his Country; since in all these times, it had been experienced, That to what ever was done at *London*, where they had nine or ten thousand Men to justify their Actions, all the rest of the Regiments submitted.

And, if his distinct and absolute Command

in *Scotland* had not happened in a Conjunction when *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, the two Chief Officers of the Army, were in a Jealousie of each other, and their Treasure quite exhausted, he had never been able to have stood against them; and although there was that Jealousie, and the Principles on which he declared were such, as most of these in Command favoured; yet how slowly did *Ireland* and the Fleet joyn with him? And even the Council of State themselves (who had the temptation of Power to excite them) were backward enough to appear, till they saw a Distraction in the other Counsels; for fear, as some of the Chief of them alledged, lest the Kings Party might have Opportunity to mingle with their Levies, if they should make any: These Considerations took such impression in the General, as made him apprehend great Difficulties in what he went about, till *Clarges* told him, There were yet probable Hopes to make him Master of his wishes, which he proposed thus: He told him, The Council of State consisted of such only as had taken the Oath of Abjuration; and till he should take that, they would be so diffident of him, that whatever he desired of them, of any material Concernment, would be denied; That the major part in Parliament were against the Oath; and therefore in all his Affairs he was to apply himself to them, and therefore that his best way would be to write them a Letter to this purpose, That he thought it inconvenient for their Service, that so many of the Souldiery now in *London*, lately in Rebellion against them, should be trusted with their Guards, till the present Officers by them placed upon them, should have by Discipline reduced them to perfect obedience. To which the General answered, That he approved of the Advice, but if they should offer to have an equal Number of his Regiments with the other, that Objection would be removed; and besides, he believed he had not men enough to supply the Guards, which these now in *London* kept.

To this *Clarges* replied, It was worth his Attempt to endeavour this; and that the same Reason for not mingling the men, might hold as for not trusting them intire: but as concerning their Guards, that he had brought with him a List of all their Quarters, and did believe his three Regiments of Horse, being in number, within two hundred, as many as the four now there, they might do the same Duty; and that his four Regiments of Foot, now full as they were, might well keep the same Guards as six of theirs.

The General in fine approving of all he said, *Clarges* drew the Letter to the Parliament, for him to sign, in these words:

Right Honourable,

I Have lately acquainted the Council of State with what Forces I have sent into *Scotland*, and more are necessary to be sent thither, to re-inforce them, and secure the Peace of that Countrey, which I presume they have been pleased to report to you; I am now marched in obedience to your Commands thus far on my way towards *London*, with four Regiments of Foot, and two Regiments of Horse; each

The Generals Letter to the House

each Regiment of Foot containing a thousand, and each Regiment of Horse six hundred; so that by a List which I have sent to me from the Quarter-Master-General of the Horse and Foot in London, I have disposed of these Regiments which march with me: And I humbly offer, That all those now in London, except Colonel Fagg's Regiment, and Col. Morley's, may be sent to the several Quarters by me assigned; for, with submission, I conceive it not for your Service, that those Souldiers now in London, lately in Rebellion against you, should mingle with these your approved faithful Regiments, till the present Officers by you put upon them have by Discipline reduced them to a more assured Obedience to You. The three Regiments of Horse with me, are as many in Number as those now in London; and my four Regiments of Foot near as full as the six I remove, so that your Numbers are not lessened. In this Letter I send two Lists; in one of them the Quarters are set down for these Regiments which march with me into London; and in the other, the several Quarters of those to march out, which I did not appoint, but upon much Consideration of the present Posture of your Affairs, and intelligence of the distemper'd Condition of the Places to which I assign them. I have sent a faithful Servant of yours to receive your Commands in this Business; because on your Forces under me will be drawn to Barnet: And if on that Day those in London march out, we may supply their Places: But I humbly desire your Pleasure may be so early communicated to us, that I may send the Quarter-Masters to make provision for the men; Which is all at present from, &c.

A List of all the Quarters that were assigned the Souldiers that marched out of London upon Monk's marching in.

The General approved of the Letter, and signed it; and they agreed, that it should not be sent till he came to St. Albans; That those in the House of the Faction for the Oath of Abjuration, might suppose it came with the privacy of Scot and Robinson; and seeing him so near, be less apt to oppose his Desires. It was Midnight before thus much was Resolved; but in regard he was to march the next Morning, he resolved fully to settle the whole Affair before he went to Bed; and therefore sent for the Books of Mapps, for the better assigning the Quarters of those that were to march out. And by the Quarter-Master-General's List he disposed the Quarters of his own men. Colonel Knight was one in whom he had great Confidence, and he was sent for to assist in this Assignment of Quarters, but strictly enjoined to Secrecy.

The Regiments of Horse to march out were Ordered thus:

Okey's Regiment, To Bedford one Troop, Buckingham one Troop, Ailsbury one Troop, Peterborough one Troop, and Northampton two Troops.

Hazlerig's Regiment; To Reading one Troop, Oxford two Troops, Gloucester one Troop, Worcester one Troop, Hereford one Troop.

Ashley Cooper's Regiment; To Basingstoke one Troop, Bath one Troop, Bristol two Troops, Salisbury two Troops.

Rich's Regiment; To Ipswich one Troop, Colchester one Troop, Norwich two Troops, Bury one Troop, Yarmouth one Troop.

The Foot were disposed as followeth.

Colonel Ayres his Regiment; To Sandwich one Company, Dover two Companies, Canterbury five Companies, Rye two Companies.

Colonel Markhams Regiment; To Ipswich three Companies, to Colchester five Companies, and to Sudbury two Companies.

Colonel Streater's Regiment; To Buckingham three Companies, to Northampton five Companies, and to Newark upon Trent two Companies. The Confidence the General had of Colonel Streater, in placing his Regiment in the midst of the Kingdom, afterwards proved a good Expedient at the breaking out of Lambert.

The Regiment belonging to Fleetwood; To Hereford two Companies, to Oxford four Companies, to Worcester four Companies.

Colonel Moss's Regiment; To Cambridge five Companies, and to Ely five Companies.

Colonel Fitch's Regiment; To Chichester five Companies, and the rest to Winchester.

The disposition of those to be in London were in this Order:

The General's own Regiment of Horse in the Mews, and in the Strand.

Colonel Knights Regiment; To have four Troops in Kings-street, and Tuttle-street in Westminster, and two Troops in Holbourn.

Colonel Cloeberry's Regiment; Two Troops in Southwark, one in Bishops-gate-street, and three in Smithfield.

The General's Regiment of Foot in S. James's, and parts adjacent.

Colonel Read's Regiment in Somerset-house, the Strand, Long-Acre, Covent-Garden, and Saint Martins-lane.

Colonel Lydcott's Regiment in Thanet-house, Peter-house, and parts adjacent.

Colonel Hubblethorn's Regiment, in Holbourn, Smithfield, and parts adjacent.

Colonel Fagg's Regiment in Southwark.

Colonel Morley's Regiment in the Tower, and parts adjacent.

The next Morning the General marched towards Leicester, and he met Scot and Robinson, the Parliaments Commissioners, in the way to it, and they never parted with him till he came to London.

At Leicester the General expected to be attacked about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubled to think how to divert it. Clarges told him, He had a plain and a fair Answer to make to them, which was, That he heard many men of undoubted Integrity had refused the Oath; and till he came to London, to hear the Reasons on both sides; for the taking and refusing, he could not with Prudence resolve it. This Advice he followed, and succeeded in it. Scot and Robinson at their first Interview told him, That the Parliament had Ordered a Thousand Pounds a Year for ever to be settled on him, and appointed them to acquaint him with it; and to let him know the sense the Parliament had of his great Services, and that they were providing Moneys for his Souldiers, and were glad to hear of his repairing to London.

The Generals Answer concerning the Oath of Abjuration. Scot and Robinson's Message to him from the House.

The

Commissioners from the City, met the General at Harbrough.

The General was never more put to it than in this Journey to dissemble his Inclinations; For these men watched every moment of his time: At Harbrow Alderman Fowke, Alderman Vincent, and Mr. Bromsfeld, met him as Commissioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London; and at the same time, Sir John Norris, with many of the chief Gentry of Northampton-shire, welcomed him into their County.

They propounded the re-admission of the Secluded Members.

Scot stiffly opposeth them.

The Citizens, after a Congratulatory Speech, fell upon Particulars, for the general Settlement of the Kingdom; and Mr. Bromsfeld, in a handsome free Speech, after the enumeration of the several Calamities it lay under, as the best Remedy, proposed the re-admission of the Secluded-Members, that the Parliament might be made full and free. Scot was so impatient at this, That he took the Words out of the Generals Mouth, and would not permit him to answer them. He told them, *Now the Parliament had subjected the Military Power, to a due subordination to the Civil, they were free; and that having already given their Judgment in the Case of the Secluded-Members, it did not become them to insist on their re-admission.* Fowke endeavoured to qualify what Bromsfeld had propounded, by saying, *He conceived they were not obliged by their Instructions, to desire the Generals Mediation further, than that they might have all their own Members admitted, since it was unreasonable, that they should be Governed by a Parliament, where they had not their Representatives.*

The General seems to comply with Scot and Robinson.

This Discourse, on all sides, was managed with some heat; and the General was forced to comply with Scot and Robinson, in their Extravagancies, to preserve their Opinion of him, which made the Citizens part from him somewhat unsatisfied, and so they continued, till he sent Clarges privately to give them a better understanding of his Intentions. But

Sir John Norris, and the Gentlemen of Northampton-shire, make an Address to him.

Sir John Norris, and the Northampton-shire Gentlemen, who were prepared to attend him at Northampton with an Address, were so much discouraged, that they thought to decline it, till Doctor Barrow requested Mr. Philip Howard, to advise them to proceed in their Intentions, and to assure them, *That though they had not a satisfactory Answer, they might be sure it would produce a good effect.* At Northampton

Several other Addressees, pleading for a Free-Parliament.

Sir John Norris delivered his Address; and as he marched to St. Albans, several of the same nature were presented to him from the Gentry of Buckingham-shire, Oxford-shire, Norfolk, and almost all Counties, which did all agree in the same matter, (*viz.*) *For the Restitution of the Members Secluded in the Year, 1648. and the filling up the Vacancies in Parliament, or else for the calling of a full and Free-Parliament* All which were answered with much respect by him, although he durst not discover his Approbation of their Desires: And it is very observable, That in all the Counties, so much Caution was observed, That no Gentlemen signed any of these Addresses, that had ever been engaged in his present Majesties, or his Royal Fathers Cause, nor scarce any of the Sons of such.

At Dunstable the General consulted Major

Knight and Clarges, about the filling up the Blanks in the Letter prepared at Nottingham, having had Thoughts to send it by Clarges, Knight, or Clark his Secretary: But upon further consideration, it was thought convenient not to part with Knight, because his presence would be requisite with his Troops, if any Disorders should happen upon their March to London; as for Clark, he was so necessary to be with the General, for the issuing out Orders that he could not be spared: and for Clarges, it was judged more expedient, that he should be sent before, to prepare a party in the House; so that Lydcott was chosen to be sent, as one very grateful to the Speaker, to whom he was near ally'd, and Friday was the Day inserted for his March into London: And upon the next Days Consultation, which was Saturday in the Evening, the 28 of January, he was dispatched away: And on Monday the Letter was delivered, which caused a long and violent Debate: Haslerig told them, the Council of State had before agreed, that four Regiments of those in London should march out, and four of the Generals be admitted; but nothing prevailed that he said against the Generals Letter: So that after Debate, from eight in the Morning, to twelve at Noon, the Result was in these words;

Monday, January 30. 1659.

Upon Reading of a Letter from St. Albans, from General Monk, Dated the 28 of January, 1659. and two Lists therein.

The House consent to the General's Desire.

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament, That the Parliament doth agree with the Distributions of the Souldiers, according to these Lists.

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament, That it be referred to the Commissioners of the Army, to see the Souldiers forthwith distributed accordingly.

Lydcott returns to the General with the welcome News of these Votes, as well might it be so to him; for from the moment of the execution of them (which gave him the possession of London) he could not but think his Conduct would prove very ill, if he did not reduce the Armies, in the three Kingdoms, to his Obedience.

Captain Cuff, an Agent from Sir Charles The General Coot in Ireland, had attended the General, in hath constant Intelligence of all Affairs in Ireland by means of Capt. Cuff.

all his March from Newcastle to London, and given him, from time to time, an account of all Occurrences; by which means the General kept a strict Correspondence both with him, the Lord Broghil, and several others of the chief Officers there; Who, although they had reduced all that Kingdom to the Obedience of the Parliament, were nevertheless suspected by them; and Scot insinuated to the General, *That notwithstanding all their Pretences, he had good grounds to believe, they had some other Interest in their Aim, than that of the present Parliament.*

The General diverted this Jealousie, with assurances of their Fidelity, and that he

Y y y would

would undertake for them; which allay'd the Suspicion for that time, or at least so raked it up in Alhes, that no Sparks outwardly appeared.

A Mutiny among some of the Souldiery, that were to depart out of the City. A Rising in the City, dispersed by the Souldiers.

The Regiments that were to March from London, to give place to the General and his Regiments, had a Months Pay assigned them, to be paid at their Remove; but that did not hinder them from Mutiny at their departure, especially those that Quartered at St. James's and Somerset-House, which was not without great Industry of the Officers appeased; Upon which followed about Midnight an Insurrection in the City, where about six or seven hundred drew together, and by Beat of Drum about the Streets, invited others to joyn with them for a Free-Parliament, and the Liberty of the City, in expectation to have the Souldiers joyn with them; but two Troops of Horse suddenly dispersed most of them, and took the rest (about eight and thirty) Prisoners, which were the next Morning committed to Lambeth-House: This Insurrection, together with the Disorders of the Souldiers, so frightened the Council of State, that in the beginning of the fore-going Night, they had sent to the General to March with all haste into London; but that was afterwards contradicted, and he drew not near the Town till the Morning, and in the Afternoon, the others being all Marched out, Tumults quieted, and all both within and without in a great Calm.

Gen. Monk Marcheth with his Forces into the City of London.

He marcheth with his Army by Grays-Inn-Lane into Holbourn, and from thence down Chancery-Lane, and so through Temple-Bar, along the Strand, to White-Hall. The three Regiments of Horse marched first, and He in the Head of them gallantly Mounted, with his Trumpets richly habited before him, and several Led-Horses after him, with many of his Chief Officers, and several Persons of Honour and Quality; and after them marched the Foot. The Speaker of the House met him in the Street near Somerset-House, where they Complemented each other: After which the General marched on to White-Hall, and the Speaker went to the Rolls. As soon as the Souldiers were Quartered, and all the Guards set, the General was visited by several of the Council of State; and being invited to take his place there, he went in compliance with them: But when the Oath of Abjuration was tendred, he refused it, for the Reasons before mentioned, and was therefore not admitted, whereupon he returned to his Appartment. The next day was spent in Visits to him, from all the Members of Parliament, and many other Persons of the highest Quality. Mr. Scot told him, *The Parliament did intend on Monday, publicly in their House, to give him their Acknowledgments of his Service, and that they expected he should there make publick Professions of his Affections to their Interest and Authority, and his Dislike of the Addresses to him, for the Secluded Members and a Free Parliament.*

He made little Answer to him, but that he was much obliged to them, for the Honour of so great a Respect; and should endeavour by his future Services, to give

Evidences of his just Resentments of it.

It is observable, That from this time, in all the Orders to him from the Parliament, they called him only Commissioner Monk, and not General: And although yet no publick Order had superseded the Commission of Commander in Chief, sent to him by the Council of State, they allowed him no Authority, but conjunct with others, whereof he took little notice, but proceeded as before in the sole Exercise of the Command of the Army. He was somewhat perplexed, how to behave himself in the Parliament, in reference to the great Professions and Protestations they expected from him, of his Aversions from the King and his Party, to balance his refusing the Oath of Abjuration: But he resolved to act in that occasion, as moderate as the Season would bear, and yet to temper his Speech so, as not altogether to fail their Expectations.

The Stile given him in their Orders, not General, but only Commissioner Monk.

On Monday, which was the sixth of February, he was brought to the Court of Wards by Scot, Robinson, and some other Members; after which, Scot acquainted the House with his being there: Whereupon the Serjeant with his Mace being sent to attend him, carried it before him, Scot and Robinson conducting him into the House to a Place on the left Hand within the Bar, where a Chair faced with Velvet was set for him to sit on.

He is conducted with much Ceremony into the House.

As soon as he had made Obeysance, the Speaker bid him sit down; but he desiring to be excused, and standing behind the Chair, the Speaker expressed himself to him in these words;

IT hath been a common Observation, that the lighter Passions have a loud Voice, but such as are of greater Magnitude are always silent. As it is in Passions, so in Actions also: Those of a lesser Dimension, are often magnified above their Measure; but Historians do commonly fail in the Expressions of Noble and Great Actions, and such are frequently lessened; and so it may well be in these of this Days Remembrance. The Infalible Author tells us, That in Judea is GOD known, and his Name is great in Israel; That Knowledge and Greatness of GOD is verified in the Instance of Martial Affairs, That the stout-hearted are spoiled, they have slept their sleep, and none of the Men of Might have found their Hands. This is verified this Day amongst Us here present; that both we and You might acknowledge, that it is GOD, not Man, that hath performed this Great work; that we his Creatures here may neither ascribe it to our wisdom, or Your Valour, but that it was GOD alone, and none else. But yet I have always observed, that albeit the Glory appertains to the LORD, yet the Influence of that Glory

The Speakers Speech to him.

He refuseth the Oath of Abjuration.

Scot instructs him how to receive the intended Gratu-lations of the House.

Glory extends it self to the Instruments in his hand; and thereby those Beams enlighten your Honour and Valour, as an especial Instrument; not as a Merit, but as a Reward upon your Prudence and wise Conduct. The knowledge of what hath been done in this our Restitution, is not unknown in these Nations; I believe, to this part of the World, how our Friends (as we conceived) left us, and what Defection hath been in Duty and Trust. The Face of this Land was covered with a Gloomy and Black Cloud, and the whole Nation left, in the judgment of man, to the uttermost of ruine: But in that condition, we did as the Prophet in the greatest misery of Israel, espy a little Cloud, no broader than a Hand, which is infinitely, in an instant, become the Refreshment of the whole Nation: That little Cloud was discerned afar off in your Hand, and by the Prudence of your wise Conduct, it dispersed the Miseries of these Nations, and became a Glorious Mercy to them all. This House hath a true Resentment of your Prudence and Conduct in this Great Work, and have Commanded Me to return their hearty Thanks: But I must not end here, for they have also a full Sense of those Noble Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, both of their Fidelity, Valour, and Duty in this Expedition: And as I have returned to you their Thanks, so it is their Desire, that you should return the same to your Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, who have been Instrumental in these Actions.

After he had ended, the General stood up, and spake as followeth:

Mr. speaker,

The Generals
Speech in An-
swer to the
Speakers.

Amongst the many Mercies of God to these poor Nations, your peaceable Restitution is not the least. It is (as you said) his Work alone, and to Him belongs the Glory of it; and I esteem it as a great effect of his Goodness to me, that he was pleased to make me, amongst many Worthier in your Service, some way Instrumental in it. I did nothing but my Duty, and deserve not to receive so great an Honour and Respect as you are pleased to give me at this time and Place, which I shall ever acknowledge as a high mark of your Favour to me.

SIR, I shall not now trouble you with large Narratives, only give me leave to acquaint you, That as I marched from Scotland hither, I observed

the People in most Counties in great and earnest expectations of a Settlement; and several Applications were made to me with numerous Subscriptions to them; The chiefeſt Heads of their Desires were for a Free and a Full Parliament, and that you would determine your Sitting; a Gospel-Ministry, Encouragement of Learning and Universities, and for admittance of the Members Secluded before the Year 1648: without any previous Oath or Engagement. To which I commonly answered, That you are now in a Free Parliament, and if there be any Force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it; and that you had Voted to fill up your House, and then you would be a full Parliament also; And that you had already determined your Sitting: And for the Ministry, their maintenance, the Laws and Universities, you had largely declared concerning them in your last Declaration; and I was confident you would adhere to it: But as for those Gentlemen Secluded in the year 1648. I told them, you had given Judgment in it, and all People ought to acquiesce in that Judgment; but to admit any Members to sit in Parliament without a previous Oath or Engagement, to preserve the Government in being, it was never done in England.

But although I said it not to them, I must say, with pardon, to you, That the less Oaths and Engagements are imposed, (with respect had to the Security of the Common Cause) your Settlement will be the sooner attained to. I am the more particular in these matters, to let you see how grateful your present Consultations about these things will be to the People. I know all the sober Gentry will close with you, if they may be tenderly and gently used; and I am sure you will so use them, as knowing it to be the Common Concern to amplify, and not to lessen our Interest, and to be careful that neither the Cavaleer, nor Phanatick Party have yet a share in your Civil or Military Power; of the last of whose Impatience to Government, you have lately had so severe experience. I should say something of Ireland and Scotland; Indeed Ireland is in an unsettled Condition, and made worse by your Interruptions, which prevented the passing an ACT for the Settlement of the Estates of Adventurers and Souldiers;

‘diers there, which I heard you intended
 ‘to have done in a few days; and I pre-
 ‘sume it will be now quickly done, be-
 ‘ing so necessary at this time, when the
 ‘Wants of the Commonwealth call for
 ‘Supplies; and People will unwillingly
 ‘pay Taxes for those Estates of which
 ‘they have no legal assurance: I need
 ‘not tell you how much you were abu-
 ‘sed in the nomination of your Officers
 ‘of your Armies there; their malice
 ‘that deceived you, hath been sufficiently
 ‘manifested: I do affirm, That those
 ‘now that have declared for you, will
 ‘continue faithful, and thereby Evince,
 ‘that as well there as here, it is the so-
 ‘ber Interest must establish your Domi-
 ‘nion. As for *Scotland*, I must say, The
 ‘People of that Nation deserve to be
 ‘Cherished; and I believe your late
 ‘Declaration will much glad their Spi-
 ‘rits; for nothing was to them more
 ‘dreadful, than a fear to be over-run
 ‘with Phanatick Notions: I humbly re-
 ‘commend them to your Affection and
 ‘Esteem, and desire the intended Union
 ‘may be prosecuted, and their Taxes
 ‘made proportionable to those in *Eng-
 ‘land*, for which I am engaged by pro-
 ‘mise to become a Suiter to you. And
 ‘truly, *Sir*, I must ask leave to intreat you
 ‘to make a speedy Provision for the Civil
 ‘Government there, of which they have
 ‘been destitute near a Year, to the ruine
 ‘of many Families: And except Com-
 ‘missioners for managing of the Go-
 ‘vernment, and Judges to sit in Courts
 ‘of Judicature, be speedily appointed,
 ‘that Country will be very miserable.

‘I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to pre-
 ‘sent some Names to you both for Com-
 ‘missioners and Judges; but by reason
 ‘of your great Affairs, he was not re-
 ‘quired to deliver them in Writing, but
 ‘I humbly present them to your Consi-
 ‘deration.

And so concluding, he delivered them the
 Paper wherein the said Names were con-
 tained.

His Speech
 excepted a-
 gainst by *Scot*,
 and those of
 his Party.

Scot and some others were much offended
 that he assumed so much in this Speech, and
 were once thinking to interrupt him. They
 complained to their Confidants, That he was too
 positive in undertaking for the Officers in *Ireland*,
 of whose Affections to the Parliament in the pre-
 sent Constitution of it, there was just cause of
 doubt; and that in the whole Speech he seemed
 to affect Popularity, and gave the Cavaliers a pos-
 sibility of being received into the exercise of Trust,

with a total Exclusion of the more strict Parlia-
 ment-Party, under the Notion of Phanaticks.

But that which at this time more disquieted
 these men than the General's Speech, was the
 discontented Carriage of the City, for the
 Common-Council had been in very high debates
 about the Government, and were resolved to
 pay no Publick Taxes till the House were filled
 up with equal Representatives: This they look-
 ed upon as drawing towards a Contempt of
 their Authority, and thought they could not
 better provide for their own Securities, than
 by opposing in time, and punishing such Con-
 tumacies; they therefore on the eighth of Fe-
 bruary in the Evening at the Council of State,
 Order the General to go into London the next
 Morning with a good part of the Army, and
 to seize upon Eleven of the most Active of the
 Common-Council, and commit them to the Tower;
 as also to pull down the Posts and Chains, and
 take down the Gates and Percullices of the
 City, and Quarter his Souldiers there, till they
 were reduced to Obedience.

The City con-
 tinue male-
 content,

The General
 Ordered to
 march into
 the City and
 pull down the
 Gates.

The General was surprized at this Com-
 mand, and debated many things with them in
 mitigation or suspension of it, till near one in
 the Morning the next day, but nothing could
 divert their Resolution; so that he was forced
 to obey their Orders, or quit his Command,
 for he had no longer time to deliberate than
 that very Morning in which they were to be
 put in Execution: insomuch, that after three or
 four hours repose to refresh himself, he march-
 ed into the City, and pulled down the Posts
 and Chains, and took into Custody Nine of
 the Citizens which he had Orders to secure,
 the other two absented themselves: The Nine
 Imprisoned, were Mr. *Lawrence Bromfield* of
Tower-street, Alderman *Vincent*, Alderman
Bludworth, Mr. *Thomas Brown* of *Woodstreet*,
 Mr. *Daniel Spencer* in *Fridaystreet*, Mr. *Penning*
 in *Fan-Church-street*, Mr. *Jackson*, Mr. *Cham-
 berlain*, and Mr. *Richard Ford*. The City was
 much Alarm'd at this proceeding: And the
 Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and several of the
 chiefest of the Citizens applied themselves to
 him to moderate his Actions. All the City
 indeed seemed as People confounded with
 Wonder and Anxiety. And Colonel *Hubble-
 thorn*, and others, the Generals own Officers,
 were many of them so much troubled, that
 they came to him to offer up their Commissions,
 rather than be employed in such an Action:
 They told him, *The honour and respect they had
 to his Person engaged them never to serve against
 him, or dispute his Orders: But in this, since
 they could not without horror obey them, they with
 tears prayed him to dispose of their Commands to
 some more necessary Persons.* He was moved
 much at these their passionate expressions, but
 privately informed them of his own dislike of
 what was Commanded; and therefore Con-
 jured them to continue their Confidence in
 him, and execute what he had given them in
 Charge, as that from which better effects
 would ensue than was convenient at that time
 to be explained. With this they went away
 somewhat

He obeys their
 Orders,
 though un-
 willingly.

Mr. Jolly's
Prudent
Speech to the
General.

somewhat better contented, though not fully satisfied. He took his Quarter at the Three Tuns in *Guild-Hall-Yard*, where, notwithstanding this Accident, he received with much Civility those which came to him: Among whom, one Mr. Jolly, a discreet Citizen, with modesty and temper represented to him the Inconveniences of what he had undertaken, and told him, *The Affections of the City to him were such, that whatever he reasonably could desire of them, should be easier obtained by Perswasion than Force. That the Controversie between Enemies had nothing in it extraordinary; but to be ill Treated by Friends was very grievous. When Hewson marched into the City with a greater Number, he could not compass his Ends, but received Opposition with Contumelies and Affronts both to his Person and Party: But when he came, a general Calm and Kindness was seen in the Countenances of the People; And now that he had put his most rigorous Orders in Execution, they seemed rather amazed with Astonishment to receive it from his hand, than provoked to resent the Indignity of it.*

The General
writes to the
House to miti-
gate their
Commands.

This Prudent Speech made great impression on him, insomuch, that he told them thereupon, *That he had Orders to take down the Gates and Percullices as well as the Posts and Chains, but he would immediately write to the Parliament to mitigate their Commands. And accordingly he writ to acquaint them, That he had secured all the Persons given him in charge to Imprison, except two that were absent; And that the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had appointed a Meeting of the Common Council, where they doubted not that all things would be composed to their satisfaction, and the Assessments be paid, (which was the chiefest cause of his March into London) so that thereupon he had forbore to meddle with the Gates and Percullices, till he should receive further Orders, because such severe acting would highly incense the City, and he hoped by mild means to reduce them to reason. This Letter made them higher than before; for whereas in their former Orders they had appointed him only to unhinge the Gates, and pull down the Percullices, they now Command him to destroy both Gates and Percullices: And to prevent the meeting of the Common Council, they ordered, That the present Common Council of the City should be dissolved; and declared them null and void. And without any other Answer, they sent these Votes to the General.*

They so much
the more stir-
red up, send
more rigorous
Orders than
before.

Upon this return, he was not a little perplexed in Mind, and very thoughtful what to do; but at last he resolved fully to execute his Orders, that the *House* might not take occasion from his dispute of them, in the unsettled condition of the Souldiers, to vacate his Commission, and thereupon commanded his Souldiers to break all the Gates and Percullices in pieces. Which done, on *Friday* in the Evening he came back to *White-Hall*; but at his return, *Scot* and *Haslerig*, and some others of their Violent Friends were very much moved, as if he had disobeyed his Orders, by which they said he was to continue with his Army in the City, till several Designs of theirs for the further

The General
Commands
the Gates and
Percullices to
be broken
down.

humbling them to their purposes should be effected; and there was a Whisper, as if he were to have been questioned for it. It was also artificially contrived, that the same day the Gates were pulled down, a *Petition* from a Factious Phanatick Party of Citizens was presented by one *Praise-God Barebone* to the *House*, to countenance the Action, and to press an Oath of *Renunciation* to be taken by all that should be employed in Civil and Military Affairs: Nevertheless, to please the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they had the Thanks of the *House* for their Moderation in this time of disorder in the City.

A Petition to
the House
from the Se-
ctarian Party
of the City.

That Evening *Clarges* privately went to the General, and represented to him the ill Consequences of his Proceedings in *London*; And that the Influence that City had by Commerce, and other occasions, all over England, would quickly diffuse the Infamy of the Fact: And all the Cities and Towns would be alarm'd, believing if that Great City should be made a Village, all their Franchises and Priviledges would be quickly subverted. So that he had no way to redeem his Reputation, but the very next Morning to return into the City with his Army, and declare for a Free Parliament.

The General, though he demurred a little upon this Counsel, yet he seemed very sensible of the Contempts they at *Westminster* had put upon him in the whole Progress of this Affair, and was resolved after a day or two's private Consultation with some of his Officers, to do something to regain their Esteem he had lost; for the performance of which, he said, *He would take time but till Tuesday Morning. This was the effect of their first Discourse. But a while after, Dr. Barrow came to Clarges, ear-*

Dr. Barrow
urges the dan-
ger of delay in
this business.

nestly urging him to renew his Advice to the General, setting forth, *That delay might give his Enemies time to put out of his power the doing what he intended; And that it was most necessary to be speedy in the retrieving the good Opinion of the City, to manifest thereby the greater dislike of what he had done the day before, as that to which the necessity of the time (against his own Inclination) pressed him to. Whilst they were in this Discourse, two Officers of the Army, in whom the General then had much Trust, came in to them, and they all together went to him again, and, with the same Arguments reiterated, dissuaded from delay; adding, That they had certain Intelligence, that the Council of State began to be jealous of him, for that little Favour he shewed to the City in the execution of his Orders, and that he ought therefore in Prudence to provide for his own Safety. Barrow was appointed to gain what Intelligence he could against the next Morning; and the General with *Clarges*, *Thompson*, *Sanders*, and *Barton*, which two last were advised with as two Officers that very much inclined to Admission of the Secluded Members, consulted what to offer to the *House* as a ground for their March into *London*: At last, waving all thought of making any excuse for marching into the City, they conclude, That Orders should be privately issued for about a dozen of the Chief Officers, in whom he had greatest confidence, to meet at Six the next Morning at the General's Quarters, and for*

The General
upon advice
with some of
his Officers,
concludes to
return imme-
diately.

for the drawing of some men together before *White-Hall*, to be ready to March; And that a Letter should be sent to the *House* in the Morning signed by the General and a Select number of Military Officers, to complain of many Irregularities committed by them: Amongst others,

The Substance of his Letter to the House.

That they gave too much Countenance to Lambert, Vane, and several that Ingaged with the late Committee of Safety; And that they had permitted Ludlow, and some others, to Sit in their House, that had been by Sir Charles Coot, and some of the Irish Officers, accused of High-Treason; and had Countenanced too much a late Petition, to exclude the most Sober and Conscientious, both Ministers and others, by Oaths, from all Employment and Maintenance: And in conclusion, to request, That by Friday next they should issue out Writs to fill up their House; and when filled, should rise at their appointed time, to give place to a Full and Free Parliament.

The Letter being signed by the General, and several Officers, is sent by Cloberry, and Lydcott.

The General having sent Clarges before to the Lord Mayor, marches to Finsbury.

Clarges finding my Lord Mayor distrustful, applies himself to Alderman Robinson.

The General having agreed to these Heads, retired to his repose, whilst the rest penned the Letter, which he directed to be drawn in his Name, and in the name of the rest of the Officers of the Army. The next day the Officers, who had been sent for to meet at *White-Hall*, repairing thither early in the Morning, the Letter was produced, and read to them; (the General being present) and by all of them approved of; whereupon the General Signed it, and with him several Colonels; (*viz.*) Saunders, Read, Lydcott, Knight, Cloberry, Redman and Hubblethorn, one Lieutenant Colonel, which was Ethelbert Morgan, who Commanded the General's own Regiment of Foot, and six Majors, Johnson, Barton, Smith, Bannister, Pryme, and Nicholls; Cloberry and Lydcott were sent with the Letter to the House, and Clarges at the same time was sent to my Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the General's Intentions to come and Quarter his Army that Night in the City, and to dispose him and the City to give him a favourable Reception.

These things thus ordered, the General immediately marched away to *Finsbury*, where he drew up his Souldiers, till he should hear from Clarges how the City would receive him: Who finding my Lord Mayor very reserved, and averle to the General's coming, asterrified with his Actions the day before, had applied himself to Alderman Robinson, and some others that he durst trust, and acquainted them privately, that the General's coming was for good to the City and Kingdom; but did not instance in the Particulars of what was in agitation, having had Orders to conceal that, till it was known how they at *Westminster* should receive the Letter: Nevertheless, Robinson sends for two or three Aldermen of his Confidents, and with these they go to the Lord Mayor to mollifie him, but without any effect for the present: Nevertheless, Clarges told him, the General was resolved, though he Quartered not in the City, at least to be his Guest at Dinner: And accordingly he sent to the General, to desire him to march

with all his Men to *Leaden-Hall-street*, to the Lord Mayor's Door, which he immediately did. While matters were thus carried on in the City, the House was in great Disorder at the reading of the General's Letter; but they temporized so far, as to shew no publick distaste at it; but Ordered,

That the Thanks of the House should be given to the General for his Faithful Service in securing of the City; and that, as to filling up the House, the Parliament were upon Qualifications before the Receipt of his Letter, and the same should be dispatched in due time; and that Mr. Scot, and Mr. Robinson should attend him with their Votes, in Answer to his Letter.

The House dissemble their Resentment of the General's Letter, and give him good words.

As soon as the General came to the Lord Mayor, he told him, *He was very welcom to his House, but that the City was full of Fears and sad Apprehensions of his sudden Return, after such violent Actions as the day before his Souldiers had been employed in.* The General told him, *He hoped to make them of another mind in few hours.* Yet was he inwardly somewhat troubled, not knowing what hindrance this Coldness he found might give to his Designs; insomuch, that he called Clarges aside, and checkt him, as one who had over-hastily pressed him on, upon so little time of consideration, to so great an Enterprize. To which he answered, *That he was now too far advanced to go back; and that the best Advice he could give him was, to desire the Lord Mayor presently to appoint the Aldermen and Common-Council to meet him at four a Clock at Guild-Hall, and there to acquaint them with his real Intentions, to comply with the Desires of the whole Kingdom.*

This Motion pleasing, and the said Request being accordingly made to the Lord Mayor, Orders were immediately sent out: but in the mean time, Scot and Robinson came to him from them at *Westminster*, with the before-mentioned Answer to the Letter.

Requests the calling of a Common-Council. Scot and Robinson sent from the

Scot made Protestations of the Parliaments Affection to him, and their high Opinion of his Services, thereby to divert him from his Intentions of staying in the City: but Colonel

House to the General, with their Answer to his Letter.

Bridges, an Officer of Ireland, that stood by, told them, *The General had no reason to credit their fair Speeches, since their words and their practices agreed not together, as was manifest in their Contempt of those his Friends in Ireland, who for his sake hazarded themselves in their Service; And now when he came from the Irish Army to Impeach Ludlow and Jones of High-Treason, he could have no Justice, but was put off from day to day, when Praise-God Barebone could be heard, and admitted with a Seditious Petition the first moment he came to the Door of the House.* And Cloberry told them, *The General and all his Officers could not but perceive that they grew Jealous of them, and that they went about to Balance them with such as had been their Enemies, which made it high-time for them to consult for their own safeties.*

Bridges and Cloberry sharply upbraids them.

The General closed all with Moderation, telling them, *All would be well, if they strictly observed the Advice of the Letter, and issued out Writs on Friday next for filling up their House.*

With

An Act for constituting five Commissioners for the Government of the Army.

With this Answer they returned to their Fellow Members, not very well satisfied, as was evident by what they did that very Afternoon in the House; for they passed an Act to divide the Government of the Army among five Commissioners; Namely, General Monk, Sir Arthur Haslerig, the Colonels, Morley, Walton, and Alured, and made the Quorum of them to be three.

This was opposed by many of the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder its Progress; at last, for an Expedient, it was moved, That General Monk should always be one of three for Quorum: But upon putting the Question, 'twas carried in the Negative. When word was brought him of this their Ingratitude to him, he could not avoid expressing much Indignation at it.

The Lord Mayor and Common-Council, being met at Guild Hall about five of the clock, the General told them,

The General excuseth his late Proceeding in the City, before the Common-Council.

That the Employment whercon he was sent, at his last being in the City, was the most ingrateful to him that ever he undertook, and so much against his Inclination, that if any thing less than quitting his Command, could have prevented it, he had never accepted such Employment; nor did he value his Commission, out of any respect to himself, for he had often desired to lay it down; but as knowing how much it imported both him and them, to keep it out of the Hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclined as He, to the Settlement of these Nations; That what he had now to tell them, was, That he had that Morning sent to the Parliament, to issue out Writs within seven days, for the filling up of their House; and when filled, to sit no longer than till the sixth of May, to give then Place to a full and a free Parliament.

The City joyfully receives the News of a Free-Parliament.

The News of this was quickly dispers'd through all the City, and received with great Demonstrations of Joy, expressed in Bone-fires, and Ringing of Bells.

After this, he retired for some time to a house in Cheap-side, to give order for the Quartering of his Souldiers, and went himself to Lodg at the Glass-house in Broad-street, till Drapers-Hall could be accommodated for his Reception.

The Monday after his stay in the City, the Council of State writ to him, To desire his Presence with them, to assist with his Counsels, in the carrying on the great Affairs of the Nation.

To which he the next day returned Answer.

The General's Answer to the Council of State, inviting him to come and sit with them.

That till the Oath should be taken away, which put a bar to him, and many others, from acting as Counsellors, his Presence could not be useful to them there: And withal, he informed them, That the Distractions of the City were increased by the continuance of Arms in the Hands of the Phanaticks, and Persons disaffected to the Parliament, who had 7000 lately out of the Stores delivered to them, and were providing more: Wherefore he desired them immediately to recal these Arms; and withal, to excuse his stay in the City for some longer time, till the minds of the Citizens were composed.

The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and

the Chief of the Officers (hearing how earnest the Parliament was to draw him again to White-Hall) importuned his Continuance in the City; and to induce him to it, they assure him, it cannot be safe for him, or them, that he remove; for that they had certain Information, That many private Letters were sent from Haslerig, and others, to withdraw the Affections of the Souldiery from him, and that certain men were employed to several Regiments to debauch them. This Information had been enough to induce the General, had he not been resolved before: So that when Colonel Allured came from the Council of State, to perswade him against staying in the City, he acquainted him with what he heard. Allured laboured to infuse a Belief in him, of his having been mis-informed in those things. It was answered by the General, That he put no greater stress on those Reports, than to be vigilant over the Actions and Motions of the several Parties, deferring the belief of them, till time should evince the truth. But he assured him, He was advertized from Persons of good Fame, That notwithstanding that Lambert was proscribed, and Vane put out of this Parliament, and ordered to leave the Town; yet the stay of the latter was connived at, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, and several others, corresponded with them both.

The City, and chief Officers of his Army, dissuade him from hearkning to the Parliaments Invitations, to return back to White-Hall.

Col. Allured solicits his return in vain.

Sir Arthur Haslerig writ many Expostulatory Letters, to free himself of these Imputations, but could not sufficiently clear himself of them. And now by more frequent Addresses than ever, the General is from all Counties solicited to the admission of the Secluded Members, which he only delayed, because the Army was not yet in a Temper for it; but to prepare them he received Visits from some of the Secluded Members, where they were always admitted, to hear by their Discourses, how well they were inclined to the Settlement of the Peace of the Nations. In this Method he so far proceeded, as on the 18th. of February, to have a Conference before him, of some of the Secluded Members, and some of the others. Those of the Sitting Members, were, St. John, Haslerig, Morley, Thomson, Ashley-Cooper, Weaver, White, Feild-der, Hutchinson, and Rawleigh; but Scot and Reynolds also were intended by the General to be there, but for want of some Notice they came not. The Secluded Members that met them, were, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Evelin, Sir John Holland, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Colonel Pop-ham, Mr. Annesly, Mr. Knightly, Mr. Crew, Mr. Trevor, Colonel Harley, Colonel Norton, Sir John Temple, and Colonel Birch. They discoursed of many things, in order to a mutual Accord, for the Peace and Welfare of the Nations, but came to no Conclusion; because the sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House, without their consent, which could not be known but by Vote: Yet severally all of them, who were then present, seem'd well satisfied with that moderation and temper, which they found in those Gentlemen with whom they conferred.

The General is importuned from all Parts to admit the Secluded Members.

He admits of a Conference before him, of the Sitting Members, with some of the Secluded.

The General was fully bent to promote their Admission so far, that if it could not be done by

by Common Consent, he Resolved to admit them without it.

The Officers of the Army consent to the admission of the Secluded, upon certain Conditions.

Mr. Clarges and others, appointed to Treat with some of the Secluded concerning the safe Conditions.

The Officers of the Army were consulted with, and they were willing enough to have them sit, on condition they would promise to Declare for a Common-Wealth Government, and pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Possession of their Lands, disposed of since their Seclusion, and to agree upon a short time for their Dissolution. Wherefore, to try how far they were inclined, to admit of those Conditions, Mr. Clarges, Colonel Cloberry, and Doctor Gumble, were appointed to Treat with some of them, who when they met, had many Discourses of the whole Matter.

The Secluded Members Declared, as to Government, they intended no alteration in it, or to Act further than in preparation for a Parliament to succeed them; and since there was no other way for their Summons, but by Writs, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England, by Authority of Parliament, they saw not how there could be by that Constitution any other Government introduced. As to Confirmation of Sales, and Dispositions of Lands, they said, they had been all made since the Seclusion, and they would not alter them, but rather mediate with the next Parliament, to pass an Act for their Confirmation; and for the time of their sitting, They were contented it should determine in a Moneths time. Cloberry urged the great Insecurity the Army and many of their Friends would be in, if their Publick Lands were not confirmed, which was the price of their Blood; and though their not disturbing such Possessions in England, might be a little Satisfaction, yet the whole Nation of Ireland was unsettled, both as to Adventurers and Souldiers. To this it was Replyed, That they should not think themselves in a Capacity to pass any Acts at all, as being but one House; and to prevent all Jealousie of their Actions, they would consent to be Limited to the Chief Heads of what they should consult, during the short time of their Continuance.

The Consultations upon what the Members had delivered of their Intentions.

When the Conference ended, Report was made of the Substance of it to the General, and the rest of the Chief Officers, who approved of every thing proposed by the Secluded Members, except the not Confirmation of Publick Dispositions of Lands, and their refusing to pass any Acts of Parliament: As to that of Lands, which they would not be drawn to confirm, Clarges told the Officers, they could not answer it to the Kingdom, to break with them for that Consideration, thereby to obstruct the Settlement of it, out of respect to their own private Interests; he said, The greatest part of his own Estate was in Ireland, and that it was acknowledged by all, the greatest Insecurity of Publick Estates was in that Kingdom: yet he would for his own part submit all his Concerns to the Determination of the next Parliament; rather than by opposing the Admission of these Gentlemen, contribute to the hazard of the Publick Peace. And as to that of Publick Acts, he told them, He doubted not, but they would alter their Opinions, because no Money could be raised, to supply the Necessities

of the Government; nor could their own Dissolution be, but by an Act.

The General, upon hearing this, seemed very much satisfied; upon which, all the rest assented. And it was agreed, That the Secluded Members, that were in Town, should, before their Admission, sign a Paper, to consent to confine their Consultations, chiefly to the four Heads following;

1. To the settling the Conduct of the Armies, in the Three Nations, as might be most serviceable to the Peace of the Nations.

The General and the Officers agree upon admitting the Secluded Members.

The Chief Heads recommended to their Consultations.

2. For the providing Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of Government.

3. To the appointing a Council of State to settle the Civil Government and Judicatures in Scotland and Ireland, and to take care for the Issuing of Writs for the Summoning of a Parliament to meet at Westminster the 20th. of April.

4. To their own Legal Dissolution.

This Subscription was willingly made, and on Tuesday following in the Morning, the General gave them a meeting at White-Hall; Whence, after a short Speech to recommend to them the Settlement of the Nations, with assurance, That he would impose nothing on them; they went to take their Places in the Parliament: being conducted thither by Captain Miller who Commanded the Guards.

The General meets them at White-Hall, in order to their Admission into the House.

As soon as the Members were gone, the General Summoned all the Officers of the Army together that were then in and about London, to consider of a Letter to be sent to all the Regiments in England, Scotland and Ireland, to have their Concurrence to what had been done concerning the Admission of the Secluded Members; which was referred to a Committee to be drawn up, with special Directions to satisfy them, That nothing was intended for alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a Free-State and Common-Wealth: This he did, in regard he knew it impossible, as affairs stood, to keep the Army in Temper any other way. The Letter was in a little time prepared, and so many Clerks were employed, that Copies of it were that Night Signed and dispersed to all the Regiments and Garrisons in England, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It was penn'd in these Words;

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers.

YOU cannot be Ignorant of the many Endeavours, and earnest Desires of many good Men in these Nations to bring Us to a Settlement; which it hath pleased God to disappoint unto this Day, and leave Us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Blood and Confusion: Which that We might prevent so great Calamities impending,

The Generals Letter to all the Regiments, to acquaint them with what he had done,

after

after our earnest seeking to God for his Direction and Assistance, We find no Expedient so likely for the satisfaction of the Good People, and the Quiet and Welfare of this Common-Wealth, as the re-admission of the Secluded Members, in order to a Legal Dissolution of this Parliament by their own free Consent, and to Issue Writs for a future full Representative of the whole Common-Wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, under such Qualifications as may secure our Cause, to Convene on the twentieth day of April next at Westminster, for the establishing of this Common-Wealth upon the Foundations of Justice and true Freedom. And to take away all just Jealousies from you, We do assure you, That We shall joy with you in the maintenance of those Ends, and do expect your Chearful Concurrence with Us; having no intentions or purposes to return to our old Bondage; But since the Providence of God hath made Us free at the cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful to God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but We do resolve with the Assistance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchased Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil. The reason of Our proceeding in this manner may seem strange, but if you duly consider the necessities of our Affairs and the present state of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure Publick Interest, and to engage the Nations peaceably to submit to a Free-State; most of the said Members having given us full assurance, that their Session in Parliament shall be no longer than absolute necessity will require, to the putting the Government into Successive Parliaments, they not being free so to Act by the old Writs as when they shall be called upon a Common-Wealth account: And it is the Opinion of the truest Friends to a Free-State, That it cannot be consistent with the perpetual Sitting of these Members, being contrary to the nature of such a Government.

And as We are confident the present Parliament now Sitting, will not Repeal any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this present Parliament, for Sales, or publick Dispositions of Lands; so We shall in our Station observe, and cause to be observed all other Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament, whatsoever, and humbly interpose with the next succeeding Parliament, not only to pass a further ACT of Confirmation of all such Sales and Dispositions of Lands, here and in Scotland, but also of the Distributions and Dispositions of Lands and Houses in Ireland to the Souldiery, Adventurers, or any other Persons, made by or in pursuance of any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this present Parliament, or any pretended Parliamentary Authority. And We intreat you to send up an Officer to give to the Lord General Monk an account of your Acquiescence with Us herein.

And if any disaffected persons shall take occasion to make disturbance of the Peace of the Common-Wealth, either in favour of Charles Stuart, or any other pretended Authority, We desire you to secure them till the pleasure of the Parliament or Council of State be known in that behalf. You shall speedily receive Encouragement and Supplies of Money; and indeed it was not the least Motive to induce Us to this way of

Composure of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raising of Moneys for the subsistence of the Army and Navy; which would not otherwise have been done (if at all) but with effusion of Blood. We have nothing more at this time, but to assure you that we shall ever remain,

White-Hall,
Feb. 21.
1659.

Dear Brethren and Fellow-Souldiers,
Your very affectionate Friends.

GEORGE MONK,

R. Knight,
John Cloberry,
Tho. Read,
John Hubblethorn,
Leonard Lydcott,
Tho. Saunders,
William Eyre,
John Streater,
Richard Moss,
William Farley,
Arthur Evelin,

Colonels,

John Butler, Quarter-Master-General.

Ethelbert Morgan,
James Mutlow,
James Emmerson,
Joseph Witter,
Dennis Pepper,

Lieut. Col.

James Dennis,
Richard Wagstaffe,
Thomas Johnson,
Francis Nicholls,
Jer. Smith,
Nathaniel Barton,
Thomas Higgs,
John Clark,

Majors,

William Goodwin,
Henry Ogle,

Captains,

Z z z z

These

These Transactions were managed with so much Secrefie, that the Members that were sitting in the House knew nothing of them, till they saw the Secluded Members come in and sit amongst them. Upon which they being surpris'd, were at first at a demur among themselves, whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the *House*; till at length the grand Sticklers of them for a *Common-wealth*, well knowing that it would not be in their power by staying, to make their Interest good against those who were now the major Party of the *House*, resolv'd, since they could not hinder them the partial possession thereof, to resign it intire unto them, while those of them that were the most moderate and well inclined staid behind, and took their Seats amongst the new admitted Members: Who in the first place applied themselves to vindicate the Honour of their *House*, as far as in them lay, by nullifying and expunging out of the Journals all *Votes* whereby they were disabled from sitting as Members therein. Next, They order Mr. *Vincent* and Mr. *Bromfield*, and the rest of those Citizens which were committed by the *Council of States* Orders, when the City Gates were broken, to be released; as also all others who were any where Imprisoned upon Sir *George Booth's* Rising, or for making *Addresses* for the Admission of the Secluded Members: Moreover, they Constituted General *Monk* by A.C.T. of *Parliament*, Captain General of all the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and repealed that ACT which made him only a Joynt-Commissioner with Colonel *Morley*, *Hastlerig*, *Walton*, and *Allured*, for Government of the Army.

Some there were of these restored Members, who at the first admission, could not well be present, by reason of their far distant Habitations; of which number was Mr. *William Morrice*, whom Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, the General's Brother, knowing him to be a Prudent Person, and well disposed for his Prince's Service, and the good of his Country, writ to *Clarges* to put the General in mind of sending for him, that being near him, he might be assistant to him in his Counsels: To this the General was easily perswaded, having had long before by his Brothers report of him, a good Opinion of his Abilities and Worth; and the rather, for that by his Wife he was somewhat allied to him. *Clarges* acquainted Mr. *Nicholas Monk* with what he had done, and inclosed a Letter from the General to Mr. *Morrice*, to acquaint him with his admission of the Secluded Members, and to desire him to repair to the *Parliament*: Where he arriv'd whilst they were sitting, and took his place in the *House*; wherein he appeared a most useful Instrument by his great Abilities, in Promoting and carrying on of the General's Affairs in relation to his Majesties Interest.

The *Parliament* repealed the ACT for the former *Council of State*, and the Oath of *Abjuration*, and passed an ACT for another

Council to consist of one and Thirty Persons: A new *Council of State* chosen.

Which were,

General *George Monk*,
William Pierpoint,
John Crew, Esquire,
Colonel *Rossiter*,
Richardly Knightly, Esquire,
Colonel *Popham*,
Colonel *Morley*,
Lord *Fairfax*,
Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*,
Sir *Gilbert Gerard*,
Lord Chief Justice *St. John*,
Sir *John Temple*,
Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*,
Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*,
Sir *William Waller*,
Sir *Richard Onslow*,
Sir *William Lewis*,
Colonel *Edward Montague*,
Colonel *Edward Harley*,
Colonel *Richard Norton*,
Arthur Ansley, Esquire,
Denzell Holles Esquire,
Colonel *George Thomson*,
John Trevor, Esquire,
Sir *John Holland*,
Sir *John Potts*,
Colonel *John Birch*,
Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*,
John Swinfin, Esquire,
John Weaver, Esquire,
Serjeant *Maynard*.

Most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to Kingly Government.

The General hearing that Colonel *Rich* was about *St. Edmonds-Bury*, and having actually debauch'd two Troops, was endeavouring to corrupt the rest of his Regiment, he sent the Life-Guard to reduce them, and gave a Commission to Colonel *Ingoldsby* to Command the Regiment.

The Life-Guard had been lately in defection with the rest of the Troops under *Lambert*, and had not been mustered since the Restoration of the *Parliament*, nor had hitherto any Commander in Chief. And therefore the General thought fit at this time to model that Troop, and to give the Command thereof to Captain *Philip Howard*, making Mr. *Robert Harley* his Lieutenant, and his Kinsman Mr. *Henry Monk*, Cornet; who were so Active, that in six hours time they displaced all of whom they had any suspicion, and filled up the Troop with honest and gallant men; who immediately Marched towards *Suffolk*, to execute the General's Orders upon Colonel *Rich*; but he having Notice of the Marching of that Party towards him, retired privately, and the

Rich his Regiment submit to the General's Orders.

the Regiment quietly received Col. Ingoldsby to Command them, who by the General's appointment put out all such Officers as were of froward and seditious Principles in Religion or Government.

The General takes care for the settling of North-Wales.

And to reduce North-Wales to a more settled condition, than it was in at that present; the General gave Colonel Carter a Commission to be Governour of Beau-morris Castle, (the Souldiers whereof had been placed there by Colonel John Jones) with Authority to raise Forces to reduce Denbigh and Conway, which had been in very ill hands, and to settle that Country in quiet: which he did in a very short time, to the great satisfaction of all the Gentry and people in those parts.

How far did he make Governour of Carlisle.

The late Commonwealth-Parliament before the admission of the Secluded Members, had given Desborow's Regiment to Colonel Walton; but the General disposed of it to Colonel Charles Howard of Naworth, whom he also made Governour of Carlisle.

The Parliament levy a new Tax, and proceed to the settlement of the Militia.

The Parliament passed an Act of Assessment for a Hundred Thousand Pounds a Month for Six Months, and proceeded with much haste to settle the Militia both in the City and all other parts of England and Wales, having vacated the former ACT made before their admission, because most of the Commissioners and Officers all over England, were of Persons of suspected Inclinations to the Government.

They Command all Officers and Souldiers to repair to their several Commands and Quarters.

There being at this time an unusual Confluence of Officers of the Army in London, and some Troops and Companies drawing together in several Parts of the Kingdom; The Parliament by Proclamation Commanded all Officers to repair to their respective Charges; and not to depart from thence without special Order from the Lord General: And that all such Troops and Companies as had removed from their Quarters without the Lord General's Licence, should return forthwith to their last Quarters formerly Assigned, or to such others as should be Assigned them by directions from the Lord General.

But notwithstanding all this Care in the Parliament, Colonel Overton was designing to make Disturbances in York-shire; He drew up a Letter to Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Bethell, and Colonel Smithson, which he caused to be Subscribed by all his Officers; And therein signified to them;

A Letter of Col. Overton and the Officers with him, to some of General Monk's Officers.

That having received intimation from private hands, That the abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart doth seem so to shine in the face of Publick Transactions, that many Jealousies and Dissatisfactions were created amongst their Brethren in the Army, who remained faithful to the true Cause they had contended for, insomuch, that (as it was represented to them) several Regiments had declared their disconcurrence with these present Distractions, and their Resolutions in

adhering to the Cause God had determined with Victory against all Monarchical Interests, they could not but judge it incumbent upon them to wake in such a time, and to endeavour to be found in the discharge of that Duty which their Instruments commanded from them; wherein as on the one hand they were unwilling to appear precipitate in their proceedings, so on the other they were afraid to fall short of a timely interposing of their Assistance against that old Bondage which was likely to break in anew upon them: And therefore they thought fit to expedite that Intimation unto them, and desire to understand as well what was their sense; as what was signified or imparted to them: That as they were equally engaged and concerned in one Publick Cause, so they might (if occasion required) be as conjunctively abetting and assisting to the defence of it; which through the Assistance of God they were resolved to assert and maintain (as the fruits of their Blood, the Nations Treasure, and the Prayers of the People of God) against any design whatsoever which threatened the ruine of their Civil and Religious Rights.

Many Copies of this Letter were dispersed amongst the Souldiers before the Original was sent, and an Attestation added in these words, This is Overton's and the Officers of the Garrison of Hulls Letter: And it is hoped, will meet with the Concurrence of all our honest Fellow-Souldiers; who have been engaged in the Good Old Cause against the Interest of a King and Single Person.

If Colonel Fairfax, Smithson, and Bethell had not been very Active, this practice had perverted many Souldiers, but they were vigilant to prevent it. Upon knowledge of this Letter, the General writ to Overton by Colonel Allured and Major Smith, to give him Satisfaction in his proceedings here; and the Council of State upon his Motion did the like. Major Smith was well known and beloved in Hull, and, the General having a Design to Remove Overton, he was privately to deal with some Officers and Souldiers under him who loved him not, to bring him to Reason, if upon Orders for his Remove, he should be disobedient to them; And as soon as they were gone, he sent private Orders to Colonel Fairfax (to whom he gave a Commission to be Governour of Hull) to draw some Companies to Beverly, and Writ to Overton to repair immediately to him; his Letter was sent to Colonel Fairfax open, that he might see the Import of it. The Letter was in the following Words:

The General sends Col. Fairfax to take possession of Hull.

Zzzz 2

SIR,

S. I. R,

The Generals
Letter to Co-
lonel Overton.

I Have seen a Letter from you, and some others at *Hull*, dated from that Garrison on the 28 of *February* last, and directed to Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethell*, and Colonel *Smithson*; wherein you complain of the present Transactions of the Publick Affairs, as if they tended to the bringing in of the King, and a Monarchical Bondage, which (you write) seems very likely to break in anew upon us, and threatens the ruine of our Civil and Religious Rights: All which, you say, is derived to you from private hands, which do not only insinuate their private Jealousies, but inform you that several Regiments have declared their disconcurrence with the present Transactions. I must confess, I am a little surprized at this your Letter, and manner of Proceedings, having so lately sent to you from my Self, and the greatest part of the Officers of the Army, a full Account of the Necessities that induced us, to consent to the return of the Secluded Members to the exercise of their Trust; and our Resolutions to that Cause we have so long contended for, and to the *Parliament* in the prosecution of it: And (notwithstanding the Information you pretend to have received, I cannot in my own observation discern any Grounds for such Apprehensions of Affairs here as you seem to entertain: nor has there appeared a discontent in any one Regiment of the Army, except part of Colonel *Rich's* Regiment, which is since reduced: wherefore (although you pretend not to be too precipitate in your proceedings) your dispersing Copies of your Letter before you sent it, may reasonably make me judge otherwise: And if you prosecute the matter further, I cannot but interpret your Action as tending to divide the Army, by withdrawing their Obedience from the *Parliament*, and consequently to involve the Nations in a new and bloody War. So that to avoid all occasions of this nature, I desire that within twenty four hours after this Letter comes to your hands, you set forward from *Hull* towards *London*, to give me an account of the present posture of that Garrison; And that within six hours after this comes to you, you signify to Colonel *Fairfax*, and Colonel *Bethell*, your Compliance herein, and the Day wherein you intend to begin your Journey, and be with me here, where I shall expect you within a Week after your departure from *Hull*. I have written to Colonel *Fairfax* more particularly concerning the Peace and Safety of the *Northern* parts, and of the Garrison of *Hull*; and if he communicates any Orders from me to you, I expect your obedience to them:

Yours,

GEORGE MONK.

Colonel *Overton* was surprized at the receipt of this Letter; but finding himself in no capacity to dispute the Order for his delivery up of *Hull*, he submitted to it; and sent to Colonel *Fairfax* to acquaint him with that his resolution; and himself at Eleven of the Clock, the same Night, began his Journey towards *London* to the General.

The Colonel
submits to the
General's
Orders.

The General about the same time gave his Commission to Mr. *Clarges* to be Commissary-General of the Musters of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and to Mr. *Morrice*, to be Governor of *Weymouth*; and to Major-General *Morgan*, to be Commander in Chief of the Army in *Scotland*.

Morgan was already upon the place, but wanted sufficient Authority, till he had this Commission sent to him; and all the Army there submitted to the General's Actions in reference to the Secluded Members, except a Company in Garrison in the Isle of *Orkney*, commanded by one *Watson*, which was reduced by Captain *Man*, and *Watson*, and his Officers imprisoned; and his Company disbanded.

The Army in
Scotland well
satisfied with
the General's
Actions.

Many private Overtures were made to the General by some of the Peers that sat in the Lords House a little before the death of the late King, to be admitted to Sit; but he thought it inconvenient and hazardous, in regard the Army was already so Jealous upon the Sitting of the Secluded Members, that he had difficulty enough to moderate them. Yet at the Request of the Earl of *...* he sent Commissary-General *Clarges* to confer with him.

The Earl told him, The Sitting of the Lords A Conference would be very advantageous to the good of the Kingdom, and to the Souldiers in particular; for that they would joyn in an ACT for the Confirmation of their Estates: And if it should be thought convenient for the good of the Kingdom to receive the King, he could not upon any Conditions with so much safety be restored, as such as should be made by Act of *Parliament*.

between Com-
missary *Clar-*
ges and a Peer
of the Land,
about the Sit-
ting of the
Lords House.

To this *Clarges* replied, That the General was very well satisfied, that the *Parliament* was Dissolved by the Death of the late King; and that the present Sitting of the Members, was a Constitution rather taken up upon Necessity, than Right, which was but to make way for another *Parliament*; That one great Argument for the Admission of the Secluded Members, was their Consent to a quick Dissolution; which could not be, if the Lords should Sit: For they would then think themselves invested in that perpetuity which some fancy is of right in this *Parliament* still. But that which was most convincing, was, That the Army was not yet in temper for it.

Every

Every Post brought the General *Addresses* from all the Regiments in *England*, of their consent to his *Actings*: And Sir Charles Coot in *Ireland* had with many other Officers, upon the same day that the *Secluded Members* were admitted, declared at *Dublin* for them, and had secured Sir *Hardress Waller*, that had dissented from him.

An Act proposed for the settling of *Hampton-Court* upon the General.

Those of the former Members who staid in the *House* after the admission of the *Secluded Members*, that they might ingage the General against the King, promoted an *ACT* for the settling of *Hampton-Court*, with all the Parks and some other Lands upon him and his Heirs for ever; which so troubled him, that he used all the Friends he had to divert it; and at last an Expedient was found out, by giving him by *Act of Parliament*, a Present of twenty thousand pounds in Money, and the Custody or Stewardship of that House, and the Parks for his life: They also conferred upon Commissary *Clarges* the Hamper-Office; and about the 13th of *March* they Ordered, That the *Engagement*, appointed to be taken by each Member of Parliament, in these words, (*viz.*) *I do declare and promise, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established without King or House of Lords*, should be taken off the File, and made null.

The Engagement abrogated.

Scot, Haslerig, and some others, (whose names we shall forbear to mention, because they are yet living, and have repented of the rashness of their former proceedings) were much alarm'd at this proceeding, which they took to be an inevitable Prognostick of introducing the King; and though they so much affected Power, as to endure no Rivals in it, they chose rather to have the General take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon himself, than to have the King restored. They consulted privately with some of the Officers of the Army, whom they trusted most, and these approved so well of the Expedient, that the General was Treated with about it in *White-Hall*; where *Haslerig* told him, 'That many of his Friends were much troubled at the *Parliaments* Actions, which tended both to the ruine of him, and all the good people of the Nation, since it was evident, that by what they had Voted the day before, nothing was intended but the Restitution of the King. His overthrow, they said, must needs succeed the admission of the King; for a Merit too great to be rewarded, could have no recompence but death; whereof frequent Examples are to be found in all History, and in none more pregnant than our own; where it is recorded, That the same *Stanley* who placed the Crown upon *Henry* the Seventh's Head, had his own struck off, upon a very frivolous pretence, when the reason was only excess of Merit. They told him likewise, They found a *Commonwealth-Government* not agreeable with the disposition of the People, who are always bad Judges of what is best for themselves; and therefore since a Single Person was necessary, there could not be one fitter than he for that Office. To which they had very good grounds to believe all the good People of the Nation would concur with them:

The Commonwealth Faction desire the General rather to take the Government upon himself, than to bring in the King. They Treat with him about it.

The General told them, 'He himself was not well pleased at the late unnecessary *Vote of Parliament* concerning the *Engagement*, but many of the most discreet Members had been with him, and satisfied him, that they had no design in it, but to keep themselves free against the next *Parliament*; for in regard (they said) that he had consented that the final determination of Government should be referred to that, they were unwilling to anticipate their Counsels by determining of it by that *Engagement*, which would be too great a Snare unto them: Still urging, 'That they knew not any cause he should have of fear, for that the very Writ of Summons of the next *Parliament*, did sufficiently defend the Government, in restraining their Debates to it. As for the Government in his own Person, he said, The experience of *Cromwel's* Fate gave him Reasons to avoid the Rock on which that Family was split.

They replied, 'That *Oliver Cromwel* usurped the Dominion against the suffrage of the Army, and the consent of all the good people; whereas he should have it by their unanimous consent, and under what Name and Title he pleased to accept it.

The General would by no means hear more of these temptations, resolving not to lose the Honour derived to him from as Ancient a stock of Gentry as any was in *England*, by so treacherous a Prostitution of it.

The General refuseth their Offer.

A little before these Men went to the General, Commissary *Clarges* had been tampered with by them, to the same purpose; and observing them to go from him to his Lordship, he deliberated how to extricate him from further Applications of this kind, and punish the Insolency of these Undertakers.

The Council of State sitting at the time of this private Conference, and within two Chambers of the place where it was transacted, he sent in to the Council to Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, and informed him of what he knew, and what he further suspected: Upon which it was agreed, That as soon as the General should depart from them, and come into the Council, he should move, That all Clerks and Attendants, that were not Councillors, should withdraw, and the Doors be locked; and then declare, That he had had Information of a dangerous Design in some seditious persons, who were contriving to make Disturbances in the Nation, and that they had proceeded so far, as to make some indecent Overtures to him, of which he desired that the Council might receive a full discovery, that thereupon they might apply themselves to prevent the Consequences of it.

Commissary Clarges gives intimation of these proceedings to the Council of State.

But the General being unwilling to expose those men to ruine, (though they deserved not his favour) because his purposes were designed to be effected by the most peaceable ways, told the Council, That there was not so much danger in agitation as they apprehended; but that it was true, some had been with him to be resolved in scruples concerning the present Transactions in Parliament, but they went away from him well satisfied.

The General in favour of those Persons mitigates the matter.

Thus

They yet attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army.

A Declaration brought by the Officers to the General to Sign.

Okey's Speech at the Council of Officers.

Commissary Clarges his Answer.

Thus the goodness of the General was abused; for these unreasonable men, when they saw they could not allure him to their ends by the temptation of power, attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army; wherein they prevailed so far, as that the Officers had had one Meeting, and had appointed another. In their first they were so heated, that a Declaration was immediately prepared, and brought by some of them to the General, to oblige him with his Army to declare for a Commonwealth, and engage against all them that should attempt the setting up of a Single Person; and that he should send to the Parliament to joyn with them in this Declaration.

Commissary Clarges and Mr. Clark, the General's Secretary, were with him when this was brought to him, and observing great trouble in his Countenance at the reading of it, moved, That he would defer the signing or giving any opinion of it till the next Morning, because then the Officers of the Army were to have a General Council. This was done, that the General might have time to provide himself of Arguments against it, and prepare some of his Friends to joyn with him: One of the chief Motives that induced him to make Mr. Morrice an Officer of the Army, was to have his aid in Consultations at such times as these: For there were frequent Meetings of Officers; and one of so good Judgment and Elocution, as he, could not but persuade much: So that he had been the fittest Person that could have been thought on, had not his being unused to such Assemblies made him not care to be present at them.

The next Morning a great concourse of Officers met at St. James's, and Colonel Okey opened the Council, with a long Speech, of the fears they were in of an Inundation of Evils breaking in upon them, to invade their Civil and Religious Liberties; and that if great care was not used to prevent it, Charles Stuart would be introduced: And that the best Expedient that could be thought of, was to send immediately to the Parliament, to oblige them to declare and engage for a Free-State and Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords: And if they refused to do it, to take such a Remedy as God should put into their hearts to save the Nation from destruction.

Commissary Clarges answered, That he saw no cause for those fears that were insinuated; and that if they sent to the Parliament in such a manner, they would find no pleasing return from them; for if these Men would have been terrified by the Army, there would not have been fourteen of them Impeached at one time of Treason, and two hundred secluded at another; and the first thing they would probably do, upon the receipt of such a Message, would be to dissolve themselves, and then there would be no Government; but instead of the Single Person they were so much afraid of, they must necessarily have recourse to Richard Cromwel, and expose themselves to his Revenge, for the Indignities they had lately with so much scorn put upon him and his Family.

And as for the General (applying himself to him) he said, He knew he would not assume the Government, having heard him profess, (on occasion of these Alterations) he would rather be drawn in pieces with wild horses, than be so treacherous to the Nation.

The General concluded, and told them, The time of this Parliaments ending was so near; they could not do the ills some of them (he hoped) causlessly feared; And that from the next Parliament he doubted not they would receive better satisfaction than they had in this, since it was provided in the ACT for their Assembling, that none should be Elected that had been against the Parliament since 1641. Withal, He confirmed what Commissary Clarges had said, That if by this violent proceeding they should make the Parliament hastily dissolve themselves, and leave the Nation in confusion, they must not expect he would take upon him the Government, which he had rather lose his life than accept.

After this, there was little moved by any of the Officers; only one said, That nothing could be hoped from Qualifications for a new Parliament, for they themselves being to be Judges of them, it might so happen, that the major part might be of such as were not themselves Qualified.

The General knew this to be an unanswerable Argument, (and it was for this reason he pressed for a new Parliament on any terms) but was unwilling to hear more discourse of this kind, and therefore told them, Nothing was more injurious to Discipline, than their meeting in Military Councils to interpose in Civil things. And from that time he forbade them to assemble again; and within a few days after, that is to say, on the 17th of March, the Parliament by Act dissolved it self, having before summoned a Parliament to succeed them the 25th day of April following; and passed two Votes to keep the Royal Party out of both House and Army. The first concerning the Militia, where no person was to be admitted for a Commissioned Officer, without declaring in these words following. I do acknowledge and declare, that the War undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their defence, against the Forces raised in the name of the late King, was just and Lawful; and that Magistracy, and Ministry, are the Ordinances of God. Secondly, Resolved, that all and every Person who have advised, or voluntarily aided, abetted or assisted in any War against the Parliament, (since the first day of January 1641.) his, or their Sons, unless he or they have since manifested their good affections to this Parliament, shall be incapable to be elected to serve as Members of the next Parliament. The Royal Party, who had suffered so much in the Defence and Service of the Government, and who had behaved themselves so Honourably in their endeavours of extinguishing all Animosities, upon this hopeful change of Affairs; little, I say, did they expect to see themselves turn'd out of Doors by such a preclusion from Publick Office, or Employment, upon the very Test of their Fidelity to their Sovereign. But these Votes were little heeded by the Electors, the People having so great an esteem for the Royal Party, that almost generally wheresoever they stood, they carried it; and kept their places too in the House of Commons, notwithstanding a contrivance there also, to have ejected them after they were met.

Monsieur

The Conference between Monsieur de Bordeaux, and Commissary Clarges.

Monsieur de Bordeaux the French Ambassador then Resident in London, was very desirous to interesse Cardinal Mazarini, in this great Revolution of Government, and having had acquaintance with Clarges, expected by him to discover all the Generals Designs, and in order thereunto, sent his Secretary to him, *To desire him to move the General, to have Licence to give him a visit, and to confer about some overtures he had to make to him.*

Clarges, upon this intimation, went to the Ambassador, who carried him into his Closet, and they two being alone, he told him, 'That it was visible to all, that the General had some great Design in projection, and that most wise men believed it was, either to advance himself to the Monarchy of these Nations, or introduce the King; and that in either of these, he had the advantage of being more serviceable to him than any other; for if he should use any Englishman in so important an Intrigue, if he should not have success, that would be brought in evidence against him to his destruction: Whereas he as a stranger, and a publick Minister could not be questioned. He further said, 'What he proposed, was not only in reference to himself, but to Cardinal Mazarini, who would be glad to have the honour of his friendship, assist him faithfully in all his purposes. He said moreover, 'That he could not undertake to determine, 'Whether it was not best for him to dignifie his Family with the Empire of these Kingdoms, or to restore the King to them; They were both actions of much glory; and if the latter were as easie, the honour of it would be as great: But that he might be confident of the Cardinal he did assure him, that Oliver Cromwell kept so strict a League with him, that he did not assume the government without his privity, and was directed step by step by him in the progress of that action: And therefore, if he resolved on that course, he should not only have the Cardinals friendship and Counsel in the attempt, but a safe retreat and honourable support in France, if he failed in it. Or if he would admit the King, and put the manner of it into the Cardinals hands, whatever he would desire for himself of Security, or honour from the Crown, he would undertake to obtain, and in such a manner, that it should rather seem by the Cardinals advice, then his particular Inclination; and the King would gladly receive it, and France should be the place to which (if he agreed) the King should presently retreat; where he should have a Train provided proportionable to his greatness; that his People here might, with greater Reverence, apply themselves to him; and by this way (he said) the General might not only oblige the King of England, but the King his Master also, by making him a Mediator and Instrument in his Restauration.

To this Clarges answered, 'That the matter was too deep for him to be involv'd in, in regard (as he himself had acknowledged) of the danger of having such a secret known to any second Person a Native of England.

'But nevertheless, to satisfie him, he assured him, That the General did not intend to take upon him the government, but submit all to the determination of the next Parliament.

He then Replyed, 'That a Parliament in England was a kind of tumultuary Council, so various in their Debates, that no certain measure could be taken from them, and therefore for not taking this course which he advis'd, he might be hurried by their froward proceedings, to some sudden Enterprize, neither safe for himself, nor good for the people; and that with him, in any misfortune, all his Relations would be ruin'd.

To this Conference, Clarges put an end, by telling him, 'He would take a suddain occasion to sound the Generals Inclinations, and though he would not directly tell him what had pass'd betwixt them, he should nevertheless guess, whether it might be fit for him to impart it to him; the only difficulty that remain'd, was the Generals want of the French-Tongue; Which the Ambassador said, 'Was not necessary, for that he had English enough to be understood, and to understand all that should be said to him; and thus they parted.

Clarges told all that pass'd to Mr. Morrice, The General and to the General himself, who absolutely refus'd to have any Commerce with the Ambassador or the Cardinal; nevertheless, that he might not appear uncivil, he was contented to receive his Visit, but on Condition, *That he should not propose any thing to him in reference to the publick affairs of Government.*

This was signified to the Ambassador, and he came that Evening to complement the General, making great professions of his Services to him, on all occasions, without descending to particulars.

Much more successful was the Application made by Sir John Greenvil, who being an active Agent for the King, and a neer Kinsman to the General, was therefore by his Majesty thought a fit person to be employed to him; but he knowing the wary temper of the General, was much troubled how to get access to him; till bethinking himself of Mr. Morrice, his Neighbour in the Countrey, a person often conversant with the General, he concluded by his mediation to do it, and thereupon requested him to let the General know he had something of great Importance to impart to him, and desired he would give him the opportunity to do it.

When Mr. Morrice inform'd the General of this, he receiv'd it with much strangeness; for although Sir John was his near Relation, yet by reason of his youth, and the Generals long absence from his Countrey, they had little acquaintance with each other, and therefore he told Mr. Morrice, *Except he would send him information by him, of the nature of his business, he could not admit of any intercourse with him.*

Mr. Morrice told him, *He had already desired to know that, but Greenvil refused it.* The General in his mind, liked well of this reservedness in Sir John, and bid Mr. Morrice acquaint him, *That if he came the next day at nine in the evening to St. James's, he would speak with him.* And accordingly Greenvil came to him, at the appointed time, which was the next evening, after the dissolution of the Parliament.

When he came, after he had requested Pardon for the importunity of his visit, he desired his permission to deliver a Message he had to him from

1659

The manner of Sir John Greenvil's application to the General.

His Reception.

1659

from his Majesty. The General seem'd surpriz'd at this saying; but seeing that there was no body in the Room but Mr. *Morrice*, and he at a good distance from them, he bid him say what he pleas'd.

He delivers
his Message.

He then presented to him a Letter from the King, and told him, 'That his Majesty had great Confidence in his affections to him, and since he had complied so far with the desires of all the sober part of the Kingdom, for the admission of the Secluded Members, in order to a free Parliament; The consequences of that could not but give sufficient evidence of his Inclinations to his Majesties Service and Restitution, which would naturally flow from his Endeavours, in Conjunction with their Councils.

The General's
Answer.

The General replied, 'That he had long lamented the miserable distraction of his Native Countrey, and waited a fit occasion to contribute his assistance to the Redemption of it. And when *Lambert* and those with him had interrupted the Parliament; Considering that the Army had been newly in a great measure by that Parliament modell'd, he supposed by a Declaration for their Restitution he might gain a Power in his hands for better purposes, and, as the better to bring these his purposes about, he resolv'd if by his Arms the Parliament should be restored, together, with those few Members which sat at their interruption, to admit those also who had been seclud'd; intending to that end, by degrees, to put his Army into such hands as would favour his intentions: That it was well known to all, How he was disappointed in that design, and through what difficulties he arriv'd to the Station he was then in, nor was he even at that time secure from great danger of disappointment, if he should not manage his affairs with more than ordinary secrecie.

'As to the Kings Majesty (he said) None wish'd him greater felicity than he, nor desired his Restauration with more passion; but if it were not cautiously attempted, it would be out of his Power to serve him in it, since in Councils of so nice concernment, there would not be room for two Errors. The People he told him, had been long seduc'd by seditious insinuations, and the Army in the hands of such, as had always been against his Royal Father, and many of them even against Monarchy it self; but nevertheless, he hoped, if they might find the same security under his Majesties Government, as they had under the Usurpers of it, he might not despair of their reduction to obedience. And to effect this, it was his humble advice, that his Majesty should prevent their fears, by declaring a free and general Pardon to all his Subjects, and engage himself to give it under the Great-Seal, to all that should submit to his Authority, except such as should be exempted by the Parliament.

'And that he would consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament, that should be presented to him for the settlement of publick Sales and Dispositions of Lands, to Officers, Souldiers, & others; and the payment of the Souldiers Arrears; As also for toleration of Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects; And that none should be punished for differences in matters of Religion who should not disturb the publick Peace.

Sir *John* asked him, 'What he would give him in Command for himself, and if he would write to his Majesty? Which he excus'd at that time, saying, 'If his Letter should be intercepted before he had compleated the Reforming the Armies, it would be impossible for him to keep them in temper, or hinder the subversion of all he had hitherto done; Adding, That he sought not his own advantage in his Endeavours for the publick benefit of his Country: and that having with much hazard, brought matters near to a fair issue, in pursuance of the general suffrage of the Nations, he was unwilling, by indirection, to venture a relapse, but would choose to involve himself in the same Condition with the generality of the People, in expectation of what the next Parliament should bring forth, to the happiness of his Majesty, & all his Kingdoms.

Sir *John Greenville* writ down the substance of this Discourse, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his Memory; but as soon as he had read it, he entreated him to tear it in pieces, and conjur'd him to acquaint no person whatsoever with their Conference, except the King himself, and to request him also to conceal it. But above all things, he intreated him, To desire his Majesty from him, to go out of the King of Spains Dominions to Breda, or some other place under the Government of the States of the United Provinces; for that he had certain Intelligence, he would be detained by the King of Spains Ministers, if he stay'd in his Dominions.

And at Sir *John's* Parting from him, he told him, He was glad that this occasion of presenting his Duty to the King, was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find so industrious and vigilant in his Masters Service: of which he had before some experience when his Brother *Nicholas* came from him into Scotland.

He promis'd to observe all the General's Instructions; and when he came to *Ostend* (where he arriv'd the 23th of *March*) he put all that had passed betwixt them into Writing, and digested it into form, to be presented to his Majesty. And in the Conduct of the whole affair, he was so secret, that the Lord *Mordant*, who went over with him to his Majesty, knew nothing of it.

At *Bruxels* he retired to a private house, to which his Majesty (upon intimation) very secretly repaired, and with great satisfaction receiv'd the Intelligence he brought, but because he could not prosecute the Generals desire (as to his removal) without advice for the manner of executing it, he consulted the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, being persons in whom, from just reason and experience, he had most intire confidence, by whose assistance the matter was so order'd, that in two or three days, he took his Journey to *Breda*; where we shall leave his Majesty in Consultation, to return to the Transactions in *England* of that busie time.

The Council of State took care to have the Act put in speedy execution throughout *England*, for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, and for putting the Militia into sober hands: And because many seditious People were endeavouring to debauch the Army, they published a Proclamation to forbid all persons whatsoever, to correspond with any of the Officers & Souldiers

A farther discourse between them confirming the sincerity of the General's Intentions.

Sir *John* takes his Journey towards *Bruxels*.

He gives his Majesty an account of his Negotiation, and the effects thereof.

The King resolves to move to *Breda*.

The Council of State set forth a Proclamation for the preventing of tumults and disturbances.

Souldiers of the Army in the way of agitating, or otherwise, whereby any dissatisfaction might be raised towards the present government, to endanger the peace of the Nation, giving power to all Officers, both Military and Civil, to seize upon any Persons offending as aforesaid: And for the better encouragement of all whom it should concern, they declared and promised to give to the discoverer of any such person, who should apprehend and secure such offenders, the summe of ten pounds. And this Proclamation was ordered to be published in the Head of every Regiment, Troop and Company of the Army, to the intent, the same should be the better taken notice of, and put in more effectual execution: And the General sent it to every Regiment to be proclaimed accordingly. But this did not sufficiently prevent the ill humours amongst the Souldiers, which made Commissary Clarges consult privately with the General, about some other more effectual course; he propos'd to frame an Engagement for all to subscribe, to acquiesce in whatsoever the next Parliament should do, and to displace all that should refuse: His Lordship liked very well of this Proposition, but thought it very hard to be executed; nevertheless, he encouraged him to go on, and that night alone he fram'd it, and immediately advis'd with Colonel Howard, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Mr. Ansley, and Colonel Knight (who all of them with one consent approved it, being all Persons of great Credit with the General) about the putting it in execution. Colonel Knight undertook by the next day at noon, to get it Signed by all the Officers of his own Regiment, and the Generals Regiment of Horse, and the Life-guard; and Colonel Howard did the like for his Regiment which lay about Croydon, for he had so modell'd it, that he was sure of all his Officers; all which by the foresaid time being accordingly effected, they met together, at Sir Anthony Ashley-Coopers Lodging, and glad to see their business so well advanc'd by the subscription of these three Regiments, they in the next place, thought it expedient to have the Officers of all the Regiments in London, to be summon'd to meet that Evening at St. James's, which was accordingly done: and they being all met, It was mov'd to them by Colonel Knight,

Commissary Clarges draws up an Engagement to be subscrib'd for acquiescing in the determinations of the next Parliament.

The Officers of three Regiments subscribe it.

The substance of Col. Knights Speech to the Officers at St. James's, in encouraging them to subscribe the Engagement.

That at this time, when several Imputations lay upon the Army of Inconstancy, and that many Dissatisfied Persons were endeavouring to divide them, it was requisite they should give some publick Testimony of their Affections and Inclinations; and in order thereunto, some Officers having shew'd him an Address, which they had framed to be presented to the General, to testify their Resolution of Obedience and Duty, to the Powers God had placed over them; He could not but approve so well of it, as readily by himself, and all his Officers, to give their Attestations to it, and some more had done the like, it being intended by those who had first advis'd it, to be tendered to every Regiment of the Army; of which, there being a great part here, they had by the Generals Permission invited them thither, to communicate what was done, and to desire their Concurrence with them in it.

Colonel Knight and Clarges had before prepared most of the Officers of the Regiments which came from Scotland, so that they made no difficulty of it, especially seeing a Subscription of

other Regiments to induce them: Moreover, it was intimated, That their Meeting was by the privity and permission of the General, which Obligation they knew none would offer to oppose: The Address was immediately read, being in these words:

1659
WEE the Officers of the Army under your Excellencies Command, whose Names are herunto written, being truly sensible of the merciful and wonderful Providence of Almighty God, in bringing Us, after so many Revolutions and Changes, into an hopeful way of Settlement; and perceiving, to our great grief, that there are too many, who seeking more their own private Interest, than the Publick Good, are endeavouring to reduce us again to our old Necessities and Confusions; and that they have proceeded so far, as to cause Jealousies in the Council of State, in whom the Supream Power and Trust, now, till the Meeting of the Parliament, is residing, Do hold it our Duties, for the preventing of all such Jealousies for the future, and for the strengthening of your Excellencies Hands, in the carrying on of this Good Work, in which it hath pleased God to make you so highly Instrumental, humbly to make this Address unto your Excellency, in the Name of our Selves, and all the Souldiers under our Command, and to Declare, That We shall, according to our Duties, carry and behave our selves, as Officers of an Army instructed by your Example and Discipline, to obey, and not to dispute the Orders of our Superiours, and shall freely and readily observe such Commands, as we shall receive from your Excellency, or the Council of State, or the Parliament when Assembled: And in particular, we shall, according to the late Proclamation of the Council of State, of the 17th of March, decline any Meeting or Meetings, for the contriving or carrying on of any Declarations or Subscriptions, concerning Affairs of State, or Government, thereby avoiding those Mischiefs, which made many lately in Arms, so justly distastful to the People, by making themselves a divided Interest from the rest of them. And we are the more willing to make this Address at this time, to evince to all the World the Integrity of our Obedience, because of the great Expectation of the next Parliament, from whom we hope for a happy Settlement to all the Nations; And that they may have no ill Apprehensions of Us, We are resolv'd, as it becomes Us in Duty, to submit to whatsoever the Lord shall bring forth from their Consultations, knowing that Parliaments only can secure Us in our Religious and Civil Rights: And forasmuch as many Representations heretofore made to Persons in Eminent Authority, have been too frequently contriv'd in the Name of the Army, which were done rather in Formality, (as we perceive by the Event) than otherwise; We do solemnly desire, that this may be Recorded as a Testimony and Witnes against Us, if ever We shall be guilty of any such Back-slidings.

The Form of the Armies Engagement.

At that very time, this Engagement was signed by Lieutenant Colonel Morgan, and all the Officers of the Generals Regiment of Foot; by Colonel Hubblethorn, and all the Officers of his Regiment; by Colonel Cloberry, Colonel Lydeot, Colonel Read, and the rest, with all their

The Address signed by all the Officers about London; and those of two other Regiments.

A a a a

their

1660
Presented to
the General
by Col. Ho-
ward. Sent in-
to Scotland to
M. General
Morgan.

Two more Re-
giments sent
to Scotland.

All disaffected
Officers dis-
plac'd, and o-
thers put in
their rooms.

Lambert
escapes out of
the Tower.

The General
takes great
care for the
suppressing of
Lambert.

their Officers; which made up in all, with those that had sign'd before, Ten Regiments of Horse and Foot, besides the Life-guard, and all the General-Officers. Also, Collonel *Fairfax*, and Collonel *Bethel*, who upon the first Consultation of this Matter had been sent unto, in four days had return'd the Subscriptions of themselves, and all their Officers; after which it was agreed, That Collonel *Howard*, with fourty Officers, should present it to the General, which was done at *St. James's* the 9th. Day of *April*, and was with much satisfaction and content received by him: It was also afterwards recommended to Major-General *Morgan* in *Scotland*; to have it subscribed by his Officers there, and likewise to all the Regiments in *England*, with an Accompt of what had bin done in *London*, and the Names of all those Regiments that had concurr'd in it.

And because he heard that some disaffected Persons were tampering to seduce the Souldiers in *Scotland*, he sent another Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot thither, who were of such as Major-General *Morgan* might confide in, to assist him, if need were, to model the rest. In conclusion, this Address was subscribed by all the Regiments, and the Subscriptions return'd to the General; only some Officers refus'd it, and were immediately displac'd, and the General took that opportunity, of giving to the Lord *Faulconbridge* Collonel *Rossiter*, and General *Mountague*, to each of them a Regiment of Horse and to Collonel *Sheffield* a Regiment of Foot. And whilest he was thus employ'd in ordering the Army, the Council of State was active in forming the *Militia*, in all the Cities and Counties of *England* and *Wales*, wherein such care was taken, to have the Arms in good Hands; that from all Parts the Lists of the Officers were sent to the Council of State, to be by the General and them approv'd.

These Preparations engaged many Faction People to design against the Government, inso-much, that on the Evening of that Day, wherein Collonel *Howard* presented the above-mentioned Address to the General, Collonel *Lambert* having made an Escape out of the Tower, was conceal'd by some of that Party, that had been lately engaged against General *Monk*, and some others of Fanatick Principles: These held a Council in *London*, but were not so private in their Consultations, but the General had from time to time intimation of much of their Proceedings: They sent some busie men to all the Regiments in *England*, and these Officers that refus'd the Address, had intic'd many of the Troopers to steal after them; but such was the vigilance of the rest of the Officers, that there got not above Seven or Eight Troops of Horse in a Body to joyn with *Lambert*, and but one Company of Foot.

On *Wednesday* the 18th. of *April*, the General, upon Advice from Collonel *Streater*, of *Lambert's* hovering in the *North-Parts*, and of the want of Horse in his Quarters, sent for Collonel *Ingoldsby* to him, and told him, He must be at *Northampton* with his Regiments on the *Saturday* following; and that he should receive Orders to take any of Collonel *Rossiter's* Troops to his Assistance, which quartered in those Parts: He also told him, That Collonel *Streater*, a Person whom he could Trust, was with some of his

Companies at *Northampton*, whom he would find ready to joyn with him. The Colonel told him, That his Regiment was dispersed in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, but he would do his endeavours to get them together. And he was so diligent here in, that by the *Friday* following he got his Regiment to *Cambridge*, and on *Saturday* in the Evening to *Northampton*.

The General also sent Collonel *Howard* with his Regiment, and some other select Troops, towards *Worcestershire* and *Warwickshire*, to hinder any Defection of the Troops in those Parts; and to have an Eye towards *Coventry*, which *Lambert* had design'd to Garrison; and indeed he had done it, had not the Care of the General prevented it, by Ordering three Companies of Collonel *Streater's* Regiment to Quarter in that City: The Colonel also sending one Company more to strengthen that Place, who in their March met with a Party of Horse, among whom was one who having been Major to that Regiment, shewed them *Lambert's* Orders, to march back again: But the Lieutenant that was intrusted with the Command of that Company, observing the Colonel's Orders, marched intire with great speed, stood upon his defence, and opposed them twice in his march thither.

The Council of State by Proclamation, declar'd *Lambert* and his Adherents Traytors, and the General was careful, the very next day after his getting out of Prison, to give Notice of it to all the Regiments and Troops, to prevent his Design of seducing them, and to command them to seize on him: By which Diligence, and the sending these Parties out, his Confederates were interrupted in their Endeavours. One *Merry*, a Disbanded discontented Officer of Col. *Smithson's* Regiment, had inticed fourty of Captain *Peverel's* Troop to revolt, with Design to seize on *York*, but by the care of other Troops they were dissipated; and one *Everard*, and Captain *Lockier*, two discontented Officers, that had been lately in Custody, and releas'd upon their Engagement, not to act any thing in Disturbance of the Publick Peace, did nevertheless march through *Nottingham*, with a Seditious Troop of their Companions.

Whereof Captain *Sherman* of Collonel *Sanders's* Regiment, having notice, drew out his own Troop, and that of Captain *Craddock's* of *Hackers* Regiment, to engage them; but immediately *Craddock's* Troop joyned with the Enemy, which made *Sherman* (finding himself too weak for them) to retreat to *Nottingham*, to secure that place, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Gentry, gave him ready assistance. This News made the General give Orders, That the late Address signed by the Officers, should be tendred to all the private Souldiers also, which made so through a Reformation, that in many Regiments Thirty of a Troop disbanded, rather than they would consent to it, and many in the Foot Companies also left their Arms: But in all the General's Regiments in *London*, that marched with him from *Scotland*, there were but two Dissenters.

On *Easter-Eve*, Collonel *Ingoldsby* joyned with Collonel *Streater* at *Northampton* where he was at that time, and had been some days before; The Earl of *Exceter* who with several Loyal Gentlemen of that County, to the number of near

near one hundred Horse, with much Resolution offered to assist Colonel *Streater*: Likewise the Trained Bands of that Town were in Arms at the same time, in order to the securing thereof, in case of a necessity of Colonel *Streaters* attending *Lamberts* Motion; The Colonel purposing that Night, if need had been, to have mounted 400 Foot of his Regiment with the Horses that came into the Town that day (against the Fair on Monday following) and to have beaten up *Lamberts* Quarters.

Col. *Ingoldsby* and Col. *Streater* march against *Lambert*.

On Easter Day early Intelligence was brought to Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Streater*, That *Lambert* was at *Daventry*; upon which they marched towards him: When they came to *Daventry*, they heard *Lambert* was marched two miles from thence, and therefore hastened to meet him; which they did in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them. *Lambert* had with him besides the Troops of Horse before mentioned, these Persons, viz. Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Axtel*, Colonel *Cobbet*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Young*, Major *Creed*, Captain *Timothy Clare*, Captain *Gregory*, Captain *Spinage*, besides divers private Souldiers, who were *Anabaptists*.

The two Parties fac'd one the other near four hours, during which time, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Streater* spent their time, partly in their vigilant observation of the Intention of the Enemy, and partly in encouraging of the Horse and Foot under their command, whereby they begot a more than ordinary resolution in both Horse and Foot: In the mean time, *Lambert* sent out several Scouts towards them; but *Ingoldsby* would not permit any of his to leave their Ranks, only he himself riding up towards them, had many Discourses with them: *Ingoldsby* was not known to the Scouts, but appearing to them as a private Souldier dealt so effectually with them, by laying open the danger of their Action, that 25 Troopers, with a Quarter-Master, came over to him. The Colonel dismounted and disarm'd them for the present, because they were unwilling to engage in his party, but afterwards restored their Horses and Arms to them.

Defeats his Party, and takes him Prisoner.

Lamberts delay in Engaging being observed by Col. *Streater*, he advised that both Horse and Foot should immediately advance, and put the Business to an Issue, out of the Confidence he had of the Foot especially: And withal desired Col. *Ingoldsby*, That if he should be routed, he would rally with what speed he could; For that he should be confident to find the Foot to maintain their Ground. Colonel *Streater's* Foot being about Five Hundred; two compleat Companies, the rest commanded Men out of several Companies, most Pikes, which in that Champion-ground would serve well to secure the Body against the Horse.

When the two Bodies came near, just as Col. *Ingoldsby* was going to charge, Colonel *Streater* commanded six Files of Musqueteers to advance, one File gave fire and hurt one or two of *Lamberts* Horse; his Drums beat, and in good Order he advanced, having given strict command that his Musqueteers should not fire till they came as near as push of Pike. But *Lamberts* men held the Noses of their Pistols towards the ground; and *Nelthrops* Troop came off to *Ingoldsby*; *Haslerigs* Troop having deserted him

before; for Colonel *Ingoldsby* sending Captain *Elsmore* before him with a party, as he march'd to find *Lambert*, met Captain *Haslerigg*, and took him prisoner, but releas'd him upon his Parole, to send his whole Troop over to joyn with *Ingoldsby*, which he faithfully perform'd, sending it to them by his Quarter-master, but retir'd himself: Colonel *Ingoldsby* told *Lambert*, He was his Prisoner: Whereupon *Creed* and the rest earnestly intreated him, to do what he pleased with them, but to permit *Lambert* to escape; acquainting him, That his Life could be of no advantage to him; Which *Ingoldsby* absolutely refused telling them, He would not be treacherous to those that had commanded him by such an ungenerous Act: *Lambert* then turned about his Horse, and attempted to escape, but *Ingoldsby* pursued him so close, that he came quickly up to him, and vow'd to pistol him, if he did not immediately yield. *Lambert*, in great depression of Spirit, twice pray'd him to let him escape; but when he saw he could not prevail, submitted as all the rest did, except *Okey*, *Axtel*, and *Cleer*, who escaped.

General *Montague*, who had been some time before by the Generals advice, made one of the Generals at Sea, (General *Monk* being himself the other) and sent to take charge of the Fleet, sent an account to the Council of State, of the condition of it, how that Vice-admiral *Lawson*, and with him the whole Navy, had received him with great satisfaction, and were all fix'd in obedience to their Authority, with resolutions to submit to the Determination of the next Parliament.

The Tuesday after this defeat of *Lambert*, all the Militia of the City of London drew into *Hide-Park*; there were six Trained-Band Regiments, the Red, the White, the Green, the Blew, the Yellow, and the Orange; besides several Regiments of Auxiliaries: The Red was commanded by Colonel *Bateman* Alderman, the White by Col. *Wale* Alderman, the Green by Col. *John Robinson* Alderman, the Blew by Col. *William Vincent*, the Yellow by Col. *William Broomfield*, and the Orange by Col. *Thomas Bloodworth*, all men of courage and good Affections to the Peace and Felicity of their Native Country: They made up in all twelve thousand Men: The General, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and a great concourse of Noble-men and Gentlemen, were present at the Appearance. And that Evening, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and Major *Creed*, were brought Prisoners to the Council of State, and committed to the Tower. And the next day the rest of the Prisoners were brought by Captain *Parry* to the General, and by him committed to the Marshal-General.

The defeat of *Lambert* did not make the Phantiques leave the pursuit of their Mischiefs, several Seditious Phamphlets being published in Print, to deprave the Minds of the People, and Tickets were thrown into the Courts of Guard in the Night to debauch the Souldiers. But none of them appear'd to have been pen'd with more virulency and Malice, than that vile supposititious Paper which they scatter'd about, carrying in its Frontice-piece, *A Letter from Bruxels*, &c. with which some of his Majesties most implacable Enemies attempted to poyson, or palliate the now high Expectations, and Impressions

1660.

Gen. *Monk* acquainted the Council of State with the condition of the Fleet.

The Appearance of the City Militia in *Hide-Park*.

Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Cobbet*, and others, sent Prisoners to the Tower.

Several Seditious Phamphlets published and dispers'd.

1660.

of his good Subjects: and it was in truth so fatally tim'd, and so subtilly contriv'd, that it had like to have done a great deal of Mischief amongst some, who not acquainted with the innate, and unparallel'd inclination of his Majesty to Clemency, began to apprehend their forwardness for his Restauration, and to remit of their former zeal: But this *Hydra* was dextrously cut off by Mr. *Evelyn*, whom we formerly mention'd, in a Reply which was Printed, to the intire satisfaction of all that read it. I take pleasure to mention the Particular, because upon another occasion, long before, he publish'd, with no small hazard of his Life and Liberty, that his *Apology to the Royal Party*, in answer to that *Remonstrance*, Entituled, *the Plea of the Army*, (contriv'd and set forth by that Phanatick Power, immediately upon their Dethroning of *Richard*) as being it seems no longer able to support the common, but unjust Reproaches of his Majesties Cause, by Arguments deriv'd from their ill Conduct, and Fatal Success of divers of his suffering Party; and because I take it to be the boldest Piece (not excepting even the famous *Killing no Murther*; written, as we since learn, by Captain *Titus*) that ever durst see the light in that raging Period; and for that it was no less than thrice re-printed (an Honour which the Pamphlets of that Age did seldom arrive to) and observ'd to have won more *Profelytes* to the *King*, than any thing of that nature had done before it: which, was a Service the greatest that Conjunction was capable of, and none of the least to his Majesties Advantage all along; as those who shall please to call to mind the Effects of those Paper-Weapons, must needs acknowledge, by warming and inspiriting the Hearts of an oppressed People, in danger of being poyson'd by the perpetual Venome of his Majesties Adversaries, whose *Pens* as well as *Swords*, were daily sharpened against him, but for such seasonable *Antidotes*, as upon all occasions encountred their *Libels*, and insidiary Discourses; amongst which there were also several *Letters* sent to the *General* from unknown Hands, to subvert his Allegiance likewise; and to *Clarges* it was written, *That notwithstanding his Practices, to introduce the King and his Family, all his Endeavours were blasted by Morrice, who had ascribed to himself alone the Reputation of that Service, and dispersed to all the Royal Party, that he had no Credit with the General, and therefore to him only Application should be made, as to one in whom the General repos'd his greatest trust.* But these and all other Artifices were too poor to subvert the Loyalty of one, who valued not to whom the good of his Services was attributed, if the Effects he desired were produced by them: But nevertheless, these Practices, to divide the *Generals* Friends, made the Council of State, the *General*, and all his Officers more watchful for the Publick Peace, and more diligent in their Duties: The Officers began more and more to be convinced of their former Errours, by several publique and private Discourses of the Clemency and other Royal Endowments of his Majesty: That which they most apprehended, was from Rumours which had been dispersed amongst them, of the implacability of all those of his party, of whom it was said,

If they had Power they would shew themselves full of Rancour and Revenge against all that were engaged in the late War against them: and observing that most of the Members of Parliament were such, notwithstanding all the Qualifications for their Elections, many strange Doubts possessed them; and amongst other Effects of their Diseased Imaginations, they fancied, the Parliament (when met) would rather hinder, than promote his Majesties Goodness and Mercy towards them: But whilst they were in the midst of these various Inquietudes, the Royal Party, in all the Counties of *England*, published several excellent Declarations, which fully satisfied and appeased their Minds, wherein they Declared, *That they resolved to adhere to the largest Assurances of amicable Agreement with all Persons, and that they would never put any Difference betwixt such as should now unite with them, and those who first engaged in the same Perswasion with themselves.* Of all which, we shall only herein publish one, they being all to the same purpose: It was Intituled,

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, that adhered to the late King in and about the City of London; which was expressed in these words:

After the Miseries of a Civil War, and the many and fruitless Attempts towards Settlement, upon several Interests, and imaginary Forms of Government, It having pleased Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give these Nations a probable hope of being restored to those Laws and Priviledges, which have been transmitted to them from their Ancestors; We do Declare, That we think our selves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this Gracious Work to his Excellency the Lord General Monck, who, as he had the Courage to assert the Publick Liberty, and the Prudence to carry it on against so many Difficulties, has also had the Happiness, to lead Us thus far through the Wilderness of Confusion, without passing the Red-Sea of Blood: And because the Enemies of the Publique Peace, have endeavoured to represent those of the Kings Party, as men implacable, and such as would sacrifice the Common Good to their own private Passions; We do sincerely profess, That we do reflect upon our past-sufferings as from the Hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent Thoughts or Inclinations, against those who have been any way Instrumental in them; And if the Indiscretion of any hot spirited Persons, transports them to Expressions contrary to this our sense, we utterly disclaim them; and desire, that the Imputation may extend no further, than the Folly of the Offenders. And we further Declare, That we intend by our quiet and peaceable Behaviour, to testify our submission to the present Power, as it now resides in the Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament; upon whose Wisdom and Determinations, we trust God will give such a Blessing, as may produce a perfect Settlement, both in Church and State.

And

'And as his Excellency hath not chosen the
'Sandy Foundations of Self-government, but
'the firm Rock of National Interest, whereon to
'frame a Settlement; It is our hope and prayer,
'That when the building comes to be raised, it
'may not like *Rome*, have the beginning in the
'blood of Brethren, nor like *Babel*, be inter-
'rupted by Confusion of Tongues: but that
'we may all speak one Language, and be of
'one Name; That all mention of Parties and
'Factions, and all Rancour and animosities may
'be thrown in, and buried like Rubbish under
'the Foundation.

Subscribed by

The Marquess of Dorchester.
The Earl of Northampton.
The Earl of Devonshire.
The Earl of Berkshire.
The Earl of Dover.
The Earl of Peterborough.
The Earl of Norwich.
The Earl of Cork.
The Earl of Carbery.
The Earl of Desmond.
The Viscount Ogle.
The Viscount Grandison.
The Viscount Lumley.
The Viscount Brunker.
The Lord Belassis.
The Lord Loughborough.
The Lord Lexington.
The Lord Brereton.
The Lord Lucas.
The Bishop of Kerry.
Sir William Compton.
Sir Francis Vane.
Sir Tho. Prestwich, Baronet.
Sir Orlando Bridgeman.
Sir Edward Pye.
Sir Lewis Kirke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir Robert Stapleton.
Sir William Coney.
Sir Nicholas Crispe.
Sir Hugh Cartwright.
Sir Sutton Coney.
Sir Henry Chichley.
Sir William Morton.
Sir Edw. Savage.
Sir Thomas Armstrong.
Sir John Stephens.
Sir Humphrey Bennet.
Sir William Howard.
Sir Henry Wroth.
Sir William Dacres.
Sir Robert Malevory.
Sir Jervace Clifton, Knight and Baronet.
Sir William Thorald, Baronet.
Sir Thomas Corbet, Baronet.
Sir Thomas Littleton, Baronet.
Sir Arthur Gorge.
Sir Anthony Jackson.
Sir Robert Butler.
George Morley, D. D.
Thomas Warmstry, D. D.
Philip King, D. D.
Jer. Taylor, D. D.
Thomas Howard Esquire.

John Russel.
Will. Ashburnham.
Edw. Villers.
Edw. Penruddock.
George Penruddock.
William Legge.
Thomas Lower.
Herbert Price.
Thomas Panton.
Robert Ruthen.
Col. Freswell.
John Jeffries.
Adrian Scroop.
William Burgh.
John Maynard.
Ed. Roscarake.

1660.

This and the other Declarations of the same nature, were wholesome Preparations to usher in the Parliament, which met at Westminster, on the 25th day of April. The Lords chose the Earl of Manchester to be their Speaker; and the House of Commons Sir Herbottle Grimstone; where after the appointment of the usual Committees for Priviledges, and other essential matters usual at their first Assembling, They gave all due acknowledgments to General Monk, for his Eminent Services & great Wisdom in subduing his Enemies without Blood, magnifying the Mercies of God, That made him so Instrumental to keep up the Nations from sinking, when no way appear'd whence Deliverance should arise.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg was by the General suspected to have contributed towards the Insurrection of Lambert, but upon notice thereof, he came to him, and gave him evident proofs to the contrary, and promised to live peaceably at home; having before quietly submitted his Regiments of Horse and Foot to the Generals dispose, together with the Garrisons of Berwick, New-Castle, Carlisle, and Tinnmouth.

On the 27th of April, Sir John Greenville attended the General, and presented to him a Letter from his Majesty, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, and the Council of State, with a Commission from his Majesty to constitute him Captain-General of all the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland; informing him likewise, That he had Letters from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, the City, and the Navy.

His Excellency received the Commission with all Humility and Respect; but in regard the Parliament was Adjourn'd for three days, advis'd him the next day to deliver that Letter which was to be by him imparted to the Council of State, to the Council at their next Sitting; which he accordingly did, but they would not presume to open it without the Parliaments directions, and took caution of Sir John Greenville to attend the House at their next Sitting. At which time, by the General's advice, he went, without acquainting them, to the House of Lords, to inform them he had a Letter from the King; who being acquainted that Sir John Greenville attended at the door with a Letter from his Majesty, The Earl of Manchester went down to the Clerk and received it. The Letter had a Declaration inclosed in it; which were both read in the House; The Letter first, which was in these words: (Viz.)

CHAR.

The Parlia-
ment assem-
bles.

Sir Arthur
Haslerigg being
suspected by
the General;
clears himself.

Sir John
Greenville pre-
sents the Ge-
neral with a
Commission
from his Ma-
jesty, and a
Letter for the
Council of
State.

1660

CHARLES R.

His Majesties
Letter to the
House of
Lords.

Right Trusty and Right Welbelov'd Cousins, and
Right Trusty and Welbelov'd Cousins, and
Trusty and Right Welbelov'd; We Greet you well.
We cannot have a better reason to promise Our Self
an end of Our Common Sufferings and Calamities,
and that Our Own Just Power and Authority will
with Gods Blessing be restored to Us, Than that We
hear You are again acknowledged to have that Au-
thority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged
to You by Your Birth, and the Fundamental Laws of
the Land: And We have thought it very fit and
safe for Us to call to you for your help in the Composing
the Confounding Distempers and Distractions of the
Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those
We have undergone Our Selves; And therefore you
cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for remov-
ing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for
the future. How great a Trust We repose in you, for
the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and
Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our
inclosed Declaration; Which Trust, We are most
confident you will discharge with what Justice and
Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be ex-
pected from you; and that upon your experience,
how one violation succeeds another, when the known
Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed
you will be as Jealous for the Rights of the Crown,
and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves:
And then you cannot but discharge your Trust with
good success, and provide for, and establish the Peace,
Happiness and Honour, of King, Lords and Com-
mons, upon that Foundation which can only support
it, and We shall be all happy in each other: And as
the whole Kingdom will bless God for you all, so We
shall hold Our Self obliged in an especial manner to
Thank you in particular, according to the affection
you shall express towards Us. We need the less in-
large to you upon this Subject, because We have like-
wise writ to the House of Commons, Which We
suppose they will Communicate to you: And We pray
God to bless your Joynt Endeavours for the good of
Us all. And so We bid you very heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14 day
of April, 1660. In the Twelfth Year
of Our Reign.

The Declaration was next read, which
was Intituled.

His Majestie's gracious Declaration to all his
Loving Subjects.

CHARLES R.

His Majesties
Declaration.

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King
of England, Scotland, France and Ire-
land, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our
Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality
soever, Greeting. If the general Distraction &
Confusion which is spread over the whole
Kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire
and longing, that those Wounds which have so
many Years together been kept bleeding, may
be bound up, all We can say will be to no pur-

pose: However after this long silence, We
have thought it Our Duty to declare how much
We desire to contribute thereunto: And that
as We can never give over the hope in good
time to obtain the Possession of that Right
which God and Nature hath made Our due;
so we do make it Our daily Suit to the Divine
Providence, that he will, in Compassion to Us
and our Subjects, after so long Misery and
Sufferings, remit, and put Us into a quiet and
peaceable possession of that Our Right, with as
little Blood and Damage to Our People as is
possible: Nor do we desire more to enjoy what
is Ours, then that all Our Subjects may enjoy
what by Law is theirs, by a full and intire admi-
nistration of Justice thorowout the Land, and
by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted
and deserv'd.

And to the end that the fear of Punishment
may not engage any Conscience of themselves of
what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the
future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of
their Country in the Restoration both of King,
Peers, and People, to their Just, Antient, and
Fundamental Rights; We do by these Presents
declare, That We do grant a Free and General
Pardon, which We are ready, upon demand, to
passe under Our Great Seal of England, to all
Our Subjects of what degree or quality soever,
who within forty days after the publishing
hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and
Favour, and shall by any publique Act declare
their doing so and that they return to the Loy-
alty and Obedience of good Subjects; Except-
ing only such persons as shall hereafter be ex-
cepted by Parliament: Those only excepted, Let
all Our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon
the Word of a King, solemnly given by this
present Declaration, That no Crime whatso-
ever committed against Us, or Our Royal Fa-
ther before the Publication of this, shall ever
rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question,
against any of them, to the least Endamagement
of them either in their Lives, Liberties, or Es-
tates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) so
much as to the prejudice of their Reputations,
by any reproach, or term of distinction from
the rest of any of Our best Subjects; We desir-
ing and ordaining, That henceforth all Notes
of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Par-
ties, be utterly abolished among all Our Sub-
jects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect
Union among themselves, under Our Protecti-
on, for the resettlement of Our Just Rights and
Theirs, in a Free Parliament, by which upon the
Word of a King We will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness
of the times have produced several Opinions
in Religion, by which men are engaged in Par-
ties and Animosities against each other, which,
when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of
Conversation, will be composed, or better un-
derstood; We do declare a Liberty to tender
Consciences, And that no man shall be disquiet-
ed or called in question for differences of Opi-
nion in matters of Religion, which do not di-
sturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that We
shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Par-
liament, as upon mature deliberation shall be of-
fered to Us, for the full granting that Indul-
gence. And

‘And because in the continued distractions of
‘so many Years, and so many and great Revo-
‘lutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates
‘have been made to and by many Officers, Soul-
‘diers, and others, who are now possessed of
‘the same, and who may be liable to Actions
‘at Law, upon several Titles; We are likewise
‘willing that all such differences and all things
‘relating to the said Grants, Sales and Purcha-
‘ses, shall be determined in *Parliament*, which can
‘best provide for the Just satisfaction of all men
‘who are concerned.

‘And We do further declare, that We will be
‘ready to consent to any *Act* or *Acts* of *Parlia-*
‘*ment* to the purposes aforesaid, And for the full
‘satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers
‘and Souldiers of the Army, under the Com-
‘mand of General *Monk*, and that they shall be
‘received into our Service upon as good pay
‘and Conditions as they now enjoy.

*Given under our Sign Manual and Privy
Signet at our Court at Breda this 14 day
of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of
our Reign.*

After the Reading of these, the Lords Order-
ed Thanks to be given to Sir *John Greenvil*, for
bringing that Gracious Declaration and Letter,
and Resolv’d by Vote, *That they do own and de-*
clare, That according to the Ancient and Funda-
mental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is,
and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Com-
mons.

Sir *John Greenwill* came then to the *House of*
Commons, who were before his Coming ac-
quainted with the Letter he delivered to the
Council; upon Notice of his being at the Door,
he was admitted, and presented a Letter to them
from his Majesty. The Letter had in it a Dupli-
cate of the same *Declaration* which was inclosed
in the Letter to the *Lords*: The Letter and it
were both read, and the Letter was Superfcri-
bed;

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, the
Speaker of the *House of Commons*:

CHARLES R.

His Majesties
Letter to the
House of
Commons.

Trusty and Well-beloved, We Greet you
well. ‘In these great and insupportable
‘afflictions and Calamities under which the poor
‘Nation hath been so long exercised, & by which
‘it is so near exhausted, We cannot think of a
‘more natural and proper Remedy, than to re-
‘sort to those for Counsel and Advice, who have
‘seen and observed the first beginning of our Mi-
‘series, the Progress from bad to worse, and the
‘mistakes and mis-understandings which have
‘produced and contributed to Inconveniences
‘which were not intended, and after so many Re-
‘volutions, and the observation of what hath
‘attended them, are now trusted by Our good
‘Subjects to repair the Breeches which are made,
‘and to provide proper Remedies for these E-
‘vils, and for the lasting Peace, Happiness and
‘Security of the Kingdom.

‘We do assure you upon Our Royal Word,
‘That none of Our Predecessors have had a grea-

ter Esteem of *Parliaments*, than We have in Our
‘Judgment, as well as from Our Obligation; We
‘do believe them to be so vital a part of the
‘Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary
‘for the Government of it, that We well know
‘neither *Prince* nor *People* can be in any tolerable
‘degree happy without them: And therefore you
‘may be confident, That We shall always look
‘upon their Counsels as the best We can receive,
‘and shall be as tender of their Priviledges, and
‘as Careful to preserve and protect them, as of
‘that which is most neer to Our Self, and most
‘necessary for Our Own Preservation.

‘And as this is Our Opinion of *Parliaments*,
‘That their Authority is most necessary for the
‘Government of the Kingdom: So We are most
‘Confident, that You believe and find; that the
‘preservation of the Kings Authority is as neces-
‘sary for the preservation of *Parliaments*; and
‘that it is not the Name but the right Constitu-
‘tion of them, which can prepare and apply pro-
‘per Remedies for those Evils which are grie-
‘vous to the People, and which can thereby esta-
‘blish their Peace and Security. And therefore
‘We have not the least doubt, but that you will
‘be as Tender in, and as Jealous of, any thing
‘that may infringe Our Honour; or impair Our
‘Authority, as of your own Liberty and Pro-
‘perty; which is best preserv’d by preserving
‘the other.

‘How far We have trusted You in this great
‘Affair; and how much it is in your Power to
‘restore the Nation to all that it hath lost, and
‘and to redeem it from any Infamy it hath under-
‘gone, and to make *King* and *People* as happy as
‘they ought to be, You will find by Our inclosed
‘*Declaration*, a Copy of which We have like-
‘wise sent to the *House of Peers*; and you will
‘easily believe that We would not voluntarily;
‘and of Our Self have reposed so great a Trust in
‘you, but upon an intire Confidence that you
‘will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in
‘such a manner, and with such due consideration
‘of Us who have trusted you, that We shall not
‘be ashamed of declining other Assistance (which
‘We have assurance of) and repairing to you for
‘more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils
‘We would be freed from, nor sorry that We
‘have bound up Our Own Interest so intirely
‘with that of Our Subjects, as that We refer it
‘to the same Persons to take care of Us, who are
‘trusted to provide for them.

‘We look upon You as wise and dispassionate
‘Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up
‘those Banks and Fences which have been cast
‘down, and who will most reasonably hope, that
‘the same Prosperity will again spring from those
‘Roots from which it hath heretofore and al-
‘ways grown; Nor can we apprehend that you
‘will propose any thing to Us, or expect any
‘thing from Us, but that We are as ready to
‘give as you to receive.

‘If you desire the advancement and Propaga-
‘tion of the Protestant Religion, We have, by
‘Our constant Profession and Practice of it, gi-
‘ven sufficient Testimony to the World, that nei-
‘ther the unkindness of those of the same Faith
‘towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations
‘from those of a contrary Profession, (of both
‘which We have had abundant Evidence) could
in

1660

'in the least degree startle Us, or make Us Swerve
'from our zeal and affection for it, to which
'We will not readily consent. And we hope in
'due time Our self to propose something to you
'for the Propagation of it, that will satisfie the
'World, that We have always made it both
'Our Care and Our Study, and have enough
'Observed what is most like to bring disadvan-
'tage to it.

'If you desire security for these, who in these
'Calamitous times either wilfully or weakly
'have transgressed those bounds which were pre-
'scribed, and have invaded each others Rights,
'We have left to you to provide for their Secu-
'rity and Indemnity, and in such a way as you
'shall think Just and Reasonable; And by a
'Just Computation of what men have done,
'and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care
'that all men be satisfied, which is the surest
'way to suppress and extirpate all such uncha-
'ritableness and animosity, as might hereafter
'shake and threaten that Peace which for the
'present might seem Established.

'If there be a crying Sin for which the Na-
'tion may be involv'd in the infamy that attends
'it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as
'solicitous to Redeem and Vindicate the Nation
'from the Guilt and Infamy, as we can be.

'If you desire that Reverence and Obedience
'may be paid to the fundamental Law of the
'Land, and that Justice may be equally and
'impartially administred to all men, it is that
'which We desire to be sworn to our Self, and
'that all Persons in Power and Authority should
'be so too.

'In a word, there is nothing which you can
'propose, that may make the Kingdom happy,
'which We will not contend with you to com-
'pass; and upon this Confidence and Assurance,
'We have thought fit to send you this Declara-
'tion, that you may, as much as is possible, at
'this distance, see Our heart, which when God
'shall bring Us nearer together (as we hope he
'will do shortly) will appear to you very agree-
'able to what We have professed; and We hope
'that We have made that right Christian Use
'of Our Affliction, and that the Observation
'and experience We have had in other Coun-
'tries, hath been such, as that We, and We hope
'all Our Subjects, shall be the better for what
'We have seen and suffered.

'We shall add no more, but our Prayers to
'Almighty God, that He will so bless your Coun-
'sels, and direct your endeavours, that his Glory
'and Worship may be provided for, and the
'Peace, Honour and Happiness of the Nation,
'may be established upon those foundations
'which can best support it. And so we bid you
'farewell.

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14 day of
April, 1660. In the twelfth Year of Our
Reign.*

After the reading of this Letter and the Decla-
ration, his Excellency the Lord General desired
the Letter that was directed to him, to be Com-
municated to the Council and the Army, might
also be read, which was agreed. In that Letter
there was also the former Declaration inclosed,
and the Address of the Letter was:

*To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk, to
be by him Communicated to the President and
Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies
under his Command.*

CHARLES R.

'Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you His Majesties
'well: It cannot be believ'd, but that We Letter to the
'have been, are, and ever must be, as solicitous as General, to be
'We can, by all endeavours to improve the af- communicated
'fections of Our good Subjects at home, and to to the Officers
'procure the assistance of Our Friends and Allies of the Army,
'abroad, for the recovery of that Right, which and Council
'by the Laws of God and Man is unquestionable, of State,
'and of which We have been so long disposses-
'sed by such force, and with those Circumstan-
'ces, as We do not desire to aggravate by any
'sharp expressions, but rather wish, that the me-
'mory of what is passed, may be buried to the
'World. That We have more endeavoured to
'prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our
'Subjects at home, for Our Restauration, than
'to procure Assistance from abroad, to invade
'either of Our Kingdoms, is as manifest to the
'World: And We cannot give a better Evi-
'dence, that We are still of the same mind,
'than in this Conjunction when common reason
'must satisfie all men, that We cannot be with-
'out Assistance from abroad, We chose rather
'to send to you, who have it in your own power
'to prevent that ruine and desolation which a
'War would bring upon the Nation, and to
'make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Hap-
'piness, Security, and Glory it shall enjoy to
'your Vertue; and to acknowledg that your
'Armies have complied with their Obligations
'for which they were first raised, for the prefer-
'vation of the Protestant Religion, the Honour
'and Dignity of the King, the Priviledges of
'Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the
'Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land;
'and that you have vindicated that Trust, which
'others most perfidiously abused and betrayed.

'How much We desire and Resolve to con-
'tribute to those good ends, will appear to you
'by Our enclosed Declaration, which We desire
'you to cause to be published for the Informati-
'on and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who
'do not desire a further effusion of precious Chri-
'stian Blood, but to have their Peace and Secu-
'rity founded upon that which can only support
'it; an Unity of Affections amongst our selves;
'an equal administration of Justice to men, re-
'storing Parliaments to a full Capacity of pro-
'viding for all that is amiss, and the Laws of the
'Land to their due veneration.

'You have been your selves witnesses of so
'many Revolutions, and have had so much ex-
'perience, how far any Power and Authority
'that is only assum'd by Passion and Appetite,
'and not supported by Justice, is from providing
'for the happiness and peace of the People, or
'from receiving any obedience from them, with-
'out which no Government can provide for
'them; and that you may very reasonably be-
'lieve, that God hath not been so well pleased
'with the attempts that have been made, since he
'hath usually increased the confusion, by giving
'all the success that hath been desired, and
brought

‘brought that to pass without effect, which the
‘designers have propos’d as the best means to
‘settle and Compose the Nation: And therefore
‘We cannot but hope and believe, that you will
‘concur with us in the Remedy, We have ap-
‘plied, which to humane understanding, is only
‘proper for the ills We all groan under; and that
‘you will make your selves the Blessed Instru-
‘ments to bring this Blessing of Peace and Re-
‘conciliation upon King and People; it being the
‘usual method in which Divine Providence de-
‘lighteth it self, to use and sanctifie those very
‘means which ill men design for the satisfaction
‘of private and particular ends and ambition,
‘and other wicked purposes, to wholesome and
‘publick ends, and to establish that good which
‘is most contrary to the designers: which is the
‘greatest manifestation of Gods particular kind-
‘ness to a Nation that can be given in this world.
‘How far we resolve to preserve your Interests
‘and reward your Services, We refer to Our
‘Declaration, And we hope God will inspire you
‘to perform your duty to Us, and to your Na-
‘tive Countrey, whose happiness cannot be se-
‘parated from each other.

‘We have intrusted Our Well-beloved Servant
‘Sir John Greenville, one of the Gentlemen of Our
‘Bed-Chamber, to deliver this unto you, and to
‘give us an accompt of your reception of it, and
‘to desire you, that it may be published. And so
‘we bid you farewell.

*Given at our Court at Breda this 14 of April,
1660. in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the reading of these Letters, his Excel-
lency desired their permission to answer it, and
to Communicate that his Majesties Declaration
to the Officers of the Army; which was readily
consented to.

The Parlia-
ment present
his Majesty and
his two Bro-
thers, with the
sum of
65000 l.

And then they took into their Consideration,
That his Majesty having been deprived of his
Revenue, could not but be in want of Monies;
and therefore Ordered, That the Summ of fifty
Thousand pounds should be presently raised and
presented to his Majesty from that House, and
ten Thousand pounds to his Royal Highness the
Duke of York, and five Thousand pounds to the
Duke of Gloucester.

The Lords sent down a Message to the Com-
mons, with the Vote of Recognition formerly
mentioned, which was agreed to, and each of
the Houses appointed Committees to draw up
their several Answers to his Majesties Letters,
and Resolv’d that the Supercription should be,

To the King’s most Excellent Majesty.

And the Commons Ordered, That all the
Journals should be search’d, and those Acts and
Orders razed out, which were inconsistent with
the Government of King, Lords and Commons;
These were the chiefest Transactions in Parlia-
ment that day.

Col. Lydcot’s
Speech upon
the reading of
his Majesties
Letter and
Declaration.

In the Evening his Excellency summoned all his
Officers that were in and near the City, and
Communicated to them his Majesties Letter and
Declaration; upon the reading whereof, Colo-
nel Lydcot first spake; addressing himself to
his Excellency then present; He said, *They
were all bound to bless God for the happiness of that*

*day, which made them Witnesses of his Majesties
great goodness and clemency to all his Subjects ex-
pressed in that Declaration, and for his particular
kindness to them manifested in his most gracious
Letter.*

1660

He said, *It was most true that they had been
Witnesses of many Revolutions (as it is therein ex-
pressed) and experienced to their sorrow the incon-
veniencies of them; That at the beginning of the
Wars, the safety of the Kings Person, Protestant
Religion, Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberty
of the Subjects, were Principles that many good
men with them thought they might safely engage
for, but by degrees after they came into Blood, some
implacable Spirits improved their Successes to make
the divisions irreparable, and many men were forc’d
to continue their Arms, more for their own secu-
rity than the Justice of them: But that which was
his comfort, and ought to be all theirs, was, That
they had now by the Prudence of their ever to be ho-
noured General, the opportunity to comply with the
Obligations for which they were first raised, and
they were these whom his Majesty was pleas’d to
own in their submission to his most Just and Lawful
Authority, to be the Instruments to bring the bles-
sing of Peace and Reconciliation upon the King and
People.*

This Speech was approv’d by all them that
heard it; but Colonel Knight desired they might
give some written Testimony of their acknow-
ledgments of his Majesties Authority over them,
to be presented to his Excellency the Lord Ge-
neral; That since his Majesties Letter was by him
communicated to them, he might in his Answer to
it, return their humble sense of it.

This motion produc’d a Reference to a Com-
mittee of Officers, to draw up an Address to his
Excellency, in Compliance with his Majesties
Letter and Declaration, to be prepared against
six of the clock the next morning, and to desire
his Excellencies leave, that they might then meet
to give their Consents, and subscribe their names
to it; which his Excellency readily approved.
And the next morning, the Address being pre-
pared, was read to the Council of Officers, and
Signed by them, and presented to his Excellency.

The Title was,

To his Excellency the Lord General Monk, Cap-
tain General of all the Armies and Forces in
England, Scotland and Ireland, and one of the
Generals at Sea.

*The humble Address of the Officers of your Excel-
lencies Army, in the Name of themselves and
their Brethren.*

‘Although we cannot doubt of your Excel-
‘lencies Confidence in our affections, and
‘our Faithfulness to your Excellency, and that
‘Discipline which by your good and prudent
‘Conduct, hath been exercised over us, whereby
‘we are instructed to an intire Obedience to your
‘Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord
‘shall place over Us, which we hope we have
‘manifested in our last Actions under your Ex-
‘cellency, against all persons whatsoever, in
‘any ways disturbing the Peace and Settlement
‘of the Nations; although some of them have
B b b b b been

The Officers
Address to his
Excellency, in
Compliance
with his Maje-
sties Letter
and Declara-
tion.

1660

been our Brethren formerly engaged in the same Cause with Us. As also in our late Remonstrance and Address to your Excellency, wherein, as it becomes Us in Duty, we have solemnly declared to acquiesce in what the Lord shall bring forth from the Consultations of this present Parliament.

Yet in regard your Excellency hath been pleased to communicate to Us, a Letter and Declaration from the Kings Majesty, full of gracious Expressions, we cannot but acknowledge, that the matter of it gives a great measure of quiet to our minds, and more than ordinary expectations of the enjoyment of much tranquillity and happiness under His Majesties Government.

The free and general Indempnity offered by his Majesty, with a liberty to tender Consciences, satisfaction of Arrears, his readiness to consent to a Confirmation of Sales, and other Grants and Purchases of Estates to all Persons now in possession of the same, is that of which we cannot doubt of the real performance, being left by His Majesty to the Parliaments determination; so we believe it is the most probable way to bring the Nations to their desired Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Majesty, and all the world, That we are his Majesties Loyal Subjects, and that your Excellency, and the Armies under your Command, have Complied with the Obligations, for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty and Prosperity of the Subject, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land.

It is read by the Commons, and approved.

In the morning, at the first sitting of the Commons-House, the General acquainted them, that he had communicated his Majesties Letter, and the Declaration in it enclosed, to the Officers of the Army; and that thereupon they had presented an Address to him, which he desired they would be pleased to read, which was ordered, and after the reading, it was well approved of.

Commissary Clarges appointed by the General to wait upon his Majesty with this Address.

His Excellency then told them, He intended to prepare a Letter, to be sent to his Majesty, and did with their leave, purpose to send that Address to him, that his Majesty might thereby perceive, the Armies were at his devotion; and designing to send it by Commissary Clarges, who was as well a Member of their House, as an Officer of the Army, he requested their permission for him to go.

The House then Ordered, he should have leave to go from his Excellency to the King; and they gave five hundred Pounds to Sir John Greenville, to buy him a Jewel, as a Testimony, of the Respects of the House to him.

After this, Alderman Robinson inform'd them, That the said Sir John Greenville, with the Lord Mordant, had presented a Letter from his Majesty, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and they Commanded him to ask their leave to return an Answer to it. Which after the reading it in the House was granted; In that Letter also his Majesties Declaration was inclosed: The Letter it self was directed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and the Common-Council of Our City of London.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: His Majesties Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London. In these great Revolutions of late hapned in that Our Kingdom, to the Wonder and Amazement of all the World, there is none that We have looked upon with more Comfort, than the so frequent and publick manifestations of their affections to Us in the City of London, which hath exceedingly raised Our Spirits, and which no doubt hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the Nation, which hath been encouraged by you, and your good Example, to assert that Government, under which it hath so many hundred years enjoyed as great felicity as any Nation in Europe, and to discountenance the Imaginations of those, who would subject Our Subjects to a Government they have not yet devised; and to satisfy the Pride and Ambition of a few ill men, would introduce the most arbitrary and tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like devices, all the World takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English Nation, which We hope is now providing for its own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer bewitch'd by those Inventions: How desirous We are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happiness of Our Subjects without effusion of blood; and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to Us by a War, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the inclosed Declaration, which together with this Our Letter, We have intrusted Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, the Lord Viscount Mordant, and Our Trusty and Well-beloved Servant, Sir John Greenville Knight, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to you; to the end, that you, and all the rest of Our good Subjects of that Our City of London (to whom We desire it should be published) may know how far We are from the desire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom, should be raised upon any other Foundation than the affection and hearts of Our Subjects, and their own Consents. We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these Our Condescensions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet Us with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the Fundamental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all Our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by Our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native Countrey, and to advance the Honour of it: And as We have that full affection for the Kingdom in general, so We would not be thought to be without some extraordinary Kindness for Our Native City in that particular, which We shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming all those Priviledges, which they have received from Our Predecessours, but by adding and granting any new Favours, which may advance the Trade

Trade, Wealth and Honour of that Our Native City, for which We will be so solicitous, that We doubt not but that it will in due time receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from Our own Observation and Experience abroad. And We are most confident, We shall never be disappointed in Our Expectation, of all possible Service from your Affections; and so We bid you farewell. Given at Our Court at Breda, the 14 day of April, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

We must not omit to commemorate the Cities joyful Resentment of this Letter, and the Declaration in it, expressed by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council; who immediately upon the reading of them, ordered ten thousand pounds to be presented to his Majesty, a thousand pounds to the Duke of York, and a thousand pounds to the Duke of Gloucester; and that Alderman Langham, Alderman Reynaldson, Alderman Brown, Alderman Thompson, Alderman Frederick, Alderman Wale, Alderman Adams, Alderman Bateman, Alderman Robinson, Mr. Recorder Wild, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Bidolph, Mr. Foord, Mr. Bloodworth, Sir James Bunce, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. William Bateman, should from that City attend his Majesty, with a Presentment of their most Dutiful Acknowledgments for his Clemency and Goodness towards them. His Excellency took care, that the Address presented to him by the Officers, together with Copies of the Kings Letter and Declaration, should be sent to all the Regiments and Garrisons in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Dunkirk; requiring all to return their Subscriptions to him, and the Names of Dissenters (if any were.) But it appeared by the Returns made, that the Army was so well purged by the Remonstrance that went before, that all readily and dutifully comply'd with this.

The Lords House nominated the Earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, and the Lord Viscount Hereford, the Lord Brook, and the Lord Berkley, to attend his Majesty from that House; and the Commons appointed the Lord Fairfax, Lord Bruce, Lord Falkland, Lord Castleton, Lord Herbert of Worcester, Lord Mandeville, Sir Horatio Townesend, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Sir George Booth, Sir John Holland, Sir Henry Cholmley, and Denzell Hollis Esquire, to attend his Majesty from that House; who were ordered to make the quickest preparation they could for their Journey, to desire his Majesty to make a speedy return to his Parliament, to the Exercise of his Kingly Office.

His Majesties Letter and Declaration to the Fleet, by the diligence of General Mountague, had the same success there, as that in the Army, being gratefully received by all the Commanders and Sea-men.

The Letter it self was in these words:

CHARLES R.

Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It is no small comfort to us, after so long and great Troubles and Miseries which the whole Nation hath groaned under; and after so great Revolutions, which have

still increased those Miseries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which are the Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Command of two Persons so well disposed to, and concerned in the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the Officers and Sea-men under your Command, are more inclined to return to their Duty to Us, and put a period to these Distempers and Distractions which have so impoverished and dishonoured the Nation, than to widen the Breach, and to raise their Fortunes by Rapine and Violence; which gives Us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the Wounds by the same Plaister that made the Flesh Raw; that he will proceed in the same method, in pouring his Blessings upon Us, which he was pleased to use when he began to afflict Us; and that the Manifestation of the good Affection of the Fleet and Sea-men towards us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Prologue to that Peace which was first interrupted by the mistake and misunderstanding of their Predecessors, which would be such a Blessing upon Us all, that We should not be less delighted with the manner, than the matter of it: In this Hope and Confidence, We have sent the inclosed Declaration to You, by which you may discern how much We are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the General and Publique Peace: In which, as no man can be more, or so much concern'd; so no man can be more solicitous for it. And We do earnestly desire you, that you will cause the said Declaration to be published to all the Officers and Sea-men of the Fleet; to the end, that they may plainly discern, how much We have put it into their Power, to provide for the Peace and Happiness of the Nation, who have been always understood by them, to be the best and most proper Counsellors for those good Ends. And You are likewise further to declare to them, That We have the same Gracious Purpose towards them, which We have expressed towards the Army at Land; and will be as ready to provide for the payment of all Arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their several Merits, as We have expressed to the other; and We will always take so particular a care of them, and their condition, as shall manifest Our kindness towards them. And so depending upon Gods Blessing, for infusing those good Resolutions into your and their Hearts, which are best for Us all, We bid you farewell. Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14 day of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

Superscribed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monck, and General Mountague, Generals at Sea: To be communicated to the Fleet.

Clarges on the fifth day of May began his Journey to his Majesty; and at his parting from the General, he gave him no other Instructions, but to give the King all manner of Assurance of his Fidelity to him, and his Resolution to improve all his Opportunities to his Service: desiring him

1660.

Divers Aldermen, and other Eminent Citizens, sent from the City to his Majesty.

Six of the House of Lords, and Twelve of the Commons, sent to attend upon his Majesty.

His Majesties Letter to the Officers of the Fleet.

The Generals Instructions to Clarges, when he began his Journey.

Bbbbb 2.

1660. *him not to move any thing to his Majesty, either for himself, or him, or any other in his Company, That his Majesty might see that both he, and those so nearly concern'd with him in his Restauration, sought more the Publique Good of their Country, than their own private Honour or Profit: which he did faithfully observe at that time, and ever after. And three days after the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a Proclamation to that purpose, his Majesty was proclaimed with great Solemnity in the Cities of London and Westminster, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London being present; the manner was as followeth:*

The Solemn manner of proclaiming his Majesty in London and Westminster.

The Lords came out of their House into the Painted-Chamber, where they continued till they were placed in Order; the Earl of Manchester first, then the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Oxford, &c. Thus they walked out along with the Heralds before them, through the Court of Requests, and Westminster-Hall, to the Palace, where they staid before the Hall-Gate, whilst Mr. Bish, one of the Heralds, and Mr. Ryly that officiated as King at Arms, with a loud Voice, proclaimed the King in these words.

Although it can no way be doubted, but that His Majesties Right and Title to his Crown and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the Death of His most Royal Father of Glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation: Yet since Proclamations in such cases have always been used, to the end that all good Subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their Duty and Respect; And since the Armed Violence, and other the Calamities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived Us of any such Opportunity, wherein we might express our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majesty; We therefore, the Lords and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, and other Free-men of this Kingdom now present, do, according to Our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, That upon the Decease of Our late Sovereign Lord King Charles, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of England, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the same, did by Inherent Birth-right, and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to his most Excellent Majesty CHARLES the Second; as being Lineally, Justly, and Lawfully next Heir of the Royal Blood of this Realm; And that by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty GOD, He is of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, the most Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King: And thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige Our Selves, our Heirs and Posterities.

The Proclamation being ended, the Lords and Commons took their Coaches, and proceeded in this Order; First, the Head-Bayliff of Westminster, and his Servants, did ride along with white Staffs to prepare the way; Then followed a gallant Troop of the Officers of the Army, and other Gentlemen, with Trumpets before them; Then the Life-Guard, commanded by Captain

Philip Howard, very well mounted, and richly cloath'd; after them a Class of Trumpets, and three Heralds; then a Herald between the Serjeant to the Commons, and the Mace of the Council; Next, Ryly King at Arms, in a rich Coat of the Kings Arms, betwixt Serjeant Norfolk, and Serjeant Middleton; after whom came the Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. Bish. These thus Ushering the way, the Earl of Manchester followed in his Coach and six Horses, the Speaker of the House of Commons in his, then his Excellency General Monck in his; after which followed both Houses of Parliament in Coaches, and after them a Troop of Horse: in this manner they came to White-Hall, where they proclaimed his Majesty a second time; and then proceeded to Temple-Bar, where the Gates being shut, the King at Arms, with Trumpets before him, knocked, and demanded entrance: The Lord Mayor appointed some to ask, *Who it was that knock'd?* The King at Arms reply'd, *That if they would open the Wicket, and let the Lord Mayor come thither, he would to him deliver his Message.* The Lord Mayor came then on Horseback richly habited, in a Crimson-Velvet Gown, to the Gate, and then the Trumpets sounded; and after silence being made, Alderman Bateman, by order of the Lord Mayor, demanded of the Herald, *Who he was, and what was his Message?* To which he answer'd, with his Hat on, *We are the Heralds at Arms, appointed and commanded by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to demand Entrance into the Famous City of London, to proclaim Charles the Second King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and we expect your speedy Answer to this Demand.* To which, after a little consultation amongst themselves, Alderman Bateman answered, *Their Message was accepted, and the Gates should be immediately opened;* which was done accordingly.

The King at Arms entred first, Trumpets sounding before him, and was joyfully received by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and all the Officers of the City Militia gallantly accoutred, both sides of the streets were lin'd by the Trained-bands of London, from Temple-Bar to the Old-Exchange, who stood all with their Swords drawn: The City-Troop march'd next to the Life-guard, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; after whom the Heralds, and the rest, as before: When they came to Chancery-lane end, they proclaim'd his Majesty a third time: And from thence they march'd to Cheap-side, where he was proclaim'd a fourth time; and from thence to the Old-Exchange, where he was again proclaim'd. The shouts and acclamations of the people, at this gallant and orderly Procession, were very great, and their demonstrations of joy, at the several Stations, when the Ceremony of proclaiming was performing, not to be expressed; sometimes they lookt upwards, and then presently cast their eyes towards the General, as if they intended at one time to pay a Tribute of Thankfulness to Heaven, and his Excellency, who had done an action so glorious and transcendent; *that this present Age cannot but admire, and our Posterity will with difficulty believe:* And then again they cry'd out, *God save King Charles the Second;* as if they acknowledged that days joy, as a recompence sufficient

sufficient for all their Pressures and Grievances; so excellent a Tutor is the want of that, which long Fruition makes us imperfectly understand.

The Guns from the Tower were all shot off, and all the Streets that Evening were fill'd with Bone-fires, and the Air with the sound of ringing of Bells; and all seem'd too little to celebrate the content and exultation of the people, at that days Solemnity.

Commissary Clarges his arrival at Breda, where he is graciously received by his Majesty.

Commissary Clarges made such speed in his journey to his Majesty, that on Tuesday the 8th of May in the morning, which was the day after the happy making of this Proclamation, he arrived at Bergen-ap-Zome in Holland, half a days journey from Breda: There the Governor gave him a very Honourable Reception, and accommodated him with his Coach and six Horses to Breda; and a League before he came to the Town, the Lord Gerrard met him with two Coaches and six Horses, and accompanied him to his Majesty, who received him with most Gracious Expressions of satisfaction, as well that he was the first Authorized Messenger, that came to him with the News of the intire Submission of his Kingdoms and Army to his Obedience; as for his Relation to that most Renowned General, from whose prudent Conduct and Courage principally, all that Happiness was derived to his Majesty, and his People.

He presented to his Majesty a Letter from the General, in Answer to his Majesties sent before to him; and in it was inclosed the Address of the Officers of the Army.

May it please your Majesty,

The Generals Letter to his Majesty.

THE Parliament being Sitting at my receipt of your Majesties gracious Letter to me, I thought my self obliged in duty to present it to the House of Commons, whose sense of it, and of that other your Majesty was pleased to send to them by Sir John Greenville, I doubt not but your Majesty will receive an account of by some of their own Members: I have also communicated your Majesties Letter and Declaration to as many of the Chief Officers of the Army as were present in or about London, who resented your Majesties Clemency and Grace to them with very great Duty and Affection, as your Majesty may perceive in the inclosed Address, which within few hours after their Convention, they delivered to me.

By all which circumstances, I hope I may assure your Majesty, That as the Army hath been very Instrumental in their Endeavours to further the Settlement, Peace and Prosperity of your Majesties Kingdoms and Dominions; so nothing will be dearer to them and me, than to be found in our Generations pursuing those good Ends, which may render us serviceable and acceptable to our Country, to give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, and to God the things which are Gods.

May the 5th.

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesties most humble, and Obedient Servant and Subject,

George Monck.

This Letter was dictated by his Excellency in the presence of many Officers of the Army; but he writ another short Letter with his own hand: Wherein he acquainted his Majesty, That he chose to send Mr. Clarges to him, because he was the only Person he trusted in the nearest Concernments and Consultations for his Restauration, as one to whom he desired his Majesty to give Credit to what he should say on that behalf.

1660.

After the reading of these Letters, and the Address inclosed in the former of them, his Majesty Knighted him, and by many kind expressions demonstrated his sense of his Merit and Service to him; and after he had been about an hour with his Majesty, he had his permission to attend his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, who received him with that affability which was inherent in them, the most accomplished and most generous Princes in the world. From them he waited on the Princess of Orange, who expressed great content at his Relation of the News he brought; and at his parting from her, she gave order he should with his whole Retinue be entertained at her Charge whilst he staid in Breda, and have a Coach and six Horses of her Highnesses, with Equipage suitable, to wait on him when he should give order for it. He went then to visit the Lord Chancellor, and from him the Marquess of Ormond, as those deservedly (next the Royal Family) in greatest Credit with his Majesty; both of them receiving him with that respect, as the import and relation of his Message and Person did deserve.

Clarges Knighted by his Majesty, presents himself to the two Dukes, the Princess Royal, and others of the most Eminent of the Court.

The Two Houses of Parliament having perfected the Instructions for their Commissioners, and the Letter to his Majesty, they were delivered to them, and they began their Journey towards the Hague (at which place his Majesty intended to meet them) on the 11th of May, the time prefix'd in the Instructions for their Journey.

Instructions for Aubry Earl of Oxford, Charles Earl of Warwick, Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lycester Viscount Hereford, George Lord Berkley, Robert Lord Brook; the Lord Herbert, the Lord Mandivel, the Lord Bruce, the Lord Castletowne, the Lord Falkland, the Lord Fairfax, Denzel Holles Esquire, Sir Horatio Townsend, Sir John Holland, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Sir George Booth, Sir Henry Cholmley.

The Instructions were thus; (Viz.)

YOU are to begin your Journey towards his Majesty on Friday next, and make a speedy repair to such place where his Majesty shall be, and humbly to present the Letters where with you are respectively intrusted by both Houses of Parliament.

The Parliaments Instructions to their Commissioners, who were sent to wait upon his Majesty.

You are to acquaint his Majesty with what great Joy and Acclamation he was proclaimed in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, upon the eighth day of May instant, and present the Proclamation it self to his Majesty, and to acquaint him with the Orders of both Houses to have the same proclaimed throughout the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and the Dominion of Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

And

1660.

And that both Houses have Ordered,

That all and every the Ministers throughout the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, be joyned in their *Publick Prayers* to pray for his Most Excellent Majesty, and for the most Illustrious Prince *James Duke of York*, and the rest of the *Royal Progeny*. And also have ordered, That the assumed Arms of the late pretended Commonwealth, where-ever they are standing, be taken down; and that his Majesties Arms be set up instead thereof: And you are to communicate to his Majesty the Resolution of both Houses relating to these Instructions.

You are to acquaint his Majesty with the earnest desire of both Houses, that his Majesty will be pleased to make a speedy return to his Parliament, and to the Exercise of his Kingly Office; and that in order thereunto, both Houses have given direction to General *Mountague*, one of the Generals at Sea, and other Officers of the Fleet, to observe such Commands as his Majesty shall please to give him or them for disposal of the Fleet, in order to his Majesties return: And you are to communicate to his Majesty the resolution of both Houses relating to this Instruction.

John Brown, Cl. Parl.

The House of Commons added one more Instruction to the Commissioners; which was, To beseech his Majesty, that the Parliament may know where he purposeth to take Shipping, and to Land at his coming over, that preparation may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majesties Houses he intended to make use of at his first coming to London; And whether he will come all the way by Land after he comes on Shore, or whether he will please to come by Water from *Graves-End* to London? And that his Majesty will declare in what manner he is pleased to be Received.

The Parliament and City-Commissioners have their Audience from his Majesty at the Hague.

All these Commissioners in three days after their departure from London, arrived at the Hague; And on Wednesday the sixteenth of May, our Stile, they had their several Audiences by his Majesty, who received them all with a sweet and serene Countenance, and a Heart full of content and good inclinations towards them; and all the City Commissioners were Knighted by him. He gave that Evening his Dispatch to Sir *Thomas Clarges*, and Commanded him to acquaint the General, He intended to take Shipping at the Bay of *Scheveling* on Monday after, and to Sayl to *Dover*, and Land there; from whence he would immediately go to *Canterbury*, and stay there some time to determine of the manner of his Entrance into London. The Fleet was some days before in pursuance of the Orders of both Houses in the said Bay.

Sir Thomas Clarges returns with intimation of his Majesties Resolution.

On Thursday early in the Morning, Sir *Thomas Clarges* attempted by Boat from *Scheveling*, to get on Board the Admiral, but the Weather was so stormy he could not do it, till towards the Evening; And then General *Mountague* ordered the *Norwich Frigate* for his Transportation: The Winds were so contrary, and the Weather so stormy, that the Pilot could not make any Land in *England* till Monday morning,

at which time he Landed at *Aldbrough* in *Suffolk*, and immediately from thence sent an Express to the General, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, with intimation of his Majesties Resolutions: Whereupon his Excellency with a great and gallant Company of the chiefest of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, set forward from London the 22th of May; and for the more conveniency of Quartering so numerous a Company, he advis'd them to divide themselves into Troops according to the several Counties, and the interest of the Noble-men present.

At *Rocheſter* Sir *Thomas Clarges* met the General, and presented unto him his Majesties Letter, with Royal and most indear'd Assurances of Esteem from the Best of Kings, to the Worthiest and most deserving of Subjects. The Letter was dated the 26th of May. Directed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monck, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and Well-beloved, We Greet you well. You will easily believe that your His Majesties Letter to the General. Letter of the fifth of this Moneth, by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, was very welcom to us: And that as we must always acknowledge the infinite Mercy of God Almighty in disposing the Hearts of the Army in such an intire obedience to you, for the promoting and carrying on Our Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; So We can never be without a Just Esteem of such a great and well-disciplin'd Army, upon which the Eyes of the World are so much fixed. We must desire you to return Our very hearty Thanks to the Officers and Souldiers for their Affection and Obedience to Us; and to assure them from Us, that we shall always have an intire Confidence in them, and ever acknowledge them to be the great Instruments of restoring Us to Peace, and Happiness, and security to Us all: And therefore they may not only with all imaginable confidence assure themselves, that We will punctually perform whatever We have promised to them in Our Declaration or Letter, but that We will take them into Our particular Care and Protection. And if the Licence and distemper of the Time shall so far transport any men, as to presume upon memory of former Animosities, and of what is past, to use any reproaches towards them, We will look upon such Persons as Disturbers of the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and shall cause them to be prosecuted accordingly. And towards this Settlement and Composure, and for the prevention of many inconveniencies which may fall out, We think nothing so necessary as Our Presence with you, by which (in a very short time) every Member of the Army, who shall faithfully adhere to you in advancement of the Publick Peace, shall with the Blessing of God, find himself secured and provided for, to his satisfaction. And longing for that blessed time, We bid you heartily farewell.

His Excellency being in his Journey, had no opportunity to communicate this Letter to any

any more of his Officers than those that were present with him.

But the Fame of his Majesties transcendent Vertues had prevented this written discovery of them, and made indelible impressions of duty and affection in the Army.

The King intended to have taken shipping on Monday, but the Crossness of the Winds forc'd him a little to defer it. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, went on Monday and Tuesday to the Fleet, to take Charge thereof as Lord High Admiral: And on Wednesday the 23 his Sacred Majesty, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal of Orange, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Prince of Orange, went on board the *Naseby*, (which his Majesty now named the *Royal Charles*) where after a Re-past, The Queen of Bohemia, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of Orange her Son, took leave of his Majesty, and then the Fleet set sail for England: His Royal Highness the Duke of York came in the *London*; and the Duke of Gloucester in the *Swiftsure*, now called the *James*.

The King and the Dukes take Shipping for England.

His Majesties Entertainment from the States of Holland.

During the time his Majesty had remain'd at the *Hague*, and all the way thither from *Breda*, the States of *Holland* entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and at his departure they presented him with a rich Bed, of the Value of Seven Thousand pounds *Sterling*; and as much Linnen as was valued at a Thousand pounds.

On Friday about three of the Clock in the Morning, the Fleet was in sight of *Dover*, where-upon an Express was sent to the General (then newly come to *Canterbury*) to haste to *Dover*; which he presently did, and about ten of the Clock came thither.

His Excellency before he came from *Canterbury*, advising with the Earl of *Lindsey*, and some of the other Noble-men that accompanied him, about the conveniency of his Majesties stay at *Dover*, was informed that he could have no accommodation there for a fourth part of his Train, and those that came to wait on him, and therefore he resolv'd humbly to move him, at his Landing, to proceed on directly to *Canterbury*.

His Majesty Lands at Dover.

About One in the Afternoon, his Majesty Landed at the *Beech* near *Dover-Peer*, with the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, and many Noble-men and Gentlemen. All that were present put themselves into Posture, to see the Meeting of the King and the General: The Admirers of Majesty, were Jealous on his Majesties Behalf, of too low Condescension; and the Lovers of Duty fearful on the other Side, of an Ostentation of Merit: But such an humble Prostration was made by the General, and so generous a Reception by his Majesty, kissing and embracing him, that all Parties were satisfied, to admiration. And his Excellency from that time received so great an Impression of the marvellous Goodness of his Majesty, that he resolv'd what before he had perform'd out of bounden Duty to his Liege-Lord, should be for ever continued with the same observance, out of Loyal Affections to his Gracious Sovereign.

His Reception there.

His Majesty walked from the Water-side, towards the Town, with the General, a Canopy being carried over his Head, and a Chair of State by him; and upon his Excellencies Motion, for his going to *Canterbury*, for the Reasons before

expressed, he hasted to his Coach; in his Passage to which, he was met by the Major and Aldermen of the Town, with Mr. *Reading* their Minister, who presented his Majesty with a large Bible, with Gold Clasps: At one end of the Coach next the King, sat the Duke of York, and at the other the Duke of Gloucester, and the General; and the Duke of Buckingham sat in the Boot. About two miles from *Dover*, his Majesty took Horse, his Royal Brothers rode on his right hand, and the General on his left; After whom the Duke of Buckingham, and several other Noble-men and Gentlemen follow'd in gallant Equipage.

At his Majesties Entrance into *Canterbury*, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen, and Mr. *Lovelace* the Recorder, who made an eloquent Speech to him; the Mayor also presented him with a Tankard of Massie Gold, and then conducted him to the Palace, where he remained till Monday.

1660

His Reception at Canterbury.

The next Day after his Arrival at *Canterbury*, his Majesty Dignified his Excellency with the Honour of the Garter; he was brought up to the King by the Earl of *Winchelsea*, and the Lord *Mordant*, who were both Knighted with him; and his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, in great Testimony of Respect to him, assisted at the Ceremony, and put on the Garter, and the *George*; Mr. *Morrice* was also Knighted, and Declared Secretary of State; and that Evening his Majesty sent the General a Warrant to be Master of his Horse.

His Majesty confers the Order of the Garter, upon the General, and the Honour of Knight-hood upon the Earl of Winchelsea, the Lord Mordant and divers others.

His Majesty likewise at *Canterbury*, confer'd the Honour of Knighthood on Major-General *Massey*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. *Daniel Harvey*, Mr. *Thomas Stewkley*, Colonel *Rossiter*, Captain *Philip Howard*, and Mr. *Robert Paston*. Moreover, his Excellency, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, were Sworn of the Privy-Council.

On Monday following, his Majesty came into *Rocheſter*, where, after he had a little refreshed himself, he went to *Chatham*, to see the Royal Sovereign, and returned that Night to Colonel *Gibbons* his House, where he lay, and was by the Colonel presented with a most Dutiful and Loyal Address from him and his Regiment which was then Quartered in *Rocheſter*.

He is entertained at Rocheſter by Col. Gibbons.

From thence his Majesty marched to *Black-Heath*, where the Army was drawn up, and was much pleas'd with the sight of it; for indeed they seem'd all men of one age, and one mind, and were for their number, as gallant Troops as were to be seen in the World.

The Army being drawn up on Black-Heath welcomed his Majesty with great joy and acclamation.

Colonel *Knight* there most humbly presented to his Majesty a Writing, which contained the most humble and obedient Declaration of the Armies joy, for the Honour of his Majesties presence amongst them; wherein after many dutiful expressions of exalted gladness for his Majesties Restauration, they besought, That his Majesty would have now his great Council about him, who had already given proof of their Loyalty and Wisdom both to his Majesty and all his People. They also declared, That as they had not been altogether useless in the Restauration of his Sacred Majesty, to his Crown and Kingdom, and his People to their just Rights thereby; so they should for the future cheerfully sacrifice their Lives,

or

1660

The manner of
his Majesties
Triumphal
Cavalcade
through the
City of Lon-
don.

or whatsoever could be more dear unto them, in the service of his Majesty, against all opposers whatsoever, and by a ready Obedience to his Majesties Commands, express themselves better than in words.

When his Majesty came to St. Georges's Fields, the Lord Major and Aldermen humbly on their knees Reverenc'd him, and the Lord Major presented his Sword, which his Majesty gave back to him; and after a little Collation in a Tent, provided by the Lord Major, his Majesty went towards White-Hall in this manner:

All the streets were richly adorn'd with Tapestries, from London-Bridge to White-Hall; and as far as Temple-Bar, were equally ranked in good order, the Trained-Band-Forces on the one side of the streets, and the several Companies in their Liveries on the other: From Temple-Bar to White-Hall, the Trained-Bands of Westminster, and the parts adjacent on one side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was joyn'd a gallant Company of the late Kings Officers, Commanded by Sir John Stowell.

The Procession was led by Major General Brown, who had a Troop of three hundred, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed twelve hundred in Velvet Coats, with Foot-men and Liveries attending them in Purple; Then another Troop led by Alderman Robinson, in Buff-Coats, with Cloth of Silver-sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs; and after these a Troop of about a hundred and fifty with blew Liveries, laced with Silver Lace, with six Trumpeters, and seven Foot-men in Sea-green and Silver: Then a Troop of two hundred and twenty, with thirty Foot-men in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly Cloathed; Then another Troop of one hundred and five, with Gray Liveries, and six Trumpets: and another of seventy with five Trumpets: And then three Troops more, two of three hundred, and one of one hundred, all richly habited, and bravely mounted. After these came two Trumpets with his Majesties Arms; The Sheriffs men in red Cloaks richly Laced with Silver Lace, to the number of fourscore, with half Pikes in their hands: then followed six hundred of the several Companies of London on Horseback, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains, each Company having Foot-men in Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, and three Streamers, and many rich red Liveries with Silver Lace: After these twelve Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum, and four Trumpets, and his Majesties Life-guard of Horse, Commanded by the Lord Gerrard; Then three Trumpets in rich Coats, and Satin Doublets, and the City Marshal, with eight Foot-men in French-Green, trim'd with Crimson and White: The City Waits, and all the City Officers in order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of London in Scarlet Gowns, and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, Red Coats Laced with Silver, and Cloth of Gold and Silver. The Heralds and Maces in rich Coats. Then the Lord Major carrying the Sword bare, and next to him the Duke of Buckingham, and the General, and then the Kings Majesty betwixt the Dukes of York and Gloucester: Then followed a Troop of Horse with white colours, and after them, the Generals Life-guard, led by Sir Philip Howard:

Then five Regiments of the Army-Horse, led by Colonel Knight: And after them, two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Thus was his Majesty conducted to his Royal Palace at White-Hall, on the nine and twentieth day of May, His Birth-day; and with him, Peace and Happiness return'd to His Kingdoms and People, which all good men desire may be for ever continued to them, under the happy Government of Him and His Posterity.

When the Lord Major had taken leave of him, he went to the Lords, where he was entertained with a Grave but Eloquent Speech of the Earl of Manchester, and from thence to the Banqueting-House, where the whole House of Commons attending him, the Speaker in their Names expressed the Joyful Sence they all had, to behold his Majesty returned in safety, and thereby an end was put to that Tyranny and Slavery his good People had endured.

The King told them, He was so disordered by his Journey, and with the noise still sounding in his Ears, (which nevertheless He confess'd was pleasing to him, because it expressed the Affections of his People) that he was thereby unfit to make such a Reply as he desired; But added, That he took no greater Satisfaction to himself in this his Change, than that he found his heart really set to endeavour by all means the restoring of these Nations to their Freedom and Happiness; which he hoped by the Advice of his Parliament to effect: And that, next to the Honour of God, from whom he chiefly owned the Restoration to his Crown, he would study the Welfare of his People; and not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a Just Assertor of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.

After the conclusion of these Ceremonies, he intended to go to Westminster-Abby to offer up a Thanksgiving to GOD for all his Deliverances and Mercies towards him; but by the Weariness he had contracted through the Toil, (however grateful) of that Days Action, he was diverted from his intention of going thither; yet would he not for any consideration be withheld from his Devotion, and his Oblations of Thanks to God, which at that time he made in his Presence-Chamber, because his Chappel was not yet prepared for his Reception.

The next day the Dukes of York and Gloucester took their Places in the House of Peers, as did a while after several other Peers who were made by his Majesty beyond the Seas, and Summoned by Writ; viz. Henry Fermin Earl of St. Albanes, and Baron of St. Edmonds-Bury; John Mordant, Viscount Mordant of Aveland; Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Baron Langdale of Holm; Charles Crofts, Baron Crofts; Sir John Barklay, Baron Barklay.

In the first place after his Majesties Arrival, were appointed the chief Officers of State, and of his Majesties Household, His Highness the Duke of York was Invested with the Office of Lord High-Admiral of England, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports. The Lord General Monk was continued Captain General of all the Forces of the Three Kingdoms, and made Master of the Horse to His Majesty: Sir Edward

Hide

Hide (afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*) was constituted Lord High Chancellour of *England*: The Earl of *Southampton* Lord High Treasurer of *England*: Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*, Chief Secretaries of State. The Marquess of *Ormond* was appointed Lord Steward: and the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household: Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treasurer of the Household; and Sir *Charles Berkley*, Comptroller: and Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy: Besides several others, who for their Eminent Loyalty and good Services, were advanced to Places of Highest Trust and Dignity in Court and Commonwealth. Moreover, his Majesties Privy Council consisted of these Persons following:

The Lords of his Majesties Privy Council.

The Duke of *York*.
 Lord Chancellour.
 Marquess of *Ormond*.
 Marquess of *Dorchester*.
 Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord high Chamberlain of *England*.
 Earl of *Berkshire*.
 Earl of *Southampton*.
 Earl of *Norwich*.
 Lord *Say and Seal*.
 Lord *Wentworth*.
 Lord *Seymour*.
 Mr. *Denzell Holles*.
 Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treasurer of His Majesties Household.
 Sir *Edward Nicholas*.
 Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain to His Majesty.
 Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*.
 Colonel *Charles Howard*.
 The Duke of *Gloucester*.
 Lord General *Monck*.
 Marquess of *Hertford*.
 Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household.
 Earl of *Northumberland*.
 Earl of *St. Albans*.
 Earl of *Leicester*.
 Lord *Culpeper*.
 Lord *Roberts*.
 Mr. *Arthur Annesly*.
 Sir *Charles Barkley* Comptroller of his Majesties Household.
 Sir *William Morrice*.
 General *Mountague*.

The Clerks of the Privy Council were Sir *Richard Brown* Knight and Baronet, (who having been 19 Years Resident in the Court of *France* for his Majesty and his Royal Father, managed that Imployment with extraordinary Prudence, Address and Integrity, and in whose Chappel at *Paris* the Liturgy of the Church of *England* had been solemnly kept up during its Eclipse at home) Sir *Edward Walker* Garter King of Arms. *John Nicholas* Esq; Eldest Son to the Secretary of State; And Sir *George Lane*, Secretary to the Marquess of *Ormond*.

Military Commands conferred upon several Lords and Gentlemen,

In the next place, special Care was taken for the committing of all Military Offices of highest Trust, as well as the Civil already mentioned, into the hands of such Persons as were judged

most faithful to the Kings Service; so that the Governments of all the most Important Castles, Fortresses, and Islands, and the first Commands of the several Regiments of the Army, were by the Lord General conferred upon such Lords & other Persons of Honour, as the King was pleas'd to recommend unto him to that Effect, until such time as the Army could conveniently be disbanded. Likewise, for the farther settling of the *Militia* of the Nation, there were of the Chief Nobility of the Land Constituted Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties, each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, such Gentlemen of the same Counties as had most eminently shewn their affections to his Majesty.

The *House of Commons* in the mean time, applied themselves to the perfecting of an *Act of General Pardon*, which was read Twice in the *House* the One and Thirtieth of this Moneth, thereby complying with that great Clemency and Indulgence of his Majesty to his People, expressed in his most gracious Letter from *Breda*. They had in the first Proposition of this *Act*, designed to except from Pardon several of the Judges of the late King, and others instrumental in the perpetration of that horrid Treason: of which they had in Custody Eight persons, (*viz.*) *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Clement*, and *Jones*, of the Judges; *Cook* who was the Prosecutor, *Hacker* Captain of the Halberdeers, and Colonel *Axtel*, also *Hugh Peters* the Minister, a virulent Incendiary in the action, who for a while had been sculking up and down in secret, was at length taken in *Southwark*. There were others that had been seduced into that Treason, (*viz.*) Colonel *Richard Ingoldsby*, *Francis Lassels*, and *John Hutchinson*; but so much was said in the *House* in their favours, that they were not made culpable with the rest. As for *Ingoldsby*, it was made to appear, that *Oliver Cromwell*, without his consent, set his hand and seal to the Warrant for Execution of the King: Besides that, by many Actions of his Loyalty since, and his Engagement in Sir *George Booth*'s business, and against *Lambert*, (as is before related) he had given eminent testimony of his abhorrency of so foul a Crime. *Lassels* had never been in the High Court of Justice, and but once at any meeting with them, and at that time he declared his dissent to their proceedings. And *Hutchinson* had been a very early Convert, and appeared much against that execrable Oath of Abjuration of the King's Person and Posterity, in that part of the *Parliament* which sat at the time of General *Monck*'s March into *London*.

This *Act of General Pardon* had so many particulars in it of different nature, that it took up very much time; but nevertheless, the *Parliament* omitted not to perfect some necessary Laws for the safety of the Government. On the second of *June*, the *Parliament* having the day before intimated to the King, that they had prepared Three Bills for him, His Majesty came to the *House of Lords*, and having sent to the *House of Commons* to attend him, there gave his Royal Assent to them; (*viz.*) To an *ACT* for Confirmation of an Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons in his absence, of the raising of Seventy Thousand Pounds a Moneth for Three Moneths. An *ACT* for Confirmation of the present *Parliament*.
 C c c c And

1660

The Commons set upon the Act of General Pardon.

The King comes to the Parliament, and gives his Royal Assent to several Bills.

1660

And, *An ACT for the Continuance of Process in Judicial Proceedings.* Which last was for avoiding of Discontinuances in the Courts of *Westminster*, because the first four Returns of *Easter-Term* could not be conveniently kept, and to prevent the abatement of Writs that were not issued in the Kings Name before his Return to the exercise of Government.

His Majesty also prest them (as well by his particular Charge, as by the Lord Chancellor's Speech) to hasten their passing of the *Bill of Indemnity*, which (as well as all other Bills of Publick Concernment) he was ready to Sign; whereupon this Bill was from thenceforth the grand business of both *Houses* until it was finished: Nor could it be finished till after some considerable time, and many large and serious Consultations. In the mean time, the *Two Houses* themselves desired to lay hold upon this *Amnesty* in the Name of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of the Nation: which being easily granted by the King, the Ceremony was performed in the *Banqueting-House*, where they waited upon his Majesty to that end.

About this time came forth a *Proclamation*, whereby it was declared, *That all such of the late Kings Judges as did not render themselves, should be Excepted out of the General Pardon:* And thereupon *Adrian Scroop*, and Nineteen others of them concealed in several parts, presented themselves to the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*, and were committed to Custody. The Lord *Grey of Grooby*, and four and twenty more were dead, and *Thomas Scot*, and Nineteen others escaped beyond the Seas, but were attainted by Act of Parliament, as shall be hereafter expressed; And *Scot* was, shortly after his Escape, taken at *Bruxels* and by the diligence of the Kings Agent there sent into *England*, and sent to the *Tower*.

The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance taken by both Houses of Parliament. The Kings Servants and Officers of his Household, &c.

On the 4th of *June*, the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* to the King were tendered to all the Members of both *Houses of Parliament*, with the Kings Servants and Officers of his Household, by the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain: And by Order of *Parliament*, of the 4th of the same Month, the Lord General was desired to take an effectual Care, that the same Oaths should be administred to all the Officers and Souldiers of the Armies under his Command; And the Lord Chancellor to that end was also desired to Issue forth Commissions under the Great Seal of *England*, to such persons as the Lord General should nominate and appoint, for administring the said Oaths to the Officers and Souldiers accordingly. This Order was with all imaginable Care executed both by the General and the Chancellor: And to settle the Army so as it might be most serviceable to his Majesty, he removed several Colonels and other Officers, and placed divers of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry in their places.

His Majesties Arrival Congratulated by the People from all parts of the Nation.

As the generality of the people had a little before, upon the conclusion of his Majesties Admission into his Dominions, and his preparation to come over, given great demonstrations of their Affection and Loyalty to him, by their universal alacrity in proclaiming him throughout the Three Nations; So likewise, immediately after he was come, they were no less forward

to manifest their Duty and Allegiance by Congratulatory Addresses from all parts of the Kingdom, (the like duty being perform'd by several of the Nobility and Gentry both of *Scotland* and *Ireland*;) also those Towns and Corporations that had bought out their several Fee-Farm-Rents belonging Formerly to the Crown, and by the late *Commonwealth* alienated from it, sent their Deputies to his Majesty, to make a voluntary Surrender of them back again unto him. Others presented him with summs of Gold and other gifts according to their abilities: But the City of *London*, as being the first, the richest and most Honourable, and the Seat of Kings for many Ages, judg'd themselves oblig'd in point of Duty and Reputation, to exceed all the rest in the glory of their performances toward their Sovereign; and therefore to the splendour of their former preparations at his first Reception and Triumphal *Extrada*, they added the Cost of a most Magnificent entertainment at *Guild-Hall*, (which was for that very purpose richly beautified and adorn'd) to which the King, the two Princes his Brothers, the Lords of the Privy Council, the Two Houses of Parliament, and the Chief Officers of State being solemnly invited, were, on *Thursday* the 5th of *July*, conducted thither in very great Pomp by the Lord Major and the Grandees of the City, where they were Treated in a Royal manner with the choicest of delicacies, with excellent Musick, and whatever else could be thought on or delightful for so illustrious an Assembly.

His Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*.

Nor was his Majesty wanting on the other side to give such publick Testimonies of his Vertue and Prudence, as might render him deservedly glorious in the esteem of all sober and moderate persons, and that by several wholesome Edicts, especially by that seasonable *Proclamation* which he published, one of the first things he did after his Arrival, for the discountenancing and punishing of Debauchery, Profaneness and all manner of Vice: Dated the 31 of *May* 1660.

He sets forth a *Proclamation* on against Debauchery and Profaneness.

The King sate very frequently in Council about the great Affairs of Government; and upon Information that many *Irish* Rebels had in unusual numbers resorted from beyond the Seas to *England* and *Ireland*, and were so insolent as to dispossess many Souldiers, and Adventurers in *Ireland*, who had possession of their forfeited Estates; at the humble Request of the Parliament, the King published a *Proclamation*, Commanding all *Irish* Rebels (such only excepted as by Articles had the Liberty of residing in his Majesties Dominions, and have not forfeited the same,) that still stay in, or shall resort to, *England* or *Ireland*, to be apprehended and proceeded against as Rebels and Traytors: And that the Adventurers and Souldiers should not be disturbed in their Possessions, until the King by Advice of Parliament shall take further Order, or they be Legally Evicted. And requiring all Officers both Civil and Military, to see the said *Proclamation* put in Execution.

The Kings *Proclamation* concerning the *Irish* Rebels.

But notwithstanding his Majesties great Care and Zeal to Settle and Compose all publick Differences, many ill-affected people in Pamphlets aspersed his Actions, maliciously endeavouring to insinuate, that he intended nothing less than the performance of his Promises from

Breda:

Breda; which made him send a Message to the House of Commons by Sir William Morrice, to quicken their Debates about the *Act of General Pardon and Indempnity*, as that which would best quiet the minds of his Subjects.

The Kings Message to the House of Commons, about the *Act of General Pardon*.

He told them, 'He had too ample a manifestation of their affections and duty towards him, (the good Effects of which was notorious to the World) to make the least doubt of the continuance and improvement thereof, or in the least degree to dislike what they had done, or to complain of what they had left undone: And that he knew well the Weight of those Affairs which depended upon their Counsels, and the time that must unavoidably be spent, where there must be naturally difference of Opinions and Judgments amongst those whose desires of the Publick Peace and Safety were the same. And that neither he nor they must be over-much troubled, if they found their good Intention, and unwearied pains, taken to reduce those good Intentions into real Acts for the quiet and security of the Nation, misrepresented, and mis-interpreted, by those who are in truth afflicted to see the Publick Distractions, by Gods Blessing, so near an end; and by others, upon whose weakness, fears and jealousies, the activity and cunning of those ill men hath had too great an Influence.

'That how wonderful and miraculous soever the great harmony of affections between him and his Subjects is, (it being so visible to the World, that there scarce appears the view of any Cloud to over-shadow or disturb it) yet it is not to be thought that God Almighty had wrought the Miracle to that degree, that a Nation so miraculously divided for so many years, would be so soon and intirely united in their affections and endeavours as were to be wished; but that the Evil Consciences of many continued so awake for mischief, they would not be willing to take rest themselves, or suffer others to take it: And that they all had too sad Experience of the unhappy effects of fears and jealousies (how groundless and unreasonable soever) not to think it very necessary to apply all timely and proper Remedies to those Distempers, and to prevent the inconveniences and mischiefs which so naturally flow from thence: That he well foresaw, that the great violation which the Laws of the Land had for so many years sustained, had filled the hearts of the people with a terrible apprehension of insecurity to themselves, if all they had said and done should be liable to be examined and punished by those Laws which had been so violated; and that nothing could establish the security of King and People, but a full Provision, that the returning to the reverence and obedience of the Law (which is good for all) should not turn to the ruine of any who were willing and fit to receive that Protection hereafter from the Law, and to pay that subjection to it which were just and necessary; and therefore, he said, he made a free Offer of a General Pardon in such a manner as was expressed in his Declaration; and how ready and desirous he was to make good the same, appeared by his Proclamation issued out upon and according to their desire: However, it was evident, that all

he had offered, or did offer, did not enough compose the minds of his people; nor in their Opinions could their security be provided for, till the *Act of Indempnity and Oblivion* were passed. He said, He found great industry used (by those who did not wish that Peace to the Kingdom they ought to do) to perswade his good Subjects that he had no mind to make good his Promises, which he desired to perform for his own sake, as well as theirs. And that therefore he did very earnestly recommend it to them, that all expedition might be used in the passing that most necessary Act, whereby his good Subjects generally would be satisfied, that their security was in their own hands, and depended upon their future actions, and that they were free for all past; and so all the endeavours of ill men would be disappointed, who would perswade them not to do well now, because they had done amiss heretofore. And that he was the more engag'd to this his recommendation, because upon the reflection of their Eminent Zeal and Affection for his Service, and hearty Concurrence with him in all things desired from them, men were apt to perswade others (though not believing it themselves) that the passing of this Act was therefore not desired, because he did not enough press the dispatch of it; which he did desire from his heart, and was confident they would the sooner do it, upon his earnest recommendation.

This Message did so much quicken their Debates, that they dispatch'd the Bill in a very short time, and sent it up to the Lords, and the Peoples minds were much compos'd thereby; and the more, for that his Majesty by a Proclamation after it, did declare a kind of impatience for the delay thereof.

About the beginning of July, General Monk was by Letters-Patents under the Great Seal of England, made Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchampe, and Teyes, and summoned by Writ to the House of Peers. The Titles of Albemarle and Beauchampe were conferred on him, because he was descended from Margaret, one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of Richard Beauchampe, Earl of Albemarle and Warwick, who was married to the Famous Warriour John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, well known in France, whose Son John had only one Daughter married to Edward Grey Viscount Lisle, whose Daughter and Heir Elizabeth Grey was married to Arthur Plantagenet, a Natural Son of King Edward the Fourth, who was in her right Viscount Lisle; and Frances, one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of the said Viscount Lisle, was married to Sir Thomas Monk, Great Grand-father to the present Duke of Albemarle.

And a few days after, Mr. Edward Mountague, one of the Generals at Sea, was made a Knight of the Order of the Garter, and by Letters-Patents dignified with the Honours of Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Mountague of Hinchbrook, and Baron of S. Needs. And the Marquess of Ormond was made Earl of Brecknock, and Baron Butler of Lanthony; and these two in the same Order they were created, had Writs to summon them to the House of Peers. Which Marquess was afterwards created the Duke of Ormond.

1660.

The Lords in *Parliament* were in Consultation to except 'all from Pardon that had been Judges in any High Court of Justice, which was no more than such men deserved, who could so maliciously contribute to the subversion of the good Laws and Government of their Native Country: But the Kings Clemency extended to all who were not guilty of his Fathers Murder; and observing those Debates to obstruct much the speedy perfecting that Bill he so earnestly desired to have finished, on the 27th of July he went to the said *House*, and in a handsome and most gracious Speech, expressed his Zeal for it in the following words:

My Lords,

The Kings Speech to the Parliament to hasten the perfecting of the Act of Oblivion.

When I came first hither to you, which was within two or three days after I came to *White-Hall*, I did with as much earnestness as I could, both by my self, and the *Chancellor*, recommend to you and the *House of Commons*, the speedy dispatch of the *Act of Indemnity*, as a necessary Foundation of that Security We all pray for: I did since, by a particular *Message* to the *House of Commons*, again press them to hasten that important work; And did likewise by a *Proclamation* publish to all the Kingdom, That I did with impatience expect that that *Act* would be presented to me for my Assent, as the most reasonable and solid Foundation of that Peace, Happiness, and Security I hope and pray for to my self, and all my Dominions. I will not deny it to you, I thought the *House of Commons* too long about that work; and therefore now it is come up to you, I would not have you guilty of the same delay. I thank God I have the same Intentions and Resolutions, now I am here with you, which I had at *Breda*, and believe that I owe my being here, to Gods blessing upon the Intentions and Resolutions I then expressed to have. I will read to you what I then said:

And to the end that the fear of Punishment may not ingage any, Conscious to themselves of what is passed, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by exposing the quiet and happiness of their Country, in the Restoration both of King, Peers and People, to their Just, Ancient and Fundamental Rights; We do by these Presents declare, That We do grant a Free and General Pardon, which We are ready upon demand, to pass under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publick Act declare their doing so; And that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects (excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament*.)

Those only excepted, let all Our loving Subjects, how faulty soever, relye upon the Word of a King solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against Us or Our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question against any of them, to the least endamage of them,

either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our power) so much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of Our best Subjects: We desiring and ordaining, That henceforward all Notes of Discord, Separation and Difference of Parties be utterly abolished among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves under Our Protection, for the re-settlement of Our just Rights, and Theirs, in a *Free Parliament*; by which, upon the Word of a King, We will be advised.

My Lords, If you do not joyn with Me in extinguishing this Fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehensive of safety and security, you keep me from performing my Promise; which if I had not made, I am persuaded neither I nor you had been now here: I pray let us not deceive those who brought, or permitted us to come together. I knew well there were some men who could neither forgive themselves, nor be forgiven by Us; and I thank you for your Justice towards those, the immediate Murderers of my Father: And I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the benefit you and I have received from that offer; and encourage and oblige all other persons, by not excluding them from the benefit of this Act. This Mercy and Indulgence is the best way to bring them to a true repentance, and to make them more severe to themselves, when they find we are not so to them. It will make them good Subjects to me, and good Friends and Neighbours to you, and we have then all our ends, and you shall find this the securest Expedient to prevent future mischief. Therefore I do earnestly desire and conjure you, to depart from all particular animosities and revenge, or memory of past provocations, and that you will pass this Act without other Exceptions, than of those who were immediately guilty of that Murder of my Father.

My Lords, I have told you my Opinion, and I hope you will be of the same. If any persons appear of such dangerous and obstinate Principles, that the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preserved whilst they have Liberty in it, some other course may be taken, that they shall not be able to do hurt; and I assure you, there is nothing can enable them to do so much harm, as the deferring the passing this Act.

I hope I need say nothing of *Ireland*, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my Mercy: They have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my Honour, and of what I have promised to them. I do again conjure you, that you will use all expedition in the dispatch of this *Bill*.

This Speech did not only expedite the passing of this Act in the *House of Peers*, but give a general satisfaction to the people, who were exceedingly quieted in their minds with the Kings resolute care on the behalf of all his Subjects; nor was his mind so intent on this necessary Affair, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government: But observing, that the late Differences of his People had created many Animositities

His Majesties
Proclamation
against fight-
ing of Duels.

fities amongst them, which occasioned frequent Duels, he thought fit to prevent the inconveniencies thereof by a *Proclamation*; whereby he manifested so great a dislike of Duels, as strictly to command all his Subjects whatsoever, neither by themselves, nor any other by Message, Word or Writing, or other ways or means to Challenge, or cause to be Challenged, any person or persons to fight in Duel, nor to carry, accept, nor conceal any Challenge, nor actually to fight, or be second to any therein.

And he further declared, That every person offending against his Commands herein, should not only incur his Displeasure, but be incapable of holding any Office in his Service, and never after be permitted to come to Court, or prefer'd, besides the suffering such punishment as the Law should inflict on such Offenders; And all persons that should accept or know of such Challenges, and not reveal the same to one of the Privy Council, or the next Justice of Peace, should be liable to the same Penalties. And further, he was so severe in this matter, as to forbid any Intercession to be made for Offenders against this Proclamation.

By this good Government, a general tranquillity appear'd in all the King's Dominions; and to lessen the Publick Charge, the Parliament were providing Money to disband the Armies, and pay off such of the Ships as were more than needful for the guard of the Seas. And in order hereunto, the General was so provident, as to give order to the Muster-Master-General to admit of no new Souldiers in any Troop or Companies, and the Officers likewise had Charge to entertain none upon any vacancies.

The English Commissioners in Scotland having been employed as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commissions continued in force for some time after the Kings coming in, they were at length by the Letters from the Duke of Albemarle acquainted with the Kings pleasure, That from the 22 of August they should cease to act any more in this their Judicatory Power, in regard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduc'd to its ancient form of Government; in order to which, Proclamation was made in the Kings Name, for the speedy Convening of the Committee of the Three Estates of Scotland; a Parliament also being to be called there within a few Months: And in the interim, the Chief Ministers of State were Constituted: The Earl of Glencarn was made Lord Chancellour; the Lord Craford-Lindsey Lord Treasurer; the Earl of Cassiles Justice-General, the Earl of Lauderdale Chief Secretary of State, and General Middleton the Kings Commissioner, with several others.

The Committee of Estates being assembled, made it their first care to keep all things in peace and quiet, and obedience to the present Government; for notwithstanding the late unanimous concurrence of the people at Edenborough (as well as other places) in the publick Proclaiming of his Majesty, yet after a short while there began to discover it self a spirit of discontent among certain Scotch Ministers, who were of the principal Sticklers of the Kirk-party, as appear'd by their meeting together at a place appointed, for the drawing up of a Remonstrance

Certain Scotch
Ministers im-
prisoned by
Order of the
Committee of
Estates.

concerning certain things wherein they thought themselves aggrieved; which the Committee of Estates having notice of, sent forthwith to apprehend them, and clapt them up in Prison; and for the prevention of the like disturbances for the future, set forth a Proclamation against all Unlawful Meetings, and Seditious Papers.

And the same thing that befel these Ministers, hapned also to their Countryman the Marquess of Argyle, who notwithstanding that he came to Court with others of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, upon pretence of tending his service to his Majesty; yet he had not it seems carried himself so blamelessly, but that a sufficient cause was found for the laying of High Treason to his Charge, and committing him thereupon a Prisoner to the Tower; and together with him were committed the Marquess of Antrim, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, besides several others that follow'd soon after.

In Ireland the Convention that had assembled there upon the change of Government, as soon as they had taken order for the settling of things in that Nation, in conformity to the Kings Authority, (Colonel Eyres, who endeavour'd to raise a Party in opposition to it, being reduc'd by Sir Charles Coote) and had appointed from among them certain Commissioners to wait upon his Majesty with their Gratulations and desires, thought fit to dissolve themselves, in expectation of the Kings Pleasure for the calling of a full Parliament, and to make way for the Ancient Constitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and his Council.

The Act of Indemnity was sent from the Lords to the Commons with several alterations, to which the Commons were very unwilling to agree; for they had subjected twenty that were not the Kings Judges, to be liable to such pains and penalties, not extending to life, as should be inflicted by another Act to be passed in this Parliament: Whereas the Lords finding the Kings Inclination to tend towards the pardoning of all but such as were his Fathers Judges, or otherwise Actors in his Murder, they disagreed to that part of the Act, as to all those named by the Commons, except Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel John Lambert, who were esteemed to be so maliciously active in opposition to his Majesties Government, as to be excepted from any conditions of Pardon. The Commons for some time adhered to their first Resolution; but after several Conferences, they agreed with the Lords in all things, except some little alterations to their frame of the Act; Vane and Lambert were excepted, but Haslerig remained liable to such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, as should be inflicted on him, not extending to life; and the rest of those put under the same Qualification by the Commons that were not of the Kings Judges, were made only with others incapable of Offices, as shall be hereafter shewn, when we come to write of the parts of that Act.

That which put Sir Arthur Haslerig under so favourable a Qualification, was an Engagement made to him by the Duke of Albemarle; For Haslerig coming to him, when he perceiv'd the Revolution hasten towards the Restoration

1660.

The Marquess
of Argyle, and
others, sent to
the Tower of
London.

The Conven-
tion in Ireland
dissolve them-
selves.

The Debate
between the
Lords and
Commons
concerning the
Act of In-
dempnity.

Sir Arthur Ha-
slerig pardon-
ed, upon the
Mediation of
the Duke of
Albemarle.

1660.

Restoration of the King and his Government, he expostulated with him about it, in reference to the security of his own Condition: The Duke was unwilling to make him desperate, because he had at that time a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot in the Garrisons of *Newcastle, Tinnmouth, Berwick, and Carlisle*, under his Government; which (if he had opposed) could not have been reduced to obedience without the effusion of Blood, which his Excellency much endeavoured to avoid in all the progress of his Actions; and therefore told him, *If he would quietly give up his Command, and retire to his house, he would endeavour to secure him in his Life and Estate, and doubted not to effect it.* This being made known at a Conference by the *House of Commons*, was justified with great modesty by the Duke in the *House of Peers*, and his Life was thereupon pardoned in the *Act*; and a small time after his Estate also was, at the mediation of the Duke, granted to his Heir, a man averse to his Fathers disloyal Principles: Sir *Arthur* himself, a while after his Imprisonment, dying of a Fever in the *Tower*.

An Instance
of his Maje-
sties Affection
to his People.

At this last Conference of the *Lords and Commons*, the Lord Chancellor took occasion to speak of the Kings Affection to his people, by a very remarkable Instance, saying, *That he being employed in an Embassy to Spain, had it strictly given him in charge by his Majesty to avow and declare, That the horrid Murder of his Royal Father, was not the Act of the Parliament, or People of England, but of a very wretched and little company of Miscreants in the Kingdom.* Which was so pleasing to the *House of Commons*, that upon the report of it to them, they ordered such of the Privy Council as were Members of that House, to present to his Majesty the humble and thankful Sense they had of his Justice and Favour for that just Defence he had been graciously pleas'd to make in behalf of the *Parliament*, and People of *England*.

A few days after this, that is to say, the 29th of *August*, the King had notice that there were five *Acts* prepared for his Royal Assent, and he therefore repaired to the *Lords House*, and sent for the *Commons* to him, where he assented to them. The *Acts* were;

Several Acts
Signed.

1. *An Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.* 2. *An Act for a speedy Provision of Money, to pay off and disband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.* 3. *An Act for the restraining the taking of Excessive Usury.* 4. *An Act of General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.* 5. *An Act for a Perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving on the Twenty Ninth day of May, the day of his Majesties Nativity and Restoration.*

At the passing of which *ACTS*, he express'd himself in these words;

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons;

The Kings
Speech in
Parliament, at
the passing of
those Acts.

I Have been here sometimes before with you, but never with more willingness, than I am at this time. And there be few men in the Kingdom, who have longed more impatiently to have those Bills passed, than I have done to pass them; and I hope they will be the Foundation of much security and happiness to us all. I do very willingly pardon all that is par-

doned by this *Act of Indemnity*, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill; Nay, I will tell you, that from that time to this day, I will not use great Severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd: But for the time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience, which disposed me to the Clemency I have expressed, which is most agreeable to my Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to my Nature, towards those who shall not now acquiesce, but continue to manifest their sedition and dislike of the Government, either in action or words.

And I must conjure you all (my *Lords and Gentlemen*) to concur with Me in this just and necessary severity; and that you will in your several Stations be so jealous of the Publick Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cause exemplary Justice to be done upon those who are guilty of Seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who break out into Seditious Actions: And that you will believe those who delight in reproaching and traducing my Person, not to be well affected to You, and the Publick Peace.

Never King valued himself more upon the affections of his People than I do; nor do I know a better way to make my self sure of your affections, than by being just and kind to you all: And whilst I am so, I pray let the world see that I am possessed of your affections.

For your *Pole-Bill*, I do thank you as much as if the Money were to come into my own Coffers; and wish with all my heart, that it may amount to as great a sum as you reckon upon. If the Work be well and orderly done to which it is designed, I am sure I shall be the richer by it in the end: and upon my Word, if I had wherewithal, I would my Self help you, so much I desire the business done.

I pray very earnestly, as fast as Money comes in, discharge that great burthen of the Navy, and disband the Army as fast as you can; and till you can disband the rest, make a provision for their support. I do conjure you, as you love me, let me not hear the noise of Free-quarter, which will be imputed to my want of Care and Government, how Innocent soever I am; and therefore be sure you prevent it.

I am so confident of your affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to my self; and yet I must tell you, I am not richer, that is, I have not so much Money in my Purse as when I came to you: The truth is, I have lived principally ever since upon what I brought with me which was indeed your Money, for you sent it to me, and I thank you for it. The Weekly expence of the Navy, eats up all you have given me by the Bill of *Tonnage and Poundage*. Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one Shilling since I came into *England*, nor to keep any Table in my House, but what I eat my Self. And that which troubles me most is, to see so many of you come to me to *White-Hall*, and to think you must go some-where else to seek your Dinner.

I do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles me; do but take care of the Publick,

'lick and for what is necessary for the Peace and
'Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own time
'for My Own particular, which I am sure you
'will provide for with as much affection and
'frankness as I can desire.

Act for Con-
firmation of
Judicial Pro-
ceedings.

The ACT for Confirmation of Judicial Pro-
ceedings, was as necessary at this Juncture, as the
Act of General Pardon, since without this, besides
many other Inconveniencies, so great a Confu-
sion would have been in most mens Estates as
would have made them subject to perpetual In-
certainties.

1. 'By this Law, All Proceedings in Law or
'Equity in all or any of the Courts at *Westmin-*
'*ster*, or in *Wales*, or in the County Palatine, or
'Dutchy of *Lancaster*, or *Berwick*, or other in-
'feriour Courts, and all things done by the
'Judges and Officers in pursuance thereof, or of
'the Court of Admiralties, Delegates, Justices
'of Assize, *Nisi Prius*, Commission of Sewers,
'Bankrupts, or Charitable Uses, and all pro-
'ceedings thereupon had in *England* since the
'first of *May*, 1642. were Confirm'd, notwith-
'standing any defect of Legal Power, or diffe-
'rence in Style or Title.

2. 'All Fines Levied without paying the Kings
'Silver, or without entry of Mony given for the
'Concord, or before one Judg only, were made
'good and effectual; And all Fines, Recoveries,
'Judicial Proceedings in the *Common-Pleas*, since
'the death of the late King, of Lands in *Demesne*
'were confirm'd.

3. 'Whereas since the First of *May*, 1641.
'and before the 20th of *August*, 1660. divers
'who adhered to both *Houses of Parliament* had
'been Indicted for Treason, and others also
'who adhered to his Majesty or his Father, were
'Impeached in like manner: All such Indictments
'and Proceedings thereupon, and Grants made
'of any Lands forfeited by reason thereof, and
'Title to the mean profits claimed in that re-
'spect, were henceforth discharged, and resti-
'tution to be made to the respective persons
'and their Heirs.

4. 'All Recognizances, Bonds, and Securities
'made to the late Keepers, or Protector, not par-
'doned, or discharged, were to be prosecuted
'in the name and to the use of his Majesty, his
'Heirs and Successors.

To the Fourth Branch, such Securities were
excepted as had been given to the late Powers
by any for their adherence to the King or his Fa-
ther, or relating to the late Troubles, which
was by this Act made void; as likewise were all
Obligations, Bonds, and Securities by Order of any
Council of State, Committee of Safety, Major Gene-
ral, Decimators, or any other Military Power.

5. 'After the 8th of *May* 1660. no Judges
'at *Westminster*, Serjeants at Law, Commissions
'of Sewers, or of Bankrupts, or of Charitable
'Uses, Constituted by any of the late Usurped
'Powers, were to be continued.

6. 'No non-claim upon or after any Fine by
'this Act confirmed, shall extend to bar any
'Person or their Heirs (other than the Parties to
'the said Fines, and their Heirs and Trustees)
'for such Rights as they had by colour of any
'Act or pretended Ordinance of Parliament,

since the first of *May*, 1642. and before the
'25th of *April*, 1660. as of Crown-Lands, or
'of Church-Lands, or as the Lands of any person
'for adhering to the King, or his Father, or in
'relation to the late Troubles, so as such persons
'and their Heirs pursue their Claims by Actions
'or Entry within 5 years after the 29th of *May*,
'1660.

1660

7. 'The Name and Styles of the Usurped
'Power and Authorities were declared to be
'Rebellious.

8. 'All Proceedings of High-Treason for Le-
'vying War against *Oliver Cromwell*, or any o-
'ther late Usurped Power, were made void; as
'likewise all Assurances, Recognizances, and
'Judgments for Debt, or Damages heretofore
'had or suffered by any person whose Convicti-
'on, Outlawry, or Attainder, was by this Act
'discharged.

This Act of Confirmation was nevertheless not
to extend to confirm any illegal proceedings of
the late High Courts of Justice, nor to confirm
any Sales or Estates made by any pretended Act
of Parliament since the first of *May*, 1642. nor
to debar any person grieved, from having a *Writ*
of Error, or *Bill of Review*, in such manner as for-
merly, Except such Errors and defects as were
not by this Act remedied.

The Act for Provision of Money to pay off the Ar-
mies and Navy, was by Poll, and was a very great
Tax, because many orders of Men were included
in it, which were not mentioned in any former
Act of the like kind.

1. 'Every Duke of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ire-* The ACT for
land, inhabiting and residing in this Kingdom, Pole-Money.
'was to pay 100*l*. Every Marquess, 80*l*. Every
'Earl, 60*l*. A Viscount, 50*l*. A Baronet, 40*l*.
'The Eldest Son of a Duke of One and Twenty
'years of age, 60*l*. of a Marquess, 50*l*. of an
'Earl, 40*l*. of a Viscount, 35*l*. of a Baron, 30*l*.
'A Baronet of any of the three Kingdoms, or
'*Nova Scotia*, 30*l*. A Knight of the Bath, 30*l*.
'A Knight Batchelor, 20*l*. A Serjeant at Law,
'20*l*. An Esquire 10*l*. And every Widow, ac-
'cording to her husbands degree, a third part
'what her husband was to pay.

2. 'Every Parson or Vicar possessed of a Par-
'sonage or Vicarage, or other Estate of 100*l*.
'40*s*. Every Doctor of the Civil or Common-
'Law, 5*l*. Every Advocate 5*l*. A Judg or Com-
'missioner in the Court of Admiralty, 20*l*. A
'Pretor, 5*l*. A Doctor of Physick, 10*l*.

3. 'The Lord Major of *London*, 40*l*. Every
'Sheriff, Alderman, or who hath Fined for Al-
'derman, 20*l*. Every Deputy-Alderman, 10*l*.
'The Town-Clerk of *London*, 20*l*. Every Com-
'mon-Council-man, 5*l*. Every Master of the
'First Twelve Companies, 10*l*. Every Warden
'thereof, 6*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Every Livery-man of
'those Companies, 5*l*. Every one who had
'been Master of any of the Companies of *Dyers*,
'*Brewers*, *Lether-sellers*, *Girdlers*, *Stationers*,
'*Woodmongers*, *Upholdsters*, *Apothecaries*,
'*Pewterers*, *Tallow-Chandlers*, *Armourers*, or
'*Sadlers*, 6*l*. Every Warden of any of those
'Companies, 5*l*. Every Livery-man of them,
'3*l*. Every of the *Yeomanry*, 1*l*. Every
'Master of the Company of *Barber-Chyrgi-*
ons, *White-Bakers*, *Wax-Chandlers*, *Cutlers*,
Butchers,

1660

Butchers, Carpenters, Painters, Cordwayners, Coopers, Scrivners, Brown-Bakers, Turners, or Inholders, 3 l. Every one who had been Warden of any of those Companies, 2 l. Every Livery-man thereof, 1 l. Every person who had been Master of the Company of Founders, Cutlers, Masons, Bricklayers, Joiners, Plasterers, Weavers, Fruiterers, Marblers, Embroiderers, Poulterers, Cooks, or Plumbers, 1 l. Every Warden of those Companies, 15 s. and every one of the Livery, 10 s. Every Person who hath been of the Livery of either Company of Bowyers, Fletchers, Blacksmiths, Bottle-makers, Wool-packers, Farriers, Paviers, Loreiners, Glasiers, Clerks, or Watermen, 5 s. Every Free-man of any Company within the City of London, 12 d. Every keeper of one or more Hackney-Coaches and two Horses, 10 s. Every Merchant Stranger if a Knight, 40 l. If below that degree, and Trading to Sea, 10 l. If Trading within the Land, 5 l. Every Alien using Trade within any City or Corporation, if a House-keeper, 10 s. Every English Merchant in or about London, not a Free-man, 10 l. Every Factor in the City, 2 l. Every person that hath been Alderman in any City within the Kingdom, under the degree of a Knight or Esquire, 5 l.

4. The Prothonotary of the Kings-Bench, 100 l. Clerk of the Crown of the same 20 l. Custos Brevium of the same, 40 l. Marshal of the same, 50 s. Master of the Rolls, 60 l. Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, 40 l. Clerk of the Rules and in the Kings-Bench, 10 l. Master of the Subpoena Office, 40 l. Warden of the Fleet, 50 l. Clerk of the Hannaper, 50 l. Clerks of the Inrollment, each 10 l. Each of the Six Clerks in Chancery, 40 l. Every Curator of the same 10 l. Usher of the same, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Pettybeg, 5 l. Every Examiner, 10 l. Chief Register of the same, 20 l. Every Under-Register, 10 l. Every Clerk in the Office of the Six Clerks in Chancery, 8 l. Each of the Clerks of the Chappel of the Rolls, 3 l. Every Prothonotary of the Common-Pleas, 50 l. Custos Brevium of the same, 80 l. Every Philizar of the same, 10 l. Clerk of the Outlaries, 20 l. Clerk of the Statutes, 20 l. The Clerk of the Treasury, 10 l. Exigenter of London, 40 l. Every other Exigenter, 5 l. The Kings Remembrancer of the Exchequer, 40 l. Every Teller of the same Court, 20 l. The Treasurers Remembrancer, 10 l. Every Attorney of the Office of the Kings Remembrancer, 10 l. Every Attorney of the Office of Pleas, 10 l. The Remembrancer of the First-Fruits, 20 l. Clerk of the Estreats, 20 l. Clerk of the Pleas, 30 l. The Auditor of the Receipts in the Exchequer, 40 l. Clerk of the Pel in the Receipt, 30 l. Usher of the Court of Exchequer, 20 l. Every Attorney of the Office of Pleas there, 10 l. Every Auditor of the same, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Court of the Dutchy of Lancaster, 10 l. Every Auditor of the same, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Privy-Seal, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Signet, 10 l. Every Attorney in any of the Courts at Westminster, or within the Courts of Law or Equity, or in the Counties Palatine of Chester, Lancaster, Durham, and the Marches of

Wales, 3 l. Every person in any Office or Place under the King (except his Household Servants in Ordinary) 10 l. The Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 50 l. Every one that could spend in Land, Lease, Monies, or Stock, 100 l. per annum, 40 s. and so for a greater or lesser Estate; every single person above the age of 16 years, 12 d. Every person not rated nor receiving Alm, above 16 years of age, 6 d.

The ACT for Restraining the taking of excessive Usury, makes it penal to the loss of treble the value of any Money, Ware or Merchandize, to any that should take above Six Pounds for the forbearance of One Hundred Pounds for a Year, in Money or Merchandize, and every Scrivner or Broaker that shall take above five Shillings for the Lone or forbearance of a hundred pounds for a Year, or above 12 d. for making or renewing a Bill or Bond, shall forfeit 20 l. one Moiety to the King, and the other to the Informer.

The ACT of General Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion, Pardons all the Kings Subjects of England and Ireland, Wales, Guernsey, Jersey, and Berwick, of all Treasons, Misdemeanors of Treasons, Murthers, Felonies, Offences and Crimes whatsoever, from the First of January 1637. to the 24th. of June, 1660. (not therein excepted) Committed by virtue or colour of any Command or Authority from the King or his Father, or any of the late Powers, and from all Pains of Death, pains Corporal, and Pecuniary; and generally from all other things, Causes, Suits, and Executions, which may or can be by the King in any wise, or by any means Pardoned. And also all personal Actions, Suits and Persecutions whatsoever by reason of the late Troubles; And the Act may be pleaded for any thing therein pardoned, without any Fee to the Officers for entering Judgment or Cause concerning such Plea. And if any Officer or Clerk in any of the Kings Courts issue out any Writ or Process, or molest any in their Bodies or Estates, for any thing herein Pardoned, or if any Sheriff, or Escheator, or other Officer whatsoever, levy, receive, take, or withhold any thing hereby pardoned, they shall pay to the party grieved treble Damages besides Costs, and pay to the King Twenty Pounds, and such Writs or Process shall be void.

1. Excepted out of this Act all Murthers not herein pardoned, Pyracies, Buggers, Rapes, and Ravishments of Women, and all Offence, made Felons by an Act, intituled, An Act to restrain Persons from Marriage, till their former Wives or Husbands be dead: And all Witchcrafts and Conjuraton, as also all Accompts of Treasurers, Receivers, Farmers or Collectors (other than Sub-Collectors of Parishes or Towns for their Receipts before the 24th of June, 1659) who had received any Customes, Prize-Goods, Assesments, or any other Publick Monies or Rents of the Crown-Lands, or Bishops and Dean and Chapter-Lands, which had been paid to them since

January

'January 1642. and of all Moneys grown due or contracted upon the Sale or disposition of such Lands, or the Lands of Popish Recufants, Convict or other Sequestred Lands.

1. 'The Heirs and Executors of any Accomptants excepted, and deceased, not to be lyable, except for such Moneys as are due upon Accompts already stated.

2. Moneys received for Fees, and Salaries or Wages, or disbursed for publick use, are not to be charged.

3. No Military Officer of the Armies, or Officers of the Navies, who before March 1659. received Moneys for his Pay, or the Pay of others, or for Contingencies of the Souldiers or Garrisons, to be called to accompt therefore.

4. 'Likewise none were to be called to Accompt for any of the Matters of this Exception, after the 24th of June, 1662.

5. 'All Briberies and Perjuries are Excepted out of this Act, and all Subornation of Perjury, or Witnesses and Forgery, and also all Offences in detaining or imbezelling any Goods, Moneys, Chattels, or Jewels of the late King, Queen, or Prince, or their Shipping and Ammunition of War, and other such Goods or Chattels, as have been sold or disposed to any Servants or Creditors of the late King for payment of their Debts or Wages; And all Accompts of the Revenues of Churches in Wales and Monmouthshire, and all Judgments of Discharge or *Quietus est* thereupon had.

This last Exception, as to the Churches in Wales, was inserted by the Parliament in this Act, upon Information, that some Factious People had, in the time of the late Usurpation, procured to themselves an Authority to Sequester all those Revenues, upon pretence to imploy them more equally to illiterate Preachers, for the better propagation of the Gospel in those parts, but kept the greatest part to their own use, leaving most of the Churches unsupplied.

3. All publick Duties levied by any Sheriff or other Officer for the use of the late King, or the late Powers, or the King in being, not accompted for or discharged, are excepted.

4. 'As also all Offences done by any Jesuit, Seminary or Popish Priest, contrary to the Statute of the 27th of Elizabeth. It is provided,

1. 'That a Writ of *Capias* may be made against persons Outlawed, pardoned by this Act, to Compel the Defendant to answer to the Plaintiff, at whose Suit they were Outlawed, may have a *Scire facias* against the party before the Pardon shall be allowed.

2. 'This Pardon is not to extend to pardon Outlawries upon any Writ of *Capias ad Satisfaciendum*, till the party Outlawed shall satisfy or agree with the party.

5. 'All Informations and Proceedings depending about High-Ways and Bridges since January, 1648. are excepted, and also all Recognizances, Bonds and Securities given or entered into since the 25th of March, 1640. by any Receiver, Bayliff, Collector or other Accomptant in the Exchequer.

6. 'Any person within three years that objected against another, any words of reproach,

tending to revive the memory of the late differences, was to pay ten pounds, if a Gentleman, and forty shillings, if one of a more inferiour degree.

7. 'The Act gives no benefit to any who had any hand in Plotting the Rebellion of Ireland, nor to any that have stolon any Goods or Monies since the 24th of March, 1649.

8. 'Nor extends to discharge any from making restitution of those Rents, Monies, Horses, Cattle or other Goods, which since the 25th of July, 1659. have been by any person wrongfully received or taken away (which by a pretended Act, intituled, *An Act of Repeal of two Acts of Parliament for Sequestration are to be repealed*.)

9. 'All publick Monies paid in to any publick Use, are pardon'd, and Parties concern'd, so far as their acquittances extend unto, are to be discharged for the same. Nevertheless, those are not discharged that received any Money for the Tax of Decimation, or upon the Accompt of any Militia since 1648. not paid over and discharged by any that had a Legal or pretended authority to discharge the Receivers thereof.

10. 'The Kings menial Servants, or any that had directions from him, whom whilst they pretended to act in his Service were treacherous thereunto, were exempted from the benefit of this Act, if they were Outlawed and Convicted within Two Years from the 25th of April, 1660.

11. 'Excise for Goods whereof Entry had been made in the Custom-House since the 25th of March, 1658. not pardoned, nor Moneys due to the Farmors of Excise since the 25th of March, 1650.

12. 'The Act gives no benefit to Owen Rowe, Augustine Garland, Edmund Harvey, Henry Smith, Henry Martin, Sir Hardress Waller, Robert Titchborne, George Fleetwood, James Temple, Thomas Wait, Simon Mein, William Haveningham, Isaac Pennington, Peter Temple, Robert Lilborn, Gilbert Millington, Vincent Potter, Thomas Wogan, John Downs, Adrian Scroop, John Lisle, William Say, Valentine Walton, Thomas Harrison, Edward Whally, John Barkstead, Edmund Ludlow, Sir Michael Livesey, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, Thomas Challoner, John Carew, John Jones, Miles Corbet, Gregory Clement, Thomas Scott, William Crawley, Nicholas Love, John Dixwell, Daniel Blagrove, John Cook, Andrew Broughton, Edward Dendy, William Hewlet, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, Daniel Axtell, or any of them, nor to those Two or either of them disguised upon the Scaffold the Thirtieth of January, 1648, erected before White-Hall. All which Persons, for being Instrumental in the Murder of the late King, are wholly excluded.

But in regard the Nineteen first mentioned rendred themselves, according to a Declaration of the 6th of June, 1660. and thereby pretended to some Favour, it is Enacted, That if the said Owen Rowe, and the rest so first mentioned

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are Attainted, their Execution should be suspended, until the King and Parliament should order the same. (Only *Adrian Scroop*, though he was one of those that rendrd themselves according to the forementioned Declaration, yet in regard at the time of presenting himself to the Speaker of the House of Commons in pursuance thereunto, in a Discourse with Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord Major Elect of London, and a Member of that House, he uttered some words tending to a Justification of the Murder of the King, wherewith *Brown* acquainted the Parliament, he was therefore put under the same Qualification as those that had not so rendred themselves, because of his Impenitency.)

13. 'Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, (though dead) were excepted, and the Lands and Goods, Rights and Trusts of them, and of One and Twenty others deceased, (*viz.*) *Isaac Ewer*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, *William Purefoy*, *John Blackiston*, Sir *William Constable*, *Richard Dean*, *Francis Allen*, *Peregrine Pelham*, *John Moor*, *John Alred*, *Humphrey Edwards*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, *John Ven*, *Thomas Andrews*, *Anthony Stapeley*, *Thomas Horton*, *John Fry*, *Thomas Hammond*, *Philip Skippon*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, were made subjects to such Penalties and Forfeitures as by another Act to be passed should be ordained.

14. 'Moreover, *William Lord Mounson*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *James Harrington*, and *Robert Wallop*, were reserved to such Pains, Penalties and Forfeitures, as by the said Act to be passed should be inflicted on them, not extending to life.

These were of the number of the Kings Judges but in regard they did not Sign the Warrant for Summoning the pretended Court, nor the Warrant for the Execution of his Majesty, their Lives were spared.

Phelps, who was a Clark in that Court, was put into the same Condition, as also Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*; who though he was not one of the Actors in that Tragedy, was as malicious an Enemy to the King, as any of the rest.

15. 'Hutchinson and Lassels, two others of the Judges, were made incapable to execute any Place of Trust, and Lassels to pay to the King one Years value of his Estate. Which Favours were extended to them for reasons before expressed.

16. 'Oliver S. John who had been Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas to Oliver Cromwell, and Seventeen others named in the Act, active Instruments in the late Usurpations, were to be excluded from any benefit by this Act, if they accepted or should execute any Office Ecclesiastical, Civil or Military, in England, Wales, or Berwick, from the First of September in the Year 1660.

'And all that had given Sentence of Death in any of the late Illegal High-Courts of Justice, or Signed any Warrant for Execution of any person there condemned (except Colonel *Richard Ingoldsby*, and Colonel *Matthew Thomlinson*) were disabled from being Members in any Parliament after the said First day of September, or bear any Office in England or Wales.

17. 'All Trustees in a pretended Act made in the Year 1649 concerning Tythes appropriate, Fee-Farm Rents, and First-Fruits, &c. and their Heirs, were to be accomptable for such of the same as had not been imployed according to the said Act; Nevertheless, no Minister or School-Master, or other person for whose benefit the said Act was made, were to be accomptable.

18. 'The Act Pardons not Bonds taken in his late Majesties Name before 1642 for securing any proper debt of any Servant, or Receiver of the Kings Revenues, if they had not been paid to, or by order of some lawful or pretended authority: Nor no person, his Heirs, Executors, &c. who had not paid their proportion of a Summ of 150000*l.* (agreed to be paid as a Composition from the Farmers of several Customs illegally taken) or ought to have been contributory thereunto; but that the Estates of the dead as well as of the living, of such persons who ought to have been Contributory, in whose possession soever (*Purchasers Bona fide* upon valuable considerations only excepted,) shall be chargeable with their Proportions, as if the Act had never been made.

'Likewise all Arrears of Excise of Beer, Ale, or other Inland or Native Commodities, since the 24th of June, 1659. are unpardoned, and all Monies due from any Officers or Souldiers for Free-Quarter, since the 20th of July in the same Year, or Monies borrowed by Officers for preventing of Free-Quarter.

19. 'No Conveyance or Bargain or Sale, Estate, Interest, or Trust, or Limitation of Use or Uses of any manner of Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments not being Crown-Lands, or Church-Lands, nor Lands sold or disposed for pretended Delinquencies by pretence of any Act or Ordinance since the first of January 1641. nor any Statute, Judgment, or Recognizance had, made, acknowledged, or suffered to any person or persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, before the 29th of September, 1659. by any of the persons in this Act by name expressed, or their Heirs, or by any claiming by, from, or under them, (other than the Wives, Children, or heirs of such persons) or any of them for Monies *Bona fide* to them or any of them paid or lent, nor any Conveyance or Estate made before the 25th of April, 1660. by any persons to any such person excepted by name as aforesaid, in Trust or for the benefit of any Persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate (not excepted by name as aforesaid) shall be defeated, impeached, or made void.

20. 'Lastly, No persons were to be indemnified who had entred into any Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, called *Fabrick-Lands*, or possessed themselves of any Rents or Revenues given for the repair of any Cathedral or other Church, or who sacrilegiously enriched themselves by the converting of the Plate, Utensils, and Materials of or belonging to such Churches, to their private use, for, or in respect of the said Crimes only.

The Act for a Perpetual Anniverfary does Enact; 'That in all succeeding Ages, the 29th of May be Celebrated in every Church and Chappel

The ACT for Observation of a perpetual Anniverfary.

for his Majesty's Restoration.

'Chappel in England, and the Dominions thereof, by rendering Thanks to God for the King's peaceable Restoration to the actual possession and exercise of his Legal Authority over his Subjects. And all Ministers are to read the Act at Morning-Prayer the Lords Day next before that Day, to give notice for the observation thereof.

A time prefixt by his Majesty for the Adjournment of the present Parliament.

The King after the passing these Acts, gave the Parliament notice, that on the 13th of September, he would have them to Adjourn to the sixth of November following; whereupon they were very diligent to compleat some Bills under consideration. That which was of most importance for the Peace of the Kingdom, was a Bill for the speedy disbanding the Army and Garrisons, which they were very earnest in. The King intended to have made it a Session by Prorogation; but upon application made to him, to shew the inconvenience thereof at that time, because of many Bills and other matters of great Concernment depending, which would thereby be vacated, he consented to an Adjournment.

The Parliament having taken notice of the Kings Wants, intimated in his last Speech at the passing of the forementioned Acts, provided for his Supply: In the next place they likewise took care that the Army should be supplied with Pay till they were disbanded; which was another of the particulars of that Speech.

Twenty two Acts more; 14 private, and 8 publick, Sign'd by his Majesty.

And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King on the 13th of September, which was the day appointed, came to the House of Lords, and there gave his Royal Assent to 14 private, and 8 publick Acts of Parliament.

The Private were.

1. An Act for the restoring of the Marquess of Hertford to the Dukedom of Somerset.
2. An Act for the necessary Maintenance of the Work of Draining the great Level of the Fens.
3. An Act to restore the Earl of Inchequin all his Honours and Lands in Ireland.
4. An Act for to restore to William Marquess of Newcastle, all his Estate whereof he was in possession the 20th of May, 1642. or at any time since.
5. An Act for settling the Priory of Watton, and other Lands in Yorkshire, belonging to the Earl of Winchelsea, in the hands of Trustees, to pay his Debts.
6. An Act for the restoring of Sir George Lane to the Mannours of Rachline and Lisdruff, and other Lands in Ireland.
7. An Act to restore Charles Lord Gerrard, Baron of Brandon, to all his Estate whereof he was in possession the 20th of May, 1642. or at any time since.
8. An Act for the restoring to the Lord Culpeper, Baron of Thorfway, all the Estate whereof his Father was possessed on the 20th of May, 1642. or at any time after, which have not been since sold or aliened by his said Father by Acts and Assurances to which himself was party and consenting.
9. An Act to inable Augustine and William Skinner to sell Lands for payment of Debts.
10. An Act for the Incorporating the Master and Wardens of Haberdashers, London, to be

Governours of the Free-School and Alms-House in New-port in Shropshire, of the Foundation of William Adams, and for setting Lands on them for the Maintenance thereof, and other Charitable Uses.

11. An Act for inabling Sir George Booth, Baronet, to make Leases and Sales of part of his Estate.

12. An Act for Regulating of the Trade of Bay-making in the Dutch Bay-Hall in Colchester.

13. The other two private Bills, were one of them to Naturalize Dorothea Helena Countess of Derby, Emelia Countess of Ossery, Margaret Lady Culpeper, and a Son and a Daughter of Katherine Stanhop Countess of Chesterfield, by John Kirkhoven Lord of Henslet in Holland.

14. And the other for Naturalizing Peter de la Pierre alias Peters, and John de la Pierre alias Peters.

Of these Acts, we think it unnecessary to name more than the Titles, as being not of publick Concernment: and every of the Titles are not here exactly inserted, it being sufficient for publick use, to describe so much of them as may inform Posterity of their tendency, and that such Acts were then passed; whereby those that are concerned, may be directed to a more curious search.

The Publick ACTS were:

1. An Act for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons.

The Title of this Act does so much express the use of it, that we shall omit to mention more of it here; and the rather, because it was in a few Months fully executed.

2. An Act for the supplying and explaining certain defects in an Act for the speedy provision of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.

We have already given you an abbreviation of that Act, whereof this last is Explanatory, (which was the Poll-Bill lately described) and to which this being only relating, in reference to the supply of some of its defects, we shall not need to enlarge thereon.

3. An Act for raising seven score thousand pounds for the compleat Disbanding of the Army.

The Parliament finding the Poll-Bill to rise much short of expectation, from the failure of a due and exact execution of it, they passed this Act, which ordained the Money to be raised in two Months from the first of November, 1660. (viz.) 70000 l. per Menssem.

4. An Act for the speedy raising of 70000 l. for the present supply of his Majesty.

This Money was to be paid in one Month from the 29th of September following.

5. An Act to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majesties Customs and Subsidies.

This Act was but to continue in force till the end of the first Session of the next Parliament.

6. An Act for the Confirming and Restoring of Ministers.

This Act stopt the Clamours of many Ecclesiastical persons that had defective Titles to their Cures; and the goodness of the King was very much celebrated by his Consent to it. Wherefore

1660. fore it will not be amiss to give a brief touch of the Heads thereof.

An Act for
Confirming
and Restoring
of Ministers.

It Enacts, 'That every Ecclesiastical person or Minister Ordained by any Ecclesiastical persons before *December* the 25th last past, being 24 years of age, having not renounced his Ordination, who hath been since *January* the first, 1642. placed in, and in actual possession of any Ecclesiastical Benefice, with the Cure of Souls, in *England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed,* which hath been void by death, or any other avoidance, since that time, and before the 25th of *December* last past, and was then in possession, and received the Profits being in the Kings gift, or of his Father, or of any Arch-Bishop, Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Prebend, Arch-Deacon, Body Politique or Corporate, or other person, other than such hereby restored, is declared lawful Incumbent.

'Every voluntary Resignation of a Benefit to the Patron, or any pretended Power since the said first day of *January*, to be good, as if made to the Competent Ordinary.

'No Presentation is to be construed to be an Usurpation in Law, to the prejudice of any that shall have right to Present.

'Every Ecclesiastical person formerly Sequestered or Ejected after lawful Presentation and perception of the profits, that hath not subscribed any Petition to bring the late King to Trial, or by any Act endeavoured or justified the Murder of the said King, or declared his Judgment against Infant-Baptism, by Preaching, Writing, Printing, or constant refusal to Baptize, shall be restored to the possession thereof, at or before the 25th day of *December* next ensuing; and every Ecclesiastical person to be removed, may enjoy the Profits to that day.

There be many other Clauses and Provisions in this Bill, too long to be here inserted; and so much the less important, in regard by some subsequent Laws, the greatest part of the whole was in a manner repeal'd.

The substance
of the Act for
incouraging of
Navigation.

7. 'An Act for incouraging Shipping and Navigation: Wherein it is Enacted, That from the first of *December*, 1660. no Commodities shall be Imported or Exported out of any Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, belonging unto, or which may belong to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, in *Asia, Africa, or America*, in any other Vessel but such as belong unto the people of *England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick*, or are of them built, or do belong to them as the right Owners, and whereof the Master and three fourths of the Mariners are *English*, under penalty of the loss of all the Goods Imported or Exported in other Vessels, as also of the Vessels, with all its Guns, Furniture, Tackle, Ammunition and Apparel, one third to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors; one third to the Governour of such Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, in case the Ship or Goods be there seized; and the other third part unto him that shall seize, inform, or sue for the same in any Court of Record, by Bill, Information, Plaint or Action, wherein no Essoin, Protection, or Wager of Law shall be allowed. And all Captains, and Commanders at Sea, by Commission from the King or his Successors, are required to bring in all

'Ships and Vessels so offending, and deliver them into the Court of Admiralty, to be proceeded against; and in case of Condemnation, one Moiety is to be divided to the use of the Admiral and Commander, and their Companies, according to the Rules in case of Prize, and the other to the King and his Successors. With many other Clauses and Provisoos tending much to the advancement of the *English* Manufacture.

8. The Eighth Publick Act was, *An Act for enabling Souldiers of the Army to exercise Trades.* A very grateful Law to many of the Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, and a good preparatory to their Disbanding; for many of them had been Apprentices, and without some such Provision, might have been left without any way of subsistence, when Arms were out of their hands.

The King made a short Speech to both Houses of Parliament at the passing of these Bills, full of Sweetness, according to the affable temper of his Nature.

He thanked them for their general Care of the Publick, and other particular respects to him, in that for his Satisfaction they had made provision to pay off the Army whilest they were Disbanding, thereby to prevent Free-Quarter: Adding, That though he kindly accepted their Present of Money, he would not imploy any of it for the supply of his own occasions, till he should be assured the Publick had no need of it. He likewise took notice of the Bill concerning the Duke of Somerset, who, he said, had merited as much of the King his Father, and himself, as a Subject could do; and that he was none of those who think that Subjects by performing their Duties in any extraordinary manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner: Nevertheless, he said, it seemed to be of an extraordinary nature; and indeed we do not remember any President in Story of the like: But the King was pleased to add, That he hoped no man would envy this Duke, because he had done what a good Master should do to such a Servant.

After which, his Majesty referr'd to the Chancellor to speak of many other things which he had to recommend to them: For in this time of their Recess, the Army was to be Disbanding, whereof many discourses had been spread abroad by disaffected persons. Some said the King would keep them up; and others, that they would not suffer themselves to be disbanded. And though he had passed an ACT to confirm Ministers, yet farther order was to be taken in reference to Church-Government; and particularly in respect to tender Consciences: as likewise about purchases and sales of Publick Lands, which had without any issue much taken up the time of both Houses; and therefore since the Parliament Adjourned before any thing in these Affairs was effected, it was expedient to satisfy the People with the Kings Intentions therein: Of which, and many other matters of great Concernment to the good and quiet of the Kingdom, the Chancellor in a most Excellent Speech expressed himself as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
THE King tells you, He hath Commanded me to say many Particulars to You: and the truth is, he hath charg'd me with many, that

My Lord
Chancellors
Speech to the
Two Houses.

that I have great reason to fear, that I shall stand in much need of his Mercy, for omitting many things he hath given me in Command, at least, for delivering them in more disorder and confusion, than matters of such moment and importance ought to be to such an Assembly, for which the King himself hath even a kind of Reverence, as well as an extraordinary Kindness.

I am to mention some things he hath done already, and many things he intends to do during this Recess, that you may see how well content soever he is, that you should have Ease, and Pleasure, and Refreshment, he hath designed Work enough for himself.

The King hath thanked you for the provision you have made, that there may be no Quarter during the time the Army shall be disbanding; and hath told you what he will do with that Money you have given him, if there should want wherewith to disband it. And now I hope you will all believe that his Majesty will consent to the disbanding. He will do so; and yet he doth not take it unkindly at their hands, who have thought that his Majesty would not disband this Army. It was a sober and rational jealousy; no other Prince in Europe would be willing to disband such an Army; an Army to which Victory is intailed, and which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail of Conquest wheresoever he should lead it: And if God had not restored his Majesty to that rare felicity, as to be without apprehension of danger at home, or from abroad, and without an ambition of taking from his Neighbors what they are possessed of, Himself would never disband this Army: An Army, whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manners, whose courage and success, hath made it famous and terrible over the whole World: An Army of which the King and his Two Royal Brothers may say, as the Noble Grecian said of *Aeneas*,

—*Stetimus tela aspera contra*

*Contulimusque manus; experto credite, quantus
In Clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.*

They have all three, in several Counties, found themselves engaged in the midst of these Troops, in the heat and rage of Battle; and if any common Souldier (as no doubt many may) will demand the old Romans Priviledge for having encountred Princes single, upon my Conscience he will find both Favour and Preferment. They have all three observ'd the discipline, and felt, and admired, and loved the courage of this Army, when they were the worse for it: And I have seen them in a season when there was little else of comfort in their view, refresh themselves with joy that the English had done the great Work, the English had got the day; and then please themselves with the Imagination what Wonders they should perform in the Head of such an Army.

And therefore when his Majesty is so entirely possessed of the affection and obedience of this Army, and when it hath merited so much from him, can it be believ'd or imagined, that he can without some regret part with them? No, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, he will never part with them, and the only way never to part with them, is to disband them: Should it be other-

wise, they must be exposed to the daily importunity of his great Neighbours and Allies; and how could he refuse to lend them his Troops, of which he hath no need himself? His Majesty knows they are too good *Englishmen*, to wish that a standing Army should be kept up in the Bowels of their own Country, that they who did but in *Bello Pacis gerere Negotium*, and who, whilst an Army liv'd like good Husband-men in the Country, and good Citizens in the City, will now become really such, and take delight in the benefit of that Peace they have so honestly and so wonderfully brought to pass. The King will part with them as the most indulgent Parents part with their Children for their Education, and for their Preferment; he will prefer them to disbanding, and prefer them by disbanding; and will always retain such a kindness for them, and such a memory of the service they have done him, that both Officers and Souldiers, after they are disbanded, shall always find such countenance, favour, and reward from his Majesty, that he doubts not but if he should have occasion to use their service, they will again resort to him with the same alacrity, as if they had never been disbanded: And if there be any so ill amongst them (as there can be but very few, if any) who will forfeit the Favour and Protection they may have from him, by any withstanding his Majesties Commands, and the full and declared Sense of the Kingdom, his Majesty is confident they will be as odious to their Companions, as they can be to any other honest men.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I am in the next place by the Kings Command, to put you in mind of the *Act of Indemnity*, not of any Grants or Concessions, or Releases he made to you in that *Act*; (I have nothing of that in Charge: No Prince hath so excellent a Memory to forget the Favours he doth;) but of what he hath done against you in that *Act*, how you may be undone by that *Act*, if you are not very careful to perform the Obligations he hath laid upon you in it: The Clause I am to put you in mind of is this; *And to the intent and purpose that all Names and Terms of distinction may likewise be put into utter Oblivion; Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons within the space of three years next ensuing, shall presume maliciously to call, or alledge, or object, against any other persons, any Name or Names, or other words of reproach, any way leading to revive the memory of the late differences, or the occasion thereof, that then every such person so, as aforesaid offending, shall forfeit, &c.* It is no matter for the Penalty, it is too cheap a one, the King wishes it had been greater, and therefore hath by his Just Prerogative (and 'tis well for us he hath such a Prerogative) added another Penalty more insupportable, even his high displeasure against all who shall swerve from this Clause in the *Act*: Give me leave to tell you, That as any name or names, or other words of reproach, are expressly against the Letter, and punishable accordingly; so evil and envious looks, murmuring and discontented hearts, are as directly against the Equity of this Statute, a direct breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, and

1660.

and ought to be punished too, and I believe they may be so. You know *Kings* are in some sense called *Gods*, and so they may in some degree be able to look into mens hearts; and God hath given us a King, who can look as far into mens hearts as any Prince alive; and he hath great skill in Physiognomy too; you would wonder what Calculations he hath made from thence: and no doubt if he be provoked by evil looks to make a further inquiry into mens hearts, and finds those corrupted with the passions of envy and uncharitableness, he will never chuse those hearts to trust and rely upon. He hath given us a Noble and Princely example, by opening and stretching his Arms to all who are worthy to be his Subjects, worthy to be thought *English-men*, by extending his Heart with a Pious and grateful joy to find all his Subjects at once in his Arms, and himself in theirs; and shall we fold our Arms towards one another, and contract our hearts with envy and malice to each other, by any sharp memory of what hath been unneighbourly or unkindly done heretofore? What is this but to Rebel against the Person of the King, against the excellent Example and Virtue of the King, against the known Law of the Land, this blessed *Act of Oblivion*?

My Lords and Gentlemen, The King is a Suitor to you, makes his Suit very heartily, that you will joyn with him in restoring the whole Nation to its Primitive temper and Integrity, to its old good Manners, its old good Humor, and its old good Nature; Good Nature, a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appropriated by God Almighty to this Nation, that it can be translated into no other Language, hardly practis'd by any other People; and that you will by your Example, by the Candor of your Conversation, by your Precepts, and by your Practice, and by all your Interest, teach your Neighbours and your Friends, how to pay a full obedience to this Clause of the Statute, how to learn this Excellent Art of Forgetfulness.

Let them remember, and let us all remember how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly the insolence and fierceness, the brutishness of their Enemies appeared to them, and we may piously and reasonably believe, that Gods Indignation against them, for their want of Bowels, for their not being *English-men*, (for they had the hearts of *Pagans* and *Infidels*) sent a Whirl-wind in a moment to blow them out of the World; that is, out of a capacity to do more mischief in the World; except we practice their Vices, and do that our selves, which we pretend to detest them for.

Let us not be too much ashamed, as if what hath been done amiss, proceeded from the Humour, and the Temper, and the Nature of our Nation. The *Astrologers* have made us a fair Excuse, and truly I hope a true one, *All the Motions of these last twenty years have been unnatural, and have proceeded from the evil influence of a Malignant Star*; And let us not too much despise the influence of the Stars. And the same *Astrologers* assure us, that the Malignity of the Star is expired, the good *Genius* of this Kingdom is become Superiour, and hath mastered that Malignity; and our own good old Stars

govern us again; and their influence is so strong, that with our help they will repair in a year, what hath been decaying in twenty: And they only shall have no excuse from the Star, who continue this Malignity, and own all the ill that is past to be their own, by continuing it, and improving it for time to come.

If any body here, or any-where else, be too much exalted with what he hath done, or what he hath suffered, and from thence thinks himself warranted to reproach others, let him remember the Story of *Nicephorus*; it is an excellent Story, and very applicable to such distempers; He was a Pious and Religious man, and for his Piety and Religion was Condemned to the Fire: When he was led to Execution, and when an old Friend who had done him injury enough, fell at his feet, and asked his pardon, the Poor man was so Elated with the Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconciled unto him; upon which he was disappointed of his end; and for his uncharitableness, the Spirit of God immediately forsook him, and he Apostatized from the Faith,

Let all those who are too proud of having been, as they think, less faulty than other men, and so are unwilling to be reconciled to those who have offended them, take heed of the Apostacy of *Nicephorus*, and that those fumes of Envy, and Uncharitableness, and Murmuring, do not so far transport and intoxicate them, that they fall into those very Crimes, they value themselves for having hitherto declined.

But, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, whilst we conspire together to execute faithfully this part of the Bill, to put all old Names and Terms of distinction into utter Oblivion, let us not find new Names and Terms to keep up the same, or a worse distinction: If the old reproaches of *Cavalier*, and *Roundhead*, and *Malignant*, be committed to the Grave, let us not find more significant and better words, to signify worse things; let not Piety and Godliness grow into terms of reproach, and distinguish between the Court, and the City, and the Country; and let not Piety and Godliness be measured by a morosity in manners.

An affection of Gesture, a new mode and tone of speaking, at least, let not our Constitutions and Complexions make us be thought of a contrary party, and because we have not an affected austerity in our looks, that we have no Piety in our hearts; very merry men have been very godly men, and if a good Conscience be a continual Feast, there is no reason but men may be merry at it.

You Mr. *Speaker* have this day made a Noble Present to the King; do you think, that if you and your worthy Companions had brought it up with folded Arms, down-cast looks, with sighs, and other instances of desperation, it would not have been a very Melancholick Present? Have not your frank and dutiful expressions, that cheerfulness and vivacity in your looks, render'd it much more acceptable, much more valuable?

No Prince in Christendom loves a cheerful giver so well as God Almighty does, and he of all gifts a Cheerful heart; and therefore I pray

'pray let not a cloudy or discontented face be
'the only or the best sign of Piety and Devotion
'in the heart.

'I must ask you pardon for misplacing much of
'this Discourse, which I should have mentioned
'when I came to speak of the Ministers *Bill*;
'They, I hope, will endeavour to remove those
'new marks of Distinction and Reproaches, and
'keep their Auditors from being imposed upon
'by such Characters and Descriptions. The King
'hath passed this *Act* very willingly, and done
'much to the end of this *Act* before, yet hath
'willingly admitted you to be sharers and Part-
'ners with him in the Obligation: I may say
'confidently, his Majesty hath never denied his
'Confirmation to any man in possession who
'hath asked it; and they have all had the effect
'of it, except such who, upon examination and
'inquiry, appeared not worthy of it, and such
'who, though they are Pardoned, cannot yet
'think themselves worthy to be prefer'd. His
'Majesty well knows that by this *Act* he
'hath gratified and obliged many worthy and
'Pious men, who have contributed much to his
'Restauration, and who shall always receive
'fresh evidences of his Majesties Favour and
'Kindness; but he is not sure that he may like-
'wise have gratified some who did neither con-
'tribute to his coming in, nor are yet glad he is
'in; how comes it else to pass, that he receives
'such frequent Information of Seditious Ser-
'mons in the City and in the Country, in which
'all Industry is used to alienate the affections of
'the People, and to infuse Jealousies into them
'of the King and his Government; they talk of
'introducing Popery, of Evil Counsellours, and
'such other old Calumnies as are pardoned by
'this *Act of Indemnity*.

'His Majesty told you, when he was last
'here, That Rigour and Severity he will here-
'after use, how contrary soever it is to his Na-
'ture in these cases, and conjured you, *My*
'*Lords and Gentlemen*, to concur with him in
'this Just and Necessary Severity; which I am
'sure you will do with your utmost Vigilance;
'and that you will believe that too much ill
'cannot befall those who do the best they can to
'corrupt his Majesties Nature, and to extinguish
'his Mercy.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I told you I was to
'acquaint you with some things his Majesty in-
'tends to do during this Recess, that you may see
'he will give no intermission to his own Thoughts
'for the Publick good, though for a time he
'dispenses with your assistance.

'He doth consider the infinite importance the
'improvement of Trade must be to this King-
'dom, and therefore his Majesty intends to esta-
'lish a *Council of Trade*, consisting of some Prin-
'cipal Merchants of the several Companies, to
'which he will add some Gentlemen of Quality
'and Experience: And for their greater Honour
'and Encouragement, some of my Lords of his
'own *Privy Council*.

'In the next place, his Majesty hopes, that by
'a well-settled Peace and Gods great Blessing
'upon him and You, this Nation will in a short
'time flourish to that degree that the Land of
'*Canaan* did, when *Esau* found it necessary to
'part from his Brother; For their Riches were

more than that they might dwell together, and
the Land wherein they were could not bear
them, because of their Cattel. We have been our
selves very near this Pinnacle of Happiness;
and the hope and contemplation that we may
be so again, disposes the King to be very sol-
licitous for the Improvement and Prosperity
of his *Plantations* abroad, where there is such
large room for the Industry and Reception of
such who shall desire to go thither. And there-
fore his Majesty intends likewise to Erect and
Establish a *Council* for those *Plantations*, in which
persons well-qualified, shall be wholly intent
upon the good and advancement of those Plan-
tations.

'There are two other Particulars which I am
commanded to mention, which were both men-
tioned and recommended to You by his Maje-
sty in his *Declaration* from *Breda*: The one, for
the confirmation of Sales, or other recompence
for Purchasers: The other for the Composing
those differences and distempers in Religion
which have too much disturbed the Peace of the
Kingdom. Two very weighty Particulars, in
which his Majesty knows you have spent much
time, and concerning which he should have
heard from you before this time, if you had
not met with great difficulties in the disquisiti-
on of either.

'For the First, his Majesty hath not been
without much thought upon the Argument, and
hath done much towards the accommodation
of many particular persons; and you shall not
be at your Journeys end, before his Majesty
will put that business concerning Sales into such
a way of dispatch, that he doubts not, you will
find a good progress made in it before your
coming together again; and I believe the per-
sons concerned will be very much to blame if
they receive not good satisfaction: and some of
you, who stay in Town, shall be advised and
consulted with, in that Settlement.

'The other of Religion, is a sad Argument
indeed, it is a consideration that must make eve-
ry Religious heart to bleed, to see Religion,
which should be the strongest Obligation & Ce-
ment of Affection, and Brotherly Kindness and
Compassion, made now, by the perverse wrang-
lings of passionate & froward men, the ground
of all Animosity, Hatred, Malice and Revenge.
And this unruly and unmanly passion (which no
Question the Divine Nature exceedingly abhors)
sometimes, and I fear too frequently, transports
those who are in the right, as well as those who
are in the wrong, and leaves the latter more ex-
cusable than the former, when men, who find
their Manners and dispositions very conform-
able in all the necessary obligations of humane
Nature, avoid one anothers conversation, and
grow first unsociable, and then uncharitable to
each other, because one cannot think as the o-
ther doth; And from this separation We entitle
God to the Patronage of, and concernment in,
our fancies and distinction, and purely for his
fake hate one another heartily.

'It was not so of old, when one of the most
Ancient Fathers of the Church tells Us, That
Love and Charity was so signal and eminent
in the Primitive Christians, that it even drew
admiration and envy from their adversaries.

Vide

1660

Vide (inquiunt) ut invicem se diligunt ! Their Adversaries, in that in which they most agreed in, their very prosecution of them, had their passions and animosities amongst themselves; they were only Christians that Loved, and Cherished, and Comforted, and were ready to die for one another. *Quid nunc illi dicerent Christiani, si nostra viderent tempora?* says the incomparable Grotius; How would they look upon our sharp and virulent Contentions in the Debates of Christian Religion, and the bloody Wars that have proceeded from those Contentions, whilst every one pretended to all the marks which are to attend upon the true Church except only that which is inseparable from it, *Charity to one another.*

My Lords and Gentlemen, this Disquisition hath cost the King many a Sigh, many a sad hour, when he hath considered the almost irreparable reproach the Protestant Religion hath undergone from the Divisions and Distractions which have been so notorious within this Kingdom; What pains he hath taken to compose them, after several Discourses with Learned and Pious men of different persuasions, you will shortly see by a Declaration he will publish upon that occasion; by which you will see his great indulgence, to those who can have any Protection from Conscience, to differ with their Brethren. And I hope God will so bless the Candor of his Majesty in the Condescensions he makes, that the Church as well as the State will return to that Unity and Unanimity, which will make both King and People as happy as they can hope to be in this World.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I shall conclude with the King's hearty Thanks to you, not only for what you have done towards him, which hath been very Signal; but for what you have done towards each other; for the Excellent Correspondence you have maintain'd, for the very seasonable deference and condescension you have had for each other, which will restore Parliaments to the veneration they ought to have. And since his Majesty knows that you all desire to please him, you have given him ample evidence that you do so; He hath appointed me to give you a sure receipt to attain that good end; it is a Receipt of his own prescribing, and therefore it is not like to fail.

Be but pleased your selves, and persuade others to be so; contrive all the ways imaginable for your own Happiness, and you will make Him the best pleased and the most happy Prince in the World.

After this Speech the King retired, and both Houses of Parliament Adjourned themselves to the sixth of November.

In the ACT for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons, That Affair was committed to Twelve Commissioners, (Six whereof were Lords, and Six Commons) or to any Three of them, whereof one of the Commissioners named by the Lords, and one named by the Commons, were to be Two: And that they might not go far about for the Money, The Treasurers at War, and Treasurer named in the ACT for the speedy Provision of Money for Disbanding the

Army, were to Issue Moneys upon their Warrant.

All the Regiments and Garrisons were Disbanded by Lot, except four Companies in Hull, four in Berwick, and four in Carlisle, which were reserved to be last reduced: And the Regiments belonging to the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Lord General, were not to be Disbanded till after all the other Regiments and Garrisons, except the Three before-mentioned. There were Disbanded in England and Wales, Eighteen Regiments of Foot, consisting of a Thousand Souldiers in each Regiment, besides Officers and thirteen Regiments of Horse, having six hundred Souldiers in each Regiment besides Officers, together with the General's Life-Guard of Horse, consisting of Two Hundred, and about Fifty Garrisons which had not in them less than 5000 Souldiers, besides Officers. And in Scotland Three Regiments and Two Companies of Foot, and Two Regiments, except one Troop of Horse, and about Thirteen Garrisons; but most of these Garrisons were not under particular Establishment, as those in England, but were mann'd by Companies out of the respective Regiments. The King, out of his own Bounty, gave a Weeks Pay over and above their full Arrears to all the Troops and Companies Disbanded; Which was very Thankfully accepted by them.

Moreover, he was so well satisfied with the Services of many of his Subjects in Ireland, who Joyned with the Duke of Albemarle, for his Restauration, that he Conferred Rewards and Honour upon many of them according to the report of their merit; amongst these, Sir Charles Coote was made Earl of Montrath; Roger Lord Broug-hill advanced to the Dignity of Earl of Orrery; Colonel Richard Coote, a Brother to the Earl of Montrath, was created Baron of Collowney; and Sir John King, Baron of Kingston; and shortly after, Sir John Clotworthy was made Viscount Massarine.

Besides the many Addresses that were made to the King by his own Subjects generally from all parts of his Dominions, there also came over Forrain Agents and Embassadors from several of the greatest Princes and States of Europe, to Complement his Majesty in the Name of their Masters, touching his happy Restauration to his Royal Dignity and Government: From the Marquess of Brandenburg came the Baron of Pelnitz, Master of the Horse to his Highness. From Frederick Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Cozen-German to his Majesty of England, came Christopher Cloß of Keiembergh, Captain of his Guards. From the King of Denmark came the Lord Frederick Van Alefeld, Deputy-Governour of the Dukedoms of Sleswick and Holstein. But never did any Embassador arrive in England in a more Splendid and gallant Equipage than the Prince of Ligne, who being sent Embassador to our King from the King of Spain, seems to have come only upon a Gratulatory and Complemental Address, in regard there needed no Negotiation about any Peace between England and Spain, forasmuch as upon the coming in of his present Majesty, there follow'd by consequence a reviving of that Peaceful & Friendly Correspondence which had formerly been between these Two Crowns

The KING complemented by the Embassadors and Agents of Forrain Princes.

Peace renewed
with Spain.

Crowns in the time of the late King. And to this purpose his Majesty set forth a Proclamation, Requiring, that (whereas the King of Spain had Commanded throughout his Dominions a Cessation from all Hostility towards this Crown, and had proposed, that the Publication thereof might be on both sides agreed on by a fixt day) all Acts of Hostility should likewise cease on our parts, towards the Subjects of that Crown; which Cessation was to be reckoned as taking beginning from the day of his Majesties Arrival in England, being the 25th of May, and that all Goods and Merchandizes which had been taken from that time should be restored.

As the occasion of the Prince de Ligne's coming over was only Gratulatory & Complementary, so his stay here was but short; and after his Departure, there remained here as the King of Spains Lieger or Embassador in Ordinary, the Baron of Batteville. In the same manner, on the part of the French was the Count of Soissons, succeeded by Monsieur d'Estrade, who had not been long here, ere an Occasion hapned, which manifested, that the late concluded Peace between these two Kings had not any whit lessened the Jealousie of Honour between them and their old pretensions in point of Precedence: Many troublesome Contests there have formerly been between the Embassadors of these Two Crowns in the Courts of Forrain Princes and States, when they have chanced to be Resident together at the same place; but none more remarkable than that upon Tower-Hill, at the Landing of an Embassador from Sweden, on the 30th of September: Which since it was so prepared & premeditated a Business on both sides, that his Majesty foreseeing it would come to a Quarrel, and out of his accustomed Civility willing to carry himself with an equal and impartial Indifference toward them both, and so far to gratifie their Intentions, as to permit them to put their Retinue into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becoming their respective pretences: Yet in the mean time taking order for strict Guards to be kept upon the place, for the preventing, as much as might be, of all disturbances; and severely prohibiting any of his own Subjects to intermeddle in the difference, or to take part with either side; was pleased to Command, That the formerly mentioned Mr. Evelyn should, after diligent Enquiry, made concerning the Carriage and Success of that whole Affair, render him a particular Accompt thereof, by drawing up a full Narrative of every Circumstance of that Rencontre: Which being a matter of so rare a kind, and great Importance, We have here thought meet to insert from that Gentlemans more sedulous and ample Collection, as it was by him presented to his Majesty in this following relation:

The manner of
the Encounter
between the
French and
Spanish Em-
bassadors, at
the Landing
of the Swedish
Embassador.

Upon Monday last, being the 30th of September, about ten in the Morning, the Spanish Embassadors Coach (in which were his Chaplain, with some of his Gentlemen attended by about Forty more of his own Servants in Liveries) was sent down to the Tower-Wharf, and there placed it self near about the Point, where the Ranks or Ordinance determine towards the Gate leading into the Bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch, and (Twelve a Clock past)

the Swedish Coach of Honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majesties Coach Royal) appeared that of the French Ambassadors, wherein were Le Marquis de Strade, Son to the French Ambassador, with several more of his Gentlemen, and, as might be computed, near an Hundred and fifty in Train, whereof above Forty were Horsemen well appointed with Pistols, and (some of them) with Carabines, Musketoons or Fuzies: In this Posture and Equipage stood they expecting upon the Wharf, and as near as might be, approaching to his Majesties Coach, which was opposite to the Stairs. About three in the Afternoon, the Swedish Ambassador being Landed, and received into his Majesties Coach, (which moved leisurely before the rest, and was followed by that of the Swedes) The French Ambassadors Coach endeavoured to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their Party with their Swords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the Guard of their own Coach, which were also putting in for Precedency next the Kings. His Majesties Coach now past, the Spaniards (who held as yet their Rapiers undrawn in their hands) stepping nimbly on either side of the hind-most Wheels of their Masters Coach, drew their Weapons, and shouted, which caused the French Coach-horses to make a Pause: But, when they observed the advantage, which by this the Spanish Ambassadors Coach had gained, being now in file after the Swedes, they came up very near to the Spaniards, and at once, pouring in their shot upon them, together with their Foot (then got before their Coach) fell to it with their Swords; both which the Spaniards received, without removing one jot from their Stations.

During this Demesle (in which the French received some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dextrous Fellow, and (as most affirm) with a particular Instrument, as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the French Ambassadors Coach-Horses, cut the Ham-strings of two of them, and wounded a third; which immediately falling, the Coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the Coachman forced out of his Box, and the Postilion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an English Gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his Thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded, and some slain) caused those in the French to alight, and so enraged their Party, that it occasioned a second brisk Assault both of Horse and Foot; which being received with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horse retreated, and wheel'd off to St. Katherines.

It was in this Skirmish that some Brick-bats were thrown from the edge of the Wharf, which (by a mistake) are said to have been provided by the Spanish Ambassadors Order the day before. But that they were not cast by any of the English, is attested by the general consent of all the Spectators.

In this Interim then (which was near half an hour) the Spanish Coach went forward after his Majesties, with about Twenty of its Retinue following, who still kept their Countenances towards the French, as long as they abode on the

E e e e

Wharf

1660.

1660.

Wharf, and that narrow passage of the Bulwark, (where the Contest was very fierce) without disorder: So as the first which appear'd on *Tower-Hill* (where now they were entering) was his Majesties Coach, followed by the *Swedes* Ambassadors; and next, by that of *Spain*, with about twenty four or thirty of his Liveries, still disputing it with a less number of *French*, who came after them in the Rear.

And here, (besides what were slain with Bullets on the Wharf, and near the Bulwark, where of one was a *Valet de Chambre* of the *Spanish* Ambassadors, and six more, amongst which a poor *English* Plaisterer, and near forty wounded) fell one of the *French*, who was kill'd just before his Highnesses Life-guard, no one person of the numerous Spectators intermeddling, or so much as making the least noise, or tumult, People or Souldiers, whereof there were three Companies of Foot which stood opposite on the Hill to the Guards of Horse, 'twixt whom the Antagonists lightly skirmished, some fresh Parties of *French* coming out of several places, and protected by the *English*, amongst whom they found shelter, till the *Spanish* Ambassadors Coach having gained and passed the Chain which leads into *Crochet-Friers*, they desisted, and gave them over.

What-ever disadvantage the *French* came off with in this Rencontre, wherein, except one man that fought among the *Spaniards* with a Half-Pike, not any of the *English* were seen to act any thing that might contribute to the success of one side more than another, till a few of the multitude which stood on that side of the Wharf, being enraged by the Wounds which they received from the shot that came in amongst them, and whereof, 'tis said, some of them afterwards died, were forced to defend themselves with what they found at hand: For so careful was Sir *Charles Berkley*, Captain of his Royal Highnesses Life-guard, to put in execution what he had in strict Charge from his Majesty, that not a man of the Spectators was suffered with impunity so much as with a Switch in his hand. The *French* King, from this occasion, gained an advantage to the Prerogative he stood upon, greater than if this contest had not hapned; for whereas this business of Precedence had been hitherto in Controversie between him and *Spain*, in so much that to prevent all inconveniencies, an Accord had been lately made here between the *Spanish* Ambassador and the Count of *Soissons*, that they should assist at no Publick Ceremonies, but upon all such casual Encounters, pass on their way as they fortun'd to meet: The King of *France* countermanding this Agreement, and sending positive charge to *de Strade*, not to abate any thing of those Pretensions formerly stood upon; and hearing what ensued upon his Ambassadors executing of his Injunctions, was so incensed thereat, that the quarrel had proceeded to an absolute breach of the late concluded Peace between the two Kingdoms, had not the King of *Spain* condescended to agree, that thence-forward Precedence should be yielded to the *French* upon all such like occasions, without any dispute.

The Princess-Royal comes over into England.

On the 23 of this Month, the Princess-Royal of *Great Britain* having recommended the Interests of her Son the Prince of *Aurange* to the

care of the *Lords States* of the *Netherlands*, (who now at length had agreed among themselves to admit this young Prince to the same Dignity and Trust which his Ancestors formerly held in that *Commonwealth*, of which they had so highly merited) came over into *England*, invited by his Majesty, and willing once again to see her Native Country from which she had so many years been absent: But her joy to see the King her Brother peaceably Inthroned, was very much allayed by her sorrow for the loss of her Third Brother, *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Gloucester*, The Death of who in the 21 year of his age (to the great grief the Duke of of the King his Brother, and all those that know- *Gloucester*. ing and admiring the Princely Vertues of his Youth, had promised Wonders to the World from the hopes of his Elder Age) departed this Life on the 13th of *September*, being the same day the *Parliament* adjourned, which was near the space of four Months after his Arrival in *England*; so that he survived little longer than just to attend upon his Brother to his Throne. He was a Prince excellently accomplish'd, Religious, Learned, Valiant, Wise above his Years, a dutiful & affectionate Brother, a wise Councillor, a good Master, and a true Friend. And as if Fate had so provided, that being himself of the most Noble, he should also in death be accompanied by the most Noble; there died much about the same time, two of the same Order with himself, and next him in Quality, *Esme* Duke of *Lenox*, and *Richmond*, and *William* Marquess of *Hertford*, Of the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Somerset*. who was also not long before his death restored by his now Majesty to the Ancient Dignity of his Ancestours, being created Duke of *Somerset*, and also to the Honour he had merited in the time of his late Majesty of being Lord Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*: In which last Dignity he is succeeded by Sir *Edw. Hyde*, Lord High-Chancellor of *England*.

Commissioners having been appointed by the *Parliament* to pay off and disband the Army and Navy, a speedy and effectual course having been by them taken, as hath been already mentioned, for the paying off and disbanding the several Regiments and Ships as fast as Money came in by the *Act of Poll-money*, and the other *Acts of Assessments* made to that end by the *Parliament* before their Adjournment: In lieu of these disbanded Forces, all the several Counties of the Nation under the Conduct of certain Noblemen, who were constituted the Kings Lieutenants over them, according to the Ancient Custom, were armed with their own *Militia* or *Trained-Bands*; not so much in any apprehension of disorder from the Souldiers, for they had so good Officers placed over them by the Lord General, that there was no fear of disorder from them; but lest any seditious persons might think themselves capable of making disturbance, if no armed force should be ready to prevent their mischiefs.

The Militia settled in the several Counties.

And by this means, the Country was both settled into such a Posture of Military Defence; as to be able at a short warning to appear in Arms, and also freed from the continual charge of maintaining a standing Army, whereof there would be no appearance, except in case of Emergent Danger.

As matters of Civil, so likewise those of Ecclesiastical concernment were had in serious regard

Episcopacy
revived in
England.

regard by his Majesty, who judging the Form of Church-Government which had been establish'd in England from the time of the Reformation, till the late *Troubles*, to be the most Ancient and decent way of Worship and Discipline, and most tending to Uniformity in Religion, made it one of his first businesses to restore the late extruded *Episcopacy* to the Dignity and Authority they formerly exercised in the Church of *England*: To which end, he speedily proceeded to the nomination of such Persons as were approved to be of the most Eminent for Learning and Piety, for the supplying of those Bishops See's, which were become vacant since the first time of the Abrogation of their Power.

In the Month of *October*, *Owen Row*, *Augustine Garland*, and 27 more of the Regicides, Murderers of the late King, excepted out of the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion*, were Arraigned at the *Old-Baily* upon a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, directed to *Thomas Allen*, Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of *London*, *Sir Edward Hide*, Lord Chancellour of *England*.

The Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Lord *High Steward*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Barkshire*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *Finch*, *Denzel Hollis* Esquire, *Sir Frederick Cornwallis*, Knight and Baronet, *Sir Charles Berkley* Knight, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Arthur Annesly* Esquire, *Sir Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice *Foster*, Mr. Justice *Mallet*, Mr. Justice *Hide*, Mr. Baron *Atkins*, Mr. Justice *Twisden*, Mr. Justice *Terrell*, Mr. Baron *Turner*, *Sir Harbottle Grimston*, Knight and Baronet, *Sir William Wild*, Knight and Baronet, Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Brown*, Mr. Serjeant *Hale*, *John Howell* Esquire.

The Prosecutors on behalf of his Majesty, were *Sir Jeffery Palmer*, his Majesties Attorney-General, *Sir Heneage Finch*, his Majesties Solicitor-General, *Sir Edward Turner*, Attorney to his Highness the Duke of *York*, and *Wadham Windham* Esquire, *Edward Shelton* Esquire, attended the Clerk of the Crown.

The Prisoners being called, they all pleaded *Not Guilty*, except *Sir Hardress Waller*, and Mr. *George Fleetwood*, who pleaded *Guilty*: But the Crimes were so odious, and the Proofs so clear, that the Jurors scarce ever went from the Bar to deliberate, but found them all *Guilty*; and ten of them were Executed, viz. *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Jones*, *Scroop*, *Cook*, and *Peters*, at *Chairing-Cross*; and *Hacker* and *Axtell* at *Tyburn*: *William Hulet* (who was also found *Guilty*, being accused to be one of those that in a Frock and Vizard assisted in the horrid Execution of the King, and therefore excepted from Pardon, though not by name) in regard that the Evidence seemed not so clear to the Court, upon their report to the King he had his Reprieve; and all the rest were respited, till the King and *Parliament* should order their Execution according to the direction in the *Act of Indemnity* in that behalf.

The King summons a Parliament in Scotland.

The King thought it high time to settle the Peace of *Scotland*, as well as that of his other Dominions; and in order thereunto, he sum-

mon'd a *Parliament* to meet at *Edenburgh* the 12th day of *December*; and by his *Proclamation* in that Kingdom, signified to all, that he relied so much on the Loyalty, Prudence, and Care of his *Parliament*, as absolutely to commit to them the Trying and Judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late *Troubles*, concerning which he would receive Addresses and Informations only from his *Parliament*, or *Committee of Estate*: To whom in the mean time he recommended the ordering and preparing of that affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interested, might freely and should only make their Applications, assuring them, that his own Honour once vindicated, and the Ancient Prerogatives of the Crown asserted, he would grant such a full and free Pardon, an *Act of Indemnity*, as might witness, that he desired nothing more than that his People should be settled with abundance of Happiness, Peace, and Plenty, under his Government.

For the Government of *Ireland*, he made *Sir Maurice Eustace* Knight, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, *Roger Earl of Orrerey* Lord President of *Munster*, and *Charles Earl of Montraish*, Lord President of *Connought*, to be Justices; who governed Affairs there with great Candour and Moderation.

The Sitting again of the *Parliament of England* drew very near; in the Interim whereof, the King, to manifest his vigilance for the good of his Subjects, according to his Promise at their Adjournment the latter end of *October*, published his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs, filled with many gracious Concessions to allay the distempers in Religion of that time; which because it was but temporary, till the *Parliament* should offer something further to him in reference to those matters, we forbear to mention the particulars thereof. He likewise a few days after emitted a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to several Persons of great Honour and Integrity, to Treat with all Purchasers of Crown and Church-Lands, that none of his People might want any satisfaction which in reason could be allowed them.

The Two Houses of *Parliament* met the sixth of *November*, and applied themselves to the making of several Laws for the augmentation of the Kings Revenue, and other matters of great Consideration, in which they were the more diligent and speedy, for that they received intimation from the King, that he intended to dissolve them on the 29th of *December*. In the mean time, they ordered, that the several Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *John Bradshaw*, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, should be taken out of their Graves, and drawn on an Hurdle to *Tyburn*, to be buried under the Gallows: And on *Christmas-Eve*, the King went to the *House of Lords*, and there gave his Royal Assent to two *Acts of Parliament*; viz. To an *Act* for a Grant of certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the increase of his Majesties Revenue, and an *Act* for the taking away the Court of Wards, and Liveries, and Tenures in *Capite*, and by Knights Service, and Purveyance, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in Lieu thereof.

The *Act* for a Grant of certain Impositions, &c. is by several Rates, as Excise upon Beer, Ale, Sider,

1660.

The King sets forth a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs.

The Bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, ordered to be buried under the Gallows.

The King passes the Act for settling of Excise, and taking away the Court of Wards.

1660.

Sider, Perry, Metheglin, Strong-Water, or Aqua-Vita, Coffee, Chocolate, Sherbet, and Tea; (Viz.) for Beer, Ale, and such of these as are not Foreign Liquors, they are to be paid by the Brewer, or other person that shall sell the same; And all Foreign Liquors, by the Merchant, or Importer, in ready Money upon Entry, made before the Landing thereof; and these Impositions are to continue by this Law during the Kings Life: But by another Statute made in the same Session, for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures in Capite, and by Knights Service, and Purveyance, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof; the said Impositions and Rates are in recompence thereof to be paid to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors for ever.

The Reasons alledged in this Statute, for taking away the Court of Wards, in the Preamble thereof were, because Tenures by Knights Service, either of the King or others, or by Knights Service in Capite, or by Soccage in Capite of the King, and the Consequents upon the same had been much more burthensome, grievous, and prejudicial to the Kingdom, than beneficial to the King: And since the intermission of the said Court from the 24th of February, 1645. many persons had by Will and otherwise made disposal of their Lands held by Knights Service, whereupon divers Questions might arise, unless some seasonable Remedy should be taken to prevent the same, by taking away from the said 24th of February, 1645. the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardships, Liveries, Primer Seisins, and all Ouster le mains, Values, and Forfeitures of Marriages, by reason of any Tenure of the King, or of any other by Knight Service, and all mean Rates and Gifts, Grants or Charges, &c.

The Death of the Princess of Aurange.

Whilst the King was passing these two Acts, his Sister the Princess Mary, Princess of Aurange, died at White-Hall, a Lady of admirable Virtues, and all Princely Endowments; and five days after (viz.) on the 29th day of December in the Evening which was the day of the dissolution of the Parliament) was buried in King Henry the Seventh's Chappel at Westminster.

The Parliament dissolved, and 32 Acts more passed by the King.

Upon which day in the Morning, the King came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to twenty private, and twelve publick Acts of Parliament. The private were these following:

1 'An Act for the restoring of Henry Lord Arundel of Worder, to the possession of his Estate.

2 'An Act for Restitution of Thomas Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, to the Title of Duke of Norfolk.

3 'An Act to restore to Wentworth, Earl of Roscomon in Ireland, all the Honours, Castles, Lordships, Lands and Tenements, whereof James Earl of Roscomon his Great Grandfather, or James Earl of Roscomon his Father, were possessed.

4 'An Act for the restoring of Sir George Hamilton to his Lands and Estate in Ireland.

5 'An Act for Maintenance of the Vicar, for the time being, of the Vicaridge of Royston.

6 'An Act for inabling Sir William Wray to sell Lands for payment of his Debts, and raising of Portions for his younger Children.

7 'An Act for Naturalizing of Gerrard Vanbenthuzen, Daniel Demetrius, and others.

8 'An Act for the inabling of John Newton the Younger, and William Oakley, to make sale of Lands for payment of Debts, and raising of Portions.

9 'An Act for empowering the Master of the Rolls to make Leases for years, in order to new building the old buildings belonging to the Rolls.

10 'An Act for the Naturalization of John Boreel, Esq; Eldest Son of Sir William Boreel, Knight and Baronet.

11 'An Act for the Naturalization of Abraham Wachter.

12 'An Act for the restoring Sir Thomas Crimes, Baronet, to his Estate.

13 'An Act for inabling George Fawnt of Foston, in the County of Leicester, Esq; to sell and convey part of his Lands, for payment of several Debts and Legacies charged upon his Estate by Sir William Fawnt Knight, deceased; and for the raising of Portions for his younger Children, and making his Wives Joynture.

14 'An Act for Naturalizing Francis Hide, and others.

15 'An Act to inable Joseph Micklethwait an Infant, and his Trustees, to sell his Lands for payment of his Fathers Debts.

16 'An Act for raising Portions, and making provision for maintenance of the younger Children of Sir Edward Gostwick.

17 'An Act for confirming the sale of the Mannour of Hitcham, sold to Charles Doe by Sir John Clark, Knight and Baronet, and for settling and disposing other the Lands of the said Sir John Clark, and Dame Philadelphia his Wife.

18 'An Act for the settling of some of the Mannours and Lands of the Earl of Cleveland in Trustees, to be sold for the satisfying of the Debts of the said Earl, and of Thomas Lord Wentworth his Son.

19 'An Act for the disappropriating of the Rectory appropriate of Preston, and uniting and consolidating of the said Rectory, and of the Vicaridge of the Church of Preston, and for the assuring of the Advowson and Right of Patronage of the same unto the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge.

20 'An Act for making the Precinct of Covent-Garden Parochial.

The Publick ACTS were;

1 'An Act for the Attainder of several Persons guilty of the horrid Murther of his late Sacred Majesty King Charles the First.

2 'An Act for the Levying of certain Moneys due upon the Collection for the Protestants of Piedmont.

3 'An Act for Confirmation of Grants and Leases from Colledges and Hospitals.

4 'An Act for the Levying of the Arrears of the 12 Months Assessments, commencing the 24th of June, 1659. and the 6 Months Assessment, commencing the 25th of Decemb. 1659.

5 'An Act for granting to the Kings Majesty 420000 l. by Assessment of 70000 l. by the Month for six Months, for disbanding of the Army, and paying off the Navy.

6 'An Act for the raising of 70000 l. for the further supply of his Majesty.

7 'An

7 ' An Act for Confirmation of Marriages.
8 ' An Act for raising and establishing a Post-Office.

9 ' An Act for the further supplying and explaining certain defects in an Act for the speedy provision of Money for disbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom, both by Land and Sea.

10 ' An Act for the better ordering of the selling of Wine by Retail, and for preventing abuses in the mingling, corrupting and vitiating of Wines; and for settling and limiting the Prizes of the same.

11 ' An Act for prohibiting the planting, setting, or sowing of Tobacco in England and Ireland.

12 ' An Act for prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers-Earth, or any kind of Scouring Earth.

The substance of the Act of Attainder.

' By the Act of Attainder, which was made to Attaint the Judges and other Actors in the Murther of the late King, *Oliver Cromwell* deceased, *Henry Ireton* deceased, *John Bradshaw* deceased, and *Thomas Pride* deceased, are Adjudged to be Convicted and Attainted of High Treason, to all intents and purposes, as if they and every of them respectively had been Attainted in their Life-time.

2 ' And all the Persons fled for Treason, at is to say, *John Lisle*, *William Say*, *Valentine Wanton*, *Edward Whalley*, *John Barkstead*, *Edmond Ludlow*, *Sir Michael Livesey*, *John Okey*, *John Hewson*, *William Goffe*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Thomas Challoner*, *William Cawley*, *Miles Corbet*, *Nicholas Love*, *John Dixwell*, *Daniel Blagrove*, *Andrew Broughton*, *Edward Dendy*, and every of them, stand, and be Adjudged, Convicted, and Attainted of High-Treason.

3 ' All the Mannours, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Possessions, Rights, Conditions, Interests, Offices, Fees, Annuities, and all other Hereditaments, Leases for years, Chattels Real, and all other things of that nature whatsoever they be, of them the said *Oliver Cromwell*, *Henry Ireton*, *John Bradshaw*, *Thomas Pride*, and of other persons particularly named in the said Act, amounting in all to the number of two and fifty persons, which they or any of them, or any other person or persons to their or any of their uses, or in trust for them or any of them, the 25th day of March, 1646. or at any time since, shall stand and be forfeited to the King, his Heirs and Successors, and shall be vested and adjudged to be in the actual and real possession of the King, without any Office or Inquisition thereof hereafter to be taken or found.

4 ' No Conveyance, Assurance, Grant, Bargain, Sale, Charge, Lease, Assignment, Surrender by Copy, Estate, Interest, Trust, Limitation of Uses, or out of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, (not being the Lands of the late King, Queen, Prince, or any of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters,) nor any Statute, Judgment or Recognition had, made, acknowledged or suffered to any person or persons which before the 24th day of September, 1659. by any of the Offenders in the Act mentioned, or their Heirs, or any other persons claiming by, from,

or under them, other than the Wife or Wives, Child or Children, Heir or Heirs, of such person or persons to any of them for Money bona fide, to them or any of them paid or Lent, nor any Conveyance, Grant, or Estate, made before the 25th day of April, 1660. by any person or persons aforesaid, in trust and for the benefit of any other person or persons not being of the Offenders aforesaid, shall be impeached, defeated, made void or frustrated hereby, or by the Convictions or Attainders aforesaid, but shall be enjoined by the Purchasers, Grantees, Lessees, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns respectively, as if this Act had not been made; so as the said Conveyances, Grants, Assurances, which are and ought to be held and enjoyed, as aforesaid, before the first of January, 1662. be enter'd and enrolled of Record in the Exchequer, and not otherwise.

5 ' All and singular the Mannours, Lands and Hereditaments, which heretofore were the Lands, &c. of *Henry* late Marquess of Worcester, *Edward* now Marquess of Worcester, and *Henry Lord Herbert*, Son to the said *Edward* Marquess of Worcester, whereof the said *Oliver Cromwell*, or any other person in trust for him, or to his use, or any other the persons attainted by this Act, or otherwise, or any other person in trust for them, or any of them, had at any time before or since the decease of the said *Oliver Cromwell*, are vested and seized in, and shall be held and enjoyed by the said Marquess of Worcester, and *Henry Lord Herbert*, in such manner, and for such Estates, or such Powers and Priviledges, as they formerly had in the same, saving the Estates, Rights, Titles and Interests of Strangers, not derived by and from any of the said Offenders since the 25th day of March, 1646.

1 ' It is provided nevertheless, That those who have received any of the Rents or Mean Profits of, in, or out of any the Lands, Chattels Real, or possessions of any of the Offenders in this Act mentioned before the 11th of February, 1659. and have paid or accompted for the same before that day unto the said Offender or Offenders, or their Assigns, or any other person claiming from or under them, shall be for ever acquitted and discharged of and from the same, against the King, his Heirs and Successors.

2. And also, That *Richard Ingoldsby* may keep, sell or dispose of all the Goods and Chattels formerly belonging to *Sir Hardress Waller* in Ireland, until 2000 l. (for which the said *Ingoldsby* in the year 1658. stood joyntly bounden with the said *Sir Hardress Waller* unto *James Brooks* of the City of York Alderman, and was then Counter-secured by a Judgment upon his Lands, and since by a Deed of Bargain and Sale of the said Goods and Chattels in Ireland,) be fully paid, together with the Interest thereof; the said *Ingoldsby* paying the Over-plus to the King.

The Kings Favour to this Gentleman, grounded upon so notable a Foundation of Merit, as is before related, did oblige the Parliament in this and many other occasions, to shew their respect to him.

The

1660.

1660.

The *Act* for raising and establishing a *Post-Office*, brought a Revenue of one and twenty thousand pounds a year to the Crown; which was an Improvement first made in the time of *Cromwell's* Usurpation.

The *Act* for the better ordering of the selling of Wines by Retail, was to prohibit any from selling of Wines, but such as should be licens'd by the Kings Agents; and from retailing mingled, corrupted, or abused Wines: as also for limiting and bringing down the prices thereof.

The *Act* for the prohibiting the planting, setting or sowing of Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*, did under strict penalties forbid the setting or planting any Tobacco in seed, plant, or otherwise, in *England*, *Wales*, the Island of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick*, except it be in any Physick-Garden of either of the Universities, or other private Garden for Physick or Surgery, so as the quantity so planted, exceed not one half of a Pole in any place or Garden.

The *Act* for prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers-Earth, or any kind of scouring Earth, was made to preserve the Manufacture of Woollen-cloth in *England*, which was one of the Staple-commodities of this Kingdom, and that which brought most Trade and advantage of any to it, till of late years that the *Hollander*, *French*, and others of our Neighbours, by Exportation of our Materials, had almost gain'd all the Trade thereof from us: And although these materials, as Wooll, Wooll-fells, and Fullers-Earth, had been by former Laws prohibited to be Exported to any Forreign parts, on pain of forfeiture, or other pecuniary Mulcts, those Laws could not prevent the offences, for they were frequently by stealth or connivance exported. Wherefore this Statute was thought fit to be made, for the re-inforcing of those former Laws, and preventing the like abuses for the future.

The Effect of his Majesties and the Lord Chancellours Speech, at the Dissolving of his Parliament.

After the King had given the Royal Assent to the before-mentioned *Acts*, he made a Speech to both Houses, full of gracious and pleasing Expressions: and amongst others, he said, *This Parliament should be called to all Posterity, The Healing and the Blessed Parliament. And that it should be a Rule to his Actions and Councils to consider, What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or this Council? Adding, That he would Religiously himself observe the Act of Indemnity, and would exact the Observation of it from all others.*

And after he had ended, the Lord Chancellor (according to the Custom, for none ever in his Place had greater Eloquence) excellently set forth the Happiness of the King and his People, which only strove which should express more affection to each others, to the joy of all his good Subjects, and the terror of Evil Doers. And with this Speech he concluded the Parliament; for then it was dissolved. And we may truly say, never did King and Parliament in this Kingdom better agree; never was there any Parliament Assembled with greater Expectation, and ended with greater Satisfaction to all the People; of which we may not improperly insert in this place a Stanza, out of that Excellent Ode upon the Kings Restauration and Return, made by the most Celebrated of our English Poets, Mr. Abraham Cowley, now living, a little before its Dissolution; in the 18th Page whereof is sung this passage,

*And ill should We deserve this Happy Day,
If no acknowledgment we pay
To You Great Patriots of the Two
Most truly other Houses now;
Who have redeem'd from Hatred and from Shame,
A Parliament's once Venerable Name;
And now the Title of a House restore
To that which was but Slaughter-House before:
If my advice, Ye Worthies, might be tane,
Within those Reverend Places
Which now your Living Presence graces,
Your Worthy Statues always should remain,
To keep alive your useful Memory,
And to your Successors th' Example be
Of Truth, Religion, Reason, Loyalty.
For though a firmly settled Peace,
May shortly make your Publick Labours cease,
The grateful Nation will with joy consent,
That in this Sence, you should be said
(Though yet the Name sounds with some dread)
To be the Long, the Endless Parliament.*

Of all the manifold Sects and Separations that sprung up from the licence of the late War, and the Anarchy that reign'd from that time, till the time of his Majesties Restauration, there were scarce any that dreaded not the Name of Monarchy, as apprehending the consequence thereof to be a tendency to Uniformity in Church and State; and therefore no marvel if they who heretofore were profess'd Enemies to the King and his Right of Government, were after his coming in agitated with a restless spirit of impatience and dissatisfaction, which forbore not several times to manifest it self in such Attempts, as had not a timely stop been put unto them, by the prudent foresight and vigilant care of his Majesty and his Council, might very much have endanger'd the imbroiling of the Nation in a new Civil War. The first Alarm that was given, was by the Fifth-Monarchy-men, (they at least were the only hardy men that openly appear'd) a Generation of people however so call'd, the most inveterate Enemies to the Ancient settled Monarchy of the Nation, of all the whole Hydra; of these about 50 or 60 mad persons, resolving to venture Neck or nothing, broke forth into open Hostility and Rebellion, under the Conduct of one Thomas Venner, a Cooper, that had lived for some time in New-England, and was of the principal of the Fifth-Monarchy, and a Preacher to a Conventicle of those of that Opinion, who usually met in Coleman-street. That which first gave him and his Partakers a pretence to their Treason, was the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, (which all good Subjects are oblig'd by the Law to take) exclaiming not only against them in particular, but against all Oaths in general: And when some amongst them, more Ingenious than the rest, advised their Companions not to dispute what was commanded by their Superiours, since subjection was naturally due to those Powers from whence they expected Protection; they were answered by the Seditious, *That they had no Protection in the exercise of their Religion, but were for the practice thereof exposed to all manner of Contempts and Miseries.* As if a Just Restraint from Extravagancies in Divine Worship, were to be esteem'd Oppression.

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The madness of these Men extended so far, as to believe they and the rest of their Judgment were called by GOD. to Reform the World, and make all the Earthly Powers (which they called *Babylon*) subservient to the Kingdom of King *Jesus*; and in order thereunto, never to sheath their Sword till the Carnal Powers of the World became a hissing and a Curse: And by a misguided Zeal, they were so confident in their undertaking, that they were taught and believ'd one should subdue a Thousand, making account when they had led captive Captivity in *England*, to go into *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other parts of the World, there to prosecute their holy design.

The place where they consulted and continued their Conspiracy, was the Meeting-place for their Devotion, and thither they had at several times conveyed Arms. On *Sunday* the Sixth of *January*, which was the day before their Excursion, (his Majesty at that time being gone to accompany his Royal Mother the Queen-Dowager of *Great-Britain*, and his Sister the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, part of their Journey toward *France*;) they were very late at their Assembly, which made one *Martin*, the Landlord of the House, but not of their Party, somewhat inquisitive after their doings; and as he was going into the Chamber to them, he met *Venner*, who seeing him troubled, told him, *He perceiv'd he thought their stay too long, and that in half an hours space after they had sought God in their Prayers, they would disperse*; *Martin's* jealousy of their actions, made him Consult with a Friend about their unusual manner of Assembling, and he was advised to Listen at their Door, or peep through some Chink to hear or see what they were about, which he did, and found them Arming themselves with Back, Breast and Head-Piece; and thereupon he immediately gave Notice thereof to some of the next Officers: But within half an hour of this, they came down, and being met by the Mistress of the House great with Child, who in amazement would have shut the Door upon them, they offer'd to shoot her with a Musquet; upon which in great terror she left them. The Rebels first march'd to *St. Thomas Apostles*, to call some of their party, and from thence to *Bishopsgate*, and after to *White-Cross-Street*. Sir *Richard Brown*, the Lord Major, having notice of their being abroad, got together some Files of the Trained Bands, but not sufficient, as was supposed, to make any impression upon them, they being imagin'd more numerous than they were, by which means they had opportunity to escape to *St. Johns Wood*, and from thence to *Cane-Wood*, betwixt *High-Gate* and *Hampstead*.

By this time the Alarm being come to *White-Hall*, and the General's Regiment drawn up, the Duke of *York* and he, with the Earl of *Oxford*, and some others, and some of the Guards, march'd into *London*, where they were informed all the Rebels were dispersed, except a party of them that were seen to go towards *Cane-wood*, whither Sir *Thomas Sandys* was sent with some of the Guards, and a Company of Foot: But by the darkness of the Night they got away, and on *Wednesday* morning came again into *London*, and divided themselves into two Parties, one whereof about 5 and 6 in the morning appear'd

about *Leaden-Hall*, and from thence march'd to *Little-Eastcheap*, where they fought obstinately enough, but were dispersed by the Train'd-Bands. *Venner* and another Party came to my Lord Major's House, thinking to have taken him Prisoner; but missing him, they march'd into *Wood-street*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet*, and about twenty Horse. *Corbet* and nine of his party charged through the Rebels, and broke them, whereby the Train'd-Band Foot that seconded them; had little more to do, than to pursue them. They fought with courage to admiration; and if they had not been hindered by the care of the Lord Major from increasing their numbers, a Thousand men so resolv'd, might have caused such a disturbance in the City, as might have had an influence much further. *Venner* himself was very much wounded before he was taken, and about five or six kill'd that refused quarter, of which some of them were so obscure, that their Names were not known. And about eight or ten days after, *Venner* with about sixteen or seventeen of the most notorious, were arraigned at *Justice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily*, found guilty, and executed in several parts of *London*.

Thus ended this desperate Enterprize of a formidable Army of threescore men, who were insensated to that height of Enthusiastick Valour, that they thought themselves strong enough to encounter the whole Armed force of one of the Greatest and most Populous Cities in the World; The Princes Guards, the General's Troops, the City Train'd-Bands, were all swallow'd up in Conceit, by these men of Mickle Might, and Little Wit; and I have heard say, they were so Infatuated with their golden Dreams, and so Cock-sure of success, that they had promis'd to themselves the Partage of the whole Empire of the World among them; Thirty being design'd for the subduing of the *Eastern* Parts; and thirty of the *Western*: But we have seen what disaster they met with by the Way.

With the Suppressing of this Insurrection, and the bringing the Authors thereof to exemplary punishment, together with the decease of Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* in the *Tower*, who is thought to have died with very Anguish of Mind, to see all his great designs in an Instant brought to nothing, and himself at the Mercy of a Power o're which he had so long Triumph'd; We shall conclude this Year, as with the Solemn Coronation of his Majesty; our present History not thinking it enough to have seen him restor'd to his Throne and rightful Inheritance, without seeing him also invested with those Ensigns, and Formalities of Regal Dignity, by which all his Predecessors were confirm'd and establish'd Kings of *England*.

The Poms and Proceedings whereof, in regard they may very well be conceiv'd to have exceeded the Magnificences of all former Coronations, as being perform'd for a PRINCE so miraculously restor'd to his People, We judg not impertinent to be here Inserted; following herein the *Observations* and *Collection* (according to the Original unmutated Copy set forth by himself, and with his own Name prefix'd to the Title) of *Elias Ashmole* Esq; *Windsor* Herald at Arms; a most Judicious and Curious Inquirer into all *Antiquities* of this Nature, and exactly vers'd

1661

vers'd in the publick Ceremonies of State, especially in the Rites and Customs of the most Noble and Illustrious Order of the Garter: The Names and order of the Companions whereof as they were settled in their Stalls the 16th of April, 1661. were as followeth:

1. The Sovereign.

2. Duke of Yorke.
3. Prince Elector of Brandenburg.
4. Prince Rupert.
5. Earl of Salisbury.
6. Earl of Northumberland.
7. Duke of Ormond.
8. Earl of Southampton.
9. Earl of Bristol.
10. Count Marfin.
11. Earl of Sandwich.
12. Duke of Richmond.
13. Earl of Manchester.

1. Voyd.

2. The Elector Palatine.
3. Prince of Aurange.
4. Prince Edward.
5. Earl of Berkshire.
6. Duke of Espernon.
7. Duke of Buckingham.
8. Marquess of Newcastle.
9. Prince of Tarante.
10. Duke of Albemarle.
11. Earl of Oxford.
12. Earl of Lindsey.
13. Earl of Strafford.

Likewise, in order to their attendance upon this Grand Solemnity, there were created 68. Knights of the Holy Trinity, called *Knights of the Bath*, six Earls and as many Barons. The Names of the *Knights of the Bath*, (they being a Society of Knights never made but at a Coronation of a King or a Queen, or at a creation of a Prince of Wales or Duke of York) were,

1. Edward Lord Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln.
2. John Viscount Brackley.
3. Sir Philip Herbert, second Son to the Earl of Pembroke.
4. Sir William Egerton, second Son to the Earl of Bridgewater.
5. Sir Vere Fane, second Son to the Earl of Westmerland.
6. Sir Charles Berkley, eldest Son to the Lord Berkley.
7. Sir Henry Bellasis, eldest Son to the Lord Bellasis.
8. Sir Henry Hide, eldest Son to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor.
9. Sir Rowland Bellasis, Brother to the Viscount Faulconbridge.
10. Sir Henry Capel, Son of the late Lord Capel.
11. Sir John Vaughan, second Son to the Lord Vaughan Earl of Carbury.
12. Sir Charles Stanley, Grandchild to the Earl of Derby.
13. Sir Francis Fane, Grand-Children to the
14. Sir Henry Fane, Earl of Westmerland.
15. Sir William Portman, Baronet.

16. Sir Richard Temple, Baronet.
17. Sir William Ducey, Baronet. *
18. Sir Thomas Trevon, Baronet.
19. Sir John Scudamore, Baronet.
20. Sir William Gardiner, Baronet.
21. Sir Charles Cornwallis, eldest Son to Sir Frederick Cornwallis.
22. Sir John Nicholas, Son to Sir Edw. Nicholas Principal Secretary of State.
23. Sir John Monson.
24. Sir Bouchier Wray.
25. Sir John Coventry.
26. Sir Edward Hungerford.
27. Sir John Knevet.
28. Sir Philip Butler.
29. Sir Adrian Scroop.
30. Sir Richard Knightley.
31. Sir Henry Heron.
32. Sir John Lewkener.
33. Sir George Brown.
34. Sir William Terringham.
35. Sir Francis Godolphin.
36. Sir Edward Boynton.
37. Sir Grevill Verney.
38. Sir Edward Harley.
39. Sir Edward Walpole.
40. Sir Francis Popham.
41. Sir Edward Wise.
42. Sir Christopher Calthrop.
43. Sir Richard Edgcombe.
44. Sir William Bromley.
45. Sir Thomas Bridges.
46. Sir Thomas Fanshaw.
47. Sir John Denham.
48. Sir Nicholas Bacon.
49. Sir James Altham.
50. Sir Thomas Wendey.
51. Sir John Bramston.
52. Sir George Freeman.
53. Sir Nicholas Slanning.
54. Sir Richard Ingoldsby.
55. Sir John Bates.
56. Sir Edward Heath.
57. Sir William Morley.
58. Sir John Bennet.
59. Sir Hugh Smith.
60. Sir Simon Leech.
61. Sir Henry Chester.
62. Sir Robert Atkins.
63. Sir Robert Gayre.
64. Sir Richard Pawle.
65. Sir Hugh Ducey, another Son of the foresaid Sir Robert Ducey.
66. Sir Steven Hales.
67. Sir Ralph Bash.
68. Sir Whitmore.

Which *Knights of the Bath*, were first dubbed Knights-Bachelors, were Knighted by the King with the Sword of State, and then every one of them was adorned with the Red-Ribbond of Knight-hood of the Bath, with a Medal adjoyn- ing unto it of Three Crowns, with an Inscription about it of *Tria juncta in uno*; which words till King James's Coronation, were *Tria numina juncta in uno*, from The Holy Trinity, but at that time the word *Numina* was left out which is supposed to be, that from that time it might be lookt on to be an order of Knight-hood in allusion unto the union of the Three Kingdoms of England

* Son of that Sir Robert Ducey, who in the dangerous times of difficulty and trial, chose rather to contract the Envy of his Brethren, than to recede from those Principles of Allegiance which inspir'd him to adjudg God and Caesar their Due.

England, Scotland and Ireland, as *Tria Regna juncta in uno*.

The Commissioners appointed for the calling together of these persons to be Knighted, were the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Northumberland, Suffolk, Lindsey and Manchester.

The Twelve Persons Advanc'd unto the Titles of Earls and Barons, were Edward Baron Hyde of Hindon, Lord High-Chancellor of England, created Earl of Clarendon. Arthur Baron Capell, created Earl of Essex. Thomas Baron Brudenell, Earl of Cardigan. Arthur Viscount Valentia, Earl of Anglesey. Sir John Greenville Knight, Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, Earl of Bath. Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle. Denzell Holles Esquire, Barron Holles of Ifeld. Sir Frederick Cornwallis Knight and Baronet, Baron Cornwallis of Eye in Suffolk. Sir George Booth Baronet, Baron de la Mere of Dunham Massey. Sir Horatio Townsend Baronet, Baron Townsend of Lyn-Regis. Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper Baronet, Baron Ashly of Winton St. Giles. John Crew Esq; Baron Crew of Stone. Who were so created Earls and Barons on Saturday in the Afternoon, the 20 of April, 1661. in the Banqueting-Room in White-Hall, three days before the King's Coronation.

On Monday the 22d of April, his Majesty, according to the Ancient Custom, made his Cavalcade from the Tower to Westminster, in such a glorious and splendid manner, that it seem'd to out-vie whatever had been seen before of Gallantry and Riches, the gorgeousness of Apparel, the sparkling of Gems, the lustre of Gold, in a continued Train so dazzling the Spectator's sight, as if both the Indies had been summon'd over to attend at that Day's Triumph; In preparation to which, Four very Stately and Magnificent Triumphal Arches had been Erected by the City (according as their Charter obligeth them upon such an occasion) for his Majesty to pass through to his Coronation.

The first in Leaden-Hall-Street, near Lime-street end, made after the Dorick Order, representing his Majesty's happy Arrival in England.

The second, being a Naval Representation, was near the Exchange in Cornhill.

The third, consisting of the Corinthian and Composite Order, and representing the Temple of Concord, was plac'd in Cheapside, near Wood-street End.

The fourth, consisting of the Dorick and Ionick Orders, and representing the Garden of Plenty, stood in Fleet-street, near White-Friars.

All Four of them being describ'd at large in a Treatise particularly set forth to that purpose by Mr. John Ogilby.

The Proceeding of his Majesty from the Tower to Westminster, was in the following Order:

The Duke of York's Horse-Guard.

Messengers of the Chamber.

Esquires to the Knights of the Bath.

Knight Harbinger. Sergeant Porter.

Sewers of the Chamber.

Quarter-Waiters.

The Six Clerks of the Chancery.

Clerks { Of the Signet, { Parliament:
 { Privy Seal, { Crown.
 { Council, {

Chaplains having Dignities, Ten in Number.

The King's Advocate, and Remembrancer.

The Kings Learned Council at Law.

Masters of the Chancery.

King's puisne Serjeants.

King's Attorney and Solicitor.

King's Eldest Serjeants.

Secretaries of the French and Latin Tongues.

Gentlemen Ushers Daily Waiters.

Sewers, Carvers, and Cup-Bearers in Ordinary.

Esquires of the Body.

Masters of standing Offices, being no Council-

lors, viz. Of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies,

Armory, Wardrobe, Ordnance.

Masters of the Requests.

Chamberlains of the Exchequer.

Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges of the Law, according to their Dignities:

Lord Chief Baron:

And Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.

Master of the Rolls.

Chief Justice.

Trumpets.

Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

Knights of the Bath.

Knight-Marshal.

Treasurer of the Chamber.

Master of the Jewel-house.

Barons younger Sons.

Viscounts younger Sons.

Knights of the Privy-Council.

Barons eldest Sons.

Earls youngest Sons.

Viscounts eldest Sons.

The Trumpets and Serjeant Trumpets:

Two Pursuivants at Arms.

Barons.

Marquesses younger Sons.

Earls eldest Sons.

Viscounts.

Dukes younger Sons:

Marquesses eldest Sons:

Two Heralds.

Earls. Earl Marshal:

And Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

Dukes eldest Sons.

Two Heralds.

Marquesses.

Dukes.

(Clarencieux, and Norroy.

Lord Treasurer.

Lord Chancellor.

Lord High-Steward.

Two Persons Representing the Dukes of

Normandy and Aquitain.

Gent. Usher, Garter, L. Major.

The Duke of York alone.

The Lord High-Constable of England.

The Lord Great-Chamberlain of England.

The Sword born by the Duke of Richmond.

The KING.

Equerries, and Footmen next his Majesty.

Gentlemen, and Pensioners without them.

The Master of the Horse leading a spare Horse.

The Vice-Chamberlain to the King.

Captain of the Pensioners.

Captain of the Guard.

The Guard.

The King's Horse-Guard.

The General's Horse Guard.

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1661.

The Proceedings on the day of his MAJESTIES Coronation, were as followeth.

UPon Tuesday the 23d of April, being St. George's day, about half an hour after seven in the Morning, the King entred into his Rich Barge, took Water from the Privy-Stairs at White Hall, and Landed at the Parliament-Stairs: From whence he proceeded up to the Room behind the Lords House, called the Princes Lodgings, where after he had reposed himself for a while, he was arrayed in his Royal Robes of Crimson-Velvet, furr'd with Ermine: By which time the Nobility being assembled, robed themselves in the Lords House, and Painted-Chamber.

The Judges also, with those of the Long-Robe, the Knights of the Bath, and Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, met in the Court of Requests.

After some space, the Kings Heralds, and Pursuivants, began to set the Proceeding in order, each of them taking his share assigned in Chapter, (held at the Heralds-Office the Evening before) and thence directed all the before-mentioned Degrees (except the Nobility) down into Westminster-Hall, where the rest of the Proceeding attended, and from whence the March began.

About half an hour after Nine, the Nobility (having been first called over in the Painted-Chamber) proceeded each according to his Rank and Dignity, in their Robes and Coronets, before the King, through the Court of Requests, into Westminster-Hall, ascended up to the State, which was raised at the West-end, and placed themselves upon each side thereof.

His Majesty being set in his Chair, under a rich Cloth of State: First, Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Master of the Jewel House, presented the Sword of State, as also the Sword called Curtana, and two other Swords to the Lord High-Constable, who took and delivered them to the Lord High-Chamberlain, and he (having drawn the last) laid them upon the Table before the King.

Then the said Master of the Jewel-House delivered likewise the Spurs to the Lord High-Constable; and he again the same to the Lord High-Chamberlain, who also placed them upon the Table.

Immediately after the Dean and Prebends of Westminster, (by whom the Regalia had been brought in Procession from the Abbey-Church unto Westminster-Hall) being vested in rich Copes, proceeded from the lower end thereof, in manner following:

The Serjeant of the Vestry in a Scarlet Mantle.
The Children of the Kings Chappel, being twelve in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The Quire of Westminster in Surplices.
The Gentlemen of the Kings Chappel, being thirty three in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The Pursuivants, Heralds, and Provincial Kings.
The Dean, carrying St. Edward's Crown.
Doctor Helyn, the Scepter with the Cross.
Doctor Heywood, the Scepter with the Dove.
Doctor Nicholas, the Orb with the Cross.
Doctor Killegrew, King Edward's Staff.
Doctor Jones, the Chalice, and Patena.
Doctor Dowty, the Spoon.
Doctor Busby, the Ampulla.

All standing towards the lower end of the Hall, ready to proceed, they made their first Reverence together; then coming to the middle of the said Hall, they made there a second; and thence going a little further, both the Quires fell off, and stood on either side, through which Lane, the Pursuivants, Heralds, and Kings passing, fell likewise off on either side, the Seniors still placing themselves uppermost towards the Throne: after whom the Dean and Prebends proceeded, and arrived at the foot of the Stone-steps, ascending to the Throne, where they made another Reverence.

This being done, the Dean and Prebends, with Garter, Principal King of Arms before them, (he having waited their coming thither) ascended the Steps, and approaching near to the Table before the King, made their last Reverence.

The Dean first presented the Crown, which was by the Lord High-Constable, and Lord Great-Chamberlain, set upon the Table; who afterwards took from each of the Prebends that part of the Regalia, which they carried, and laid them also by the Crown: which done, they retired.

Then the Lord Great-Chamberlain presenting the Regalia severally to the King, his Majesty thereupon disposed of them unto the Noble-men hereafter-named, to be carried by them in the Proceeding to the Abbey-Church, viz.

St. Edward's Staff to the Earl of Sandwich.

The Spurs to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

The Scepter with the Cross to the Earl of Bedford.

The Pointed-Sword (born on the left hand of Curtana) to the Earl of Derby.

The Pointed-Sword (born on the right hand thereof) to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Sword called Curtana to the Earl of Oxford.

The Sword of State to the Earl of Manchester.

The Scepter with the Dove to the Duke of Albemarle.

The Orb with the Cross to the Duke of Buckingham.

St. Edward's Crown to the Duke of Ormond.

The Patena to the Bishop of Exeter: And lastly,

The Chalice to the Bishop of London.

And because the Spoon and Ampulla were not to be born in the Proceeding, and therefore ought not to have been brought thither, but placed upon the High-Altar in the Abbey-Church, there to lye in readines; they were not presented to the King, but commanded to be sent back thither, and laid thereon.

All things being thus prepared, and it being about ten a clock, the Proceeding began from out the said Hall into the Palace-Yard, through the Gate-House, and the end of King's street, thence along the Great Sanctuary, and so to the West-end of the Abbey-Church, all upon blew Cloth, which was spread upon the ground, from the Throne in Westminster-Hall, to the great Steps in the Abbey-Church, by Sir George Carteret Knight, Vice-Chamberlain, appointed by the King to be his Almoner for this Day.

The

The Proceeding to the Coronation, was in this following Order.

The Drums four.

The Trumpets sixteen, in four Classes.

The Six Clerks of the Chancery.

Ten of the Kings Chaplains, having Dignity.

The Aldermen of London.

The King's Learned Council at Law.

The King's Solicitor.

The King's Attorney.

The King's Eldest Serjeant at Law.

The Esquires of the Body.

The Masters of Request.

The Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

The Knights of the Bath.

The Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches, two and two, in order, according to their Seniority of the Coif.

The Lord Chief Baron.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.

The Master of the Rolls.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench.

The Serjeant-Porter.

The Serjeant of the Vestry.

The Children of the King's Chappel.

The Gentlemen of the King's Chappel.

The Prebends of Westminster.

The Master of the Jewel-House, who now had Precedency of the Judges, in regard he brought the Sword and Spurs into Westminster-Hall, and the Ring to the Church.

The Knights of the Privy-Council.

Port-cullis, Pursuivant at Arms.

The Barons in their Robes, two and two, carrying their Caps of Crimson-Velvet, turn'd up with Miniver, in their hands.

The Bishops, two and two, according to their Dignities, and Consecrations.

Rouge-Croix, Blew-mantle, Pursuivants.

The Viscounts, two and two, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their hands.

Somerset, Chester, Heralds.

The Earls, two and two, in their Robes, holding their Coronets in their hands.

Richmond, Windsor, Heralds.

The Marquess of Dorchester, the Marquess of Worcester, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their hands.

Lancaster, York, Heralds.

Norrey, Clarenceux, Provincial Kings, carrying their Crowns in their hands.

The Lord High-Treasurer.

The Lord High-Chancellor.

St. Edward's Staff, born by the Earl of Sandwich.

The Spurs, born by the Earl of Pembroke, and Montgomery.

St. Edward's Scepter, born by the Earl of Bedford.

The third Sword, drawn and born by the Earl of Derby.

The Sword called Curtana, drawn and born by the Earl of Oxford.

The Pointed Sword, drawn and born by the Earl of Shrewsbury.

The Lord Mayor of London.

Garter, Principal King of Arms.

The Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod.

The Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

The Earl of Suffolk, Earl-Marshal for this present occasion.

The Sword of State in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

The Earl of Northumberland, Lord High-Constable of England for this present occasion.

His Highness the Duke of York.

The Scepter, with the Dove, born by the Duke of Albemarle.

St. Edward's Crown, born by the Duke of Ormond, High-Steward for this present occasion.

The Orb, born by the Duke of Buckingham.

The Patena, born by the Bishop of Exeter, in his Cope.

The Regale or Chalice, born by the Bishop of London in his Cope.

The KING.

supported by the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Duresme.

His Train born by the Lords

Mandevill, Cavendish, Ossory, and Percy; and assisted by the Lord Mansfield, Master of the Robes.

The Lord Lauderdale,

One of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, to be near to the King.

Mr. Ashburnham,

Mr. Seamour.

both Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

Captain of the Guard.

Captain of the Pensioners.

The Yeomen of the Guard.

When the Proceeding had entred the Abbey-Church, all passed through the Quire, and thence went up the stairs towards the great Stage, and as they arrived at the top thereof, were disposed

F f f f f 2

The Pensioners with their Pole-Axes.

Barons of the Cinque-Ports, carrying the Canopy.

1661.

disposed by the Heralds into two Galleries, built on either side the upper end of the Quire.

That on the North-side received the Aldermen of London, the Judges, and Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, the Quire of Westminster, the Gentlemen and Children of the Kings Chappel, (excepting twelve Gentlemen, four Children, and one Organist, who went into a Gallery, raised on the South-side of the upper Quire, peculiarly appointed for them:) and in the Gallery on the South-side, were seated the Knights of the Bath, and Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

The King being entred the West-Door of the Abbey-Church, was received with an Anthem, begun by the Quire of Westminster; who, with the Dean, and Prebends, had before fallen off from the Proceeding, a little on the left hand of the middle Isle, and stayed there to attend his coming, where also a Fald-stool, and Cushions were laid ready for his Majesty to kneel at.

The Anthem sung, was the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth Verses of the 122 Psalm:

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord, &c.

The King arriving at the Fald-stool, kneeled down, and used some private Ejaculations, which being finished, he thence proceeded into, and through the Quire, up to the great Theatre (erected close to the four high Pillars, standing between the Quire and the Altar) upon which the Throne of Estate was placed, (being a Square raised on five Degrees) at the Entrance whereof were set a Chair, Foot-stool, and Cushion, covered with Cloth of Gold, whereon he reposed himself.

Immediately after the Bishop of London (who was appointed to Officiate, in part, that day; for the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, whose Age and Weakness rendred him incapable of performing his whole Duty at the Coronation) having the Lord High-Constable, the Earl-Marshal, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Chancellor, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household before him, went first to the South, next to the West, and lastly, to the North-side of the Theatre; and at every of the said three sides, acquainted the People, that he presented to them King CHARLES, the Rightful Inheritour of the Crown of this Realm; and asked them, if they were willing to do their Homage, Service, and Bounden Duty to Him.

As this was doing, the King rose up, and stood by the aforesaid Chair, turning his Face still to that side of the Stage where the said Bishop stood, when he spake to the People; who signified their willingness, by loud Shouts and Acclamations.

The same Question was likewise put by the said Bishop to all the Nobility present.

Immediately after, this following Anthem was sung by the Gentlemen of the Kings Chappel:

Let thy Hand be strengthened, and thy right Hand be exalted. Let Justice and Judgment be the Preparation of thy Seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.

In which time, a large Carpet was spread by a Groom, and Page of the removing Wardrobe, from the Altar, down below the half-Paces

thereof, and over that a Silk-Carpet, and Cushion laid by the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. Kimmersley: Whereupon the Bishop of London went down from the Stage towards the Altar; and having made his Reverence, placed himself at the North-side thereof.

Then the King descended from his Throne, and proceeded towards the Altar, being supported by the Bishops of Duresme, and Bath, and Wells, with the four Swords, the grand Officers, the Noble-men and Bishops, that carried the Regalia before him, the Dean of Westminster also attending. Being arrived at the steps of the Altar, he kneeled down upon the Cushion, there laid ready for him, having first offered the Pall, (which was of Cloth of Gold, and born by the Earl of Sandwich) as also a Wedge of Gold of a pound weight (presented unto his hands by the Lord Cornwallis, Treasurer of his Household) both which were received from the King by the Bishop of London, who laid them reverently upon the Altar. Immediately after, his Majesty retired to a Chair of State, set on the South-side of the Altar, a little below the Traverse of Crimfon Taffety.

After this, the Bishops and Noble-men that carried the Regalia, drew near to the Altar, and presented every particular to the said Bishop of London, who placed them also upon the Altar; and having so done, they retired to their Seats. Whereupon the King kneeled at a Fald-stool (set on the right side of his Chair of State, whilst the Bishop of London said this Prayer,

O God, which dost visit those that are humble, and dost comfort us by thy Holy Spirit, send down thy Grace upon this thy Servant CHARLES, that by Him we may feel thy Presence among us, through Jesus Christ, Amen.

This Prayer ended, the Bishop of Worcester went up into the Pulpit, placed on the North-side of the Altar, opposite to the King, and began his SERMON, the Text being taken out of the 28th Chapter of the Proverbs, and the second Verse.

From the beginning of the aforesaid Offering to this time, the KING was bare; but now he put on his Cap, made of Crimfon Velvet, turn'd up with Ermines; with which he fate covered all the Sermon-time.

On the Kings right hand stood the Bishop of Duresme, and beyond him the Noble-men, that carried the Swords, who held them naked, and erect. The Duke of York fate a little behind him on his left hand; next to whom stood the Bishop of Bath and Wells, together with the Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord High Chancellor, and Lord High Treasurer, fate on a Form behind the Duke of York; and behind them, in a Gallery, fate the Dutchess of York.

In the same Gallery also were placed Baron Bateville, Ordinary Ambassadour from Spain.

Prince Maurice of Nassau, Extraordinary Ambassadour from the Elector of Brandenburg.

Monsieur Weyman, the Electors Chancellor, who was joyned in Commission with him.

The Count Coningsmark, Envoy from Sweden.

Monsieur Eriesendorf, Resident of Sweden.

Monsieur

Monsieur Petcom, Resident of Denmark.
Monsieur Plessis Belleure, Envoy from Monsieur the Duke of Orleans.

Signieur Giavarina, Resident of Venice.

Signieur Bernardi, Resident of Genoa.

Monsieur La-Motte, and *Monsieur Frays*, Envoys from the Prince Elector.

Monsieur Gormers, Deputy-Extraordinary from *Hamburgh*.

An Envoy from the Cardinal of Hefs.

The Marquess *de Montbrun*, with several other Gentlemen-strangers.

But *Don Francisco de Mello*, the Ambassador of Portugal, was placed in the Lord Chamberlains Box.

On the North-side of the Altar sat the Bishop of London, directly opposite to the King in the Arch-Bishops Chair, covered with Purple-Velvet; the rest of the Bishops were placed on Forms behind him.

And higher, towards St. Edward's Chappel stood *Garter*, Principal King of Arms, with the Officers of the standing and moving Ward-robe, viz. *Mr. Rumbal*, and *Mr. Townesend*, and *Mr. Kinnersley*, in Scarlet-Gowns, having a Crown embroidered with Gold on their left sleeves, the Groom and Page of the Ward-robe having Scarlet-Gowns also, but not the badg of the Crown; the Serjeant of the Vestry with his gilt Verge, and other Vergers: with them also stood *Mr. Ashburnham*, *Mr. Seymour*, *Mr. Elliot*, *Mr. Progers*, and *Mr. Chiffinch*, with some other of the Kings Servants, who attended to do Service.

Opposite to them, on the South-side of the Altar, stood the Dean and Prebends of Westminster.

St. Edward's Ancient Chair, (covered all over with Cloth of Gold) was placed upon the North-side of the Altar, a little lower than that belonging to the Arch-Bishop, but something nearer the middle of the Isle, and between the Kings Chair of State and the Pulpit.

Near the Pulpit stood the Master of the Jewel-House, and the Lord Mayor of London.

The Nobility, not formerly named, (who were seated upon Forms round about the inside of the Stage) when Sermon began, drew near to that side thereof which faced the High Altar, and stood there.

On the Corners of the Stage, near the High Altar, adjoining to the two uppermost Pillars, were places railed in for the Provincial Kings, Heralds, and Pursuivants.

The Serjeants at Arms, being sixteen in number, stood with their Maces on their Shoulders within the Rails, on either side the Entrance of the Stage from the Quire.

Over the Door, and at the West-end of the Quire, stood the Drums and Trumpets.

Sermon being ended, the King uncovered his Head, and immediately the Bishop of London arose from his Seat, and drew near to the Kings Chair of State, and asked him his willingness to take the usual Oath to confirm the Laws to the People, and namely the Franchises granted to the Clergy by St. Edward the Confessor, to maintain the Gospel established in the Kingdom, to keep Peace, execute Justice, and grant the Commons the rightful Customs: unto every of which Questions his Majesty made particular Answers, That He would.

Then the Bishop of Rochester read the Bishop's Petition to the King; the Prayer whereof was, That he would preserve unto them, and the Churches committed to their Charge, all Canonical Priviledges, due Law, and Justice, and protect and defend them, and the Churches under their Government: Which his Majesty most graciously by a large Answer (which repeated the words of the Petition) granted, and promised to perform.

Afterwards the King, assisted by the Bishops of Duresme, and Bath and Wells, was led from his Chair up to the Altar (the Sword of State being born before him, and the Lord Great Chamberlain attending) where he took an Oath to perform, and keep what he had promised.

Which Oath taken, the King was led in like manner back to his Chair of State, and immediately the Bishop of London begun the Hymn, Come Holy Ghost, Eternal God, &c. the Quires singing the rest of it.

And a little before the ending thereof, the Fald-stool was set again at the Kings right hand, whereat (as soon as the Hymn was finished) he kneeled, the Bishop of London standing before him, and saying the following Prayer:

We beseech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, for this thy Servant Charles, &c.

The Prayer ended, the Bishop of London went to the North-side of the Altar, the King still kneeling, and forthwith the Bishops of Peterborough, and Gloucester, went and kneeled on the upper hault-pace of the Altar, where they began the Letany, the Quires singing the Responses; the Dean of Westminster kneeling all the while at the Kings left hand.

After the Letany followed three Prayers, said by the Bishop of London at the North-side of the Altar: and a little before the last of them was ended, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury came out at the North-door of St. Edward's Chappel, vested in a rich antient Cope.

At the ending of the third Prayer, the said Arch-Bishop standing before the Altar, began the Versicle:

Lift up your Hearts.

Resp.

We lift them up to the Lord.

Arch-Bishop.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.

Resp.

It is meet and right so to do.

Arch-Bishop.

It is very meet, and right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, &c.

This Preface being finished, the King arose from before the Fald-stool, and went to the Altar, supported by the afore said Bishops of Duresme, and Bath and Wells; where he was disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of his Royal Robes, which were immediately carried thence into the Traverse erected in St. Edward's Chappel.

Whilest this was in doing, the Chair that was before placed at the entrance of the Stage, was

1661. was removed, and set on the North-side of the Altar, betwixt it and St. Edward's Chair, whereunto the King came, fate down, and was anointed by the said Arch-Bishop, (while the Dean of Westminster held the Ampulla, and poured the Oyl out into the Spoon) first in the Palms of both his hands, in manner of a Cross, the Arch-Bishop as he anointed him, pronouncing these words:

Let these Hands be anointed with Holy Oyl, as Kings and Prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be King, that Thou mayst be blessed, and established KING in this Kingdom, and this People, whom the Lord thy God hath given Thee to rule over: which he vouchsafe to grant; who, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, Three in Person, and One in Unity, be blessed, and praised, now, and for evermore. Amen.

After which the Quire sung this Anthem,

Sadoc the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King, and all the People rejoiced, and said, God save the KING.

At the end of which Anthem, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer:

Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable Countenance upon this Glorious KING, &c.

And then proceeded with his anointing the Kings Breast, between his Shoulders, on both his Shoulders, the two bowings of his Arms, and on the Crown of his Head, in manner aforesaid.

Which being done, the Anointing was dried up with fine Linnen, and the Loops of his Shirt closed up by the Dean of Westminster, and then the Arch-Bishop said these two Prayers:

God, the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, who is anointed of his Father with the Oyl of Gladness above his fellows, &c. God, which art the Glory of the Righteous, and the Mercy of Sinners, &c.

During the time of Unction, a rich Pall of Cloth of Gold, (brought from the great Wardrobe by Mr. Rumball) was held over the Kings Head by the Dukes of Buckingham and Albemarle, the Earls of Berks and Sandwich, as Knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

After these Prayers, the Lord Great Chamberlain delivered the Coif to the Arch-Bishop, who put it on the Kings Head, and immediately after the Dean of Westminster put the Coif, with the Colobium Sindonis, or Surplice, upon the King: whereupon the Arch-Bishop said this short Prayer;

O God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, by whom Kings do Reign, and Law-givers do make good Laws, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour, to bless this Kingly Ornament, and grant that thy Servant Charles, our King, who shall wear it, may shine in thy sight with the Ornament of a good Life, and holy Actions; and after this life ended, He may for ever enjoy that Life and Glory which hath no end, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

This said, the Dean of Westminster having likewise fetched the Tissue-Hose and Sandals from the Altar, he arrayed the King therewith; as also with the Super-tunica, or close Pall of Cloth of Gold, and girded the same about him.

But the Taffety red Shirt was not made use of at all.

After all this, the said Dean took the Spurs from off the Altar, and delivered them to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who touched the Kings Heels therewith, and forthwith sent them back to the Altar.

Then the Arch-Bishop received the Sword of State in the Scabbard from the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and laid it upon the Altar, saying this Prayer:

Hear our Prayers, we beseech thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe by thy right hand of Majesty, to bless and sanctifie this Sword, wherewith thy Servant Charles desireth to be girt, that it may be a Defence and Protection of Churches, Widows and Orphans, and all the Servants of God, against the savage cruelty of Pagans, and Infidels; and that it may be a Fear and Terrour to all those that lie in wait to do mischief, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

This Prayer finished, the Arch-Bishop and Bishops assisting, delivered the Sword back to the King, saying, *Accipe gladium per manus Episcoporum.* Whereupon the Lord Great Chamberlain girt it about the King, and the Arch-Bishop said,

Receive this Kingly Sword, which is hallowed for the defence of the Holy Church, and delivered unto Thee by the hands of the Bishops, though unworthy, yet Consecrated by the Authority of the Holy Apostles, &c.

After this, the Dean of Westminster took the * Armil, made of Cloth of Tissue, (brought thither by Mr. Rumball, on the behalf of the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the great Wardrobe) and put it about the Kings Neck, and tyed it to the bowings of his Arms, the Arch-Bishop standing before the King, with the Bishop of London on his right hand, and saying,

Receive the Armil of Sincerity and Wisdom, as a Token of Gods imbracing, whereby all thy works may be defended against thine Enemies, both Bodily and Ghostly, through Christ our Lord.

Next the Mantle or open Pall, being made of Cloth of Gold, and lined with red Taffety, was put upon him by the said Dean; the Arch-Bishop likewise using the words of signification, viz.

Receive this Pall, which is formed with four Corners, to let thee understand, that the four Corners of the World are subject to the Power of God; and that no man can happily reign upon the Earth, who hath not received his authority from Heaven.

In the next place, the Arch-Bishop took Saint Edward's Crown, and blessed it, saying, *God, the Crown of the Faithful, &c. bless and sanctifie this Crown, that as the same is adorned with divers precious Stones, so this thy Servant that weareth it, may be filled with thy manifold Graces of all precious Vertues, through the King Eternal, thy Son our Lord. Amen.*

In

In the mean time, St. Edward's Chair was removed into the middle of the Isle, and set right over-against the Altar, whither the King went and sate down in it, and then the Arch-Bishop brought St. Edward's Crown from the Altar, and put it upon his Head.

Whereupon, all the People, with loud and repeated shouts, cryed, *God save the KING*; and by a Signal then given, the great Ordinance from the Tower were also shot off.

At the ceasing of these Acclamations, the Arch-Bishop went on, saying,

God crown thee with a Crown of Glory, and Righteousness, with the honour and work of Fortitude, that thou by thy Ministry, having a Right Faith and manifold fruit of good Works, mayest obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of him, whose Kingdom endureth for ever. Amen.

Adding thereunto this Prayer,

O God of Eternity, &c. Bless this thy Servant who boweth his Head unto thy Majesty, &c.

† At which words the King bowed His Head.

After the Prayer, the Arch-Bishop read the Confortare.

Be strong, and of a good courage, and observe the Commandments of the Lord, to walk in his ways, &c.

In the mean while, the Quires sung this Anthem.

The King shall rejoyce in thy strength, O Lord. Exceeding glad shall he be of thy Salvation, &c.

Upon this, the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Viscounts put on their Coronets; the Barons their Caps: and divers of them came and stood about the KING, who still sate in St. Edward's Chair.

Mr. Garter and the Provincial Kings put on their Crowns also.

Then the Master of the Jewel-House delivered to the Arch-Bishop the Ring, who Consecrated it after this manner, saying,

Bless, O Lord, and sanctifie this Ring, that thy Servant, wearing it, may be sealed with the Ring of Faith, and by the Power of the Highest be preserved from Sin, and let all the Blessings, which are found in Holy Scripture, plentifully descend upon him, that whatsoever he shall sanctifie, may be holy; and whatsoever he blesseth, may be blessed. Amen.

After which, he put it upon the Fourth Finger of the Kings right Hand, and said,

Receive this Ring of Kingly Dignity, and by it the Seal of Catholick Faith, that as this Day thou art adorned the Head and Prince of this Kingdom, and People, so thou mayest preserve as the Author, and Establisher of Christianity, and the Christian Faith; that, being rich in Faith, and happy in Works, Thou mayest Reign with Him, that is King of Kings; to whom be Honour and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

And then began this Prayer,

O God, to whom belongeth all Power, and Dignity, give unto thy Servant Charles the Fruit of his Dignity; wherein grant He may long continue, and fear Thee always, and always labour to please Thee, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

When this Prayer was finished, the Linen-Gloves were delivered to the KING by the Lord Great-Chamberlain: who, going to the Altar, ungirt his Sword, and offered it at the Altar in the Scabbard; which being redeemed by the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, was drawn out of the Scabbard, and carried naked by him all the following part of the Solemnity.

Then the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter, with the Crofs, from off the Altar, and delivered it into the Kings right Hand, saying,

Receive this Scepter, the Sign of Kingly Power; the Rod of Kingdoms, the Rod of Vertue, that thou govern thy Self aright, and defend the Holy Church, and Christian People committed by God unto thy Charge, punish the Wicked, and protect the Just, and lead them in the ways of Righteousness, and that from this Temporal Kingdom thou mayst be advanced to an Eternal Kingdom, by his Goodness whose Kingdom is Everlasting. Amen.

Whilst this was pronounced by the Arch-Bishop, Mr. Henry Howard delivered to the King a rich Glove, which he put on his right hand, and then received the Scepter: And after that, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer;

O Lord, the Fountain of all good things, &c. Grant, We beseech Thee, to this thy Servant Charles, that He may order aright the Dignity, which He hath obtained, &c.

During which time, the said Mr. Howard performed the service of supporting the Kings right Arm, according as it was adjudged to him by the Court of Claims, by vertue of holding the Manor of Workop in the County of Nottingham.

Next of all, the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter with the Dove, and gave it into the Kings Hand also, saying,

Receive the Rod of Vertue, and Equity, learn to make much of the Godly, and to terrifie the Wicked, shew the way to those that go astray, offer thy hand to those that fall, repress the proud, lift up the lowly, that Our Lord Jesus Christ may open to Thee the Door, who saith of himself, 'I am the Door, by me if any man enter, he shall be safe. And let Him be Thy help, who is the Key of David, and the Scepter of the House of Israel, 'who openeth, and no man shutteth, who shutteth, and no man openeth; who bringeth the Captive out of Prison where he sate in darknes, and in the shadow of death. That in all things thou mayest follow him, of whom the Prophet David saith, 'The Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scepter, 'thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; wherefore God, even thy God, hath appointed thee with the Oyl of gladness above thy fellows, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After

1661.

After which the KING kneeled, holding both the Scepters in his Hands, whilst the Arch-Bishop thus blessed Him;

The Lord bleſſ thee, and keep thee; and as he hath made thee King over his People, ſo he ſtill proſper thee in this World, and make thee partaker of this Eternal Felicity in the World to come. Amen.

Then the KING aroſe, and ſet himſelf again in St. Edward's Chair, whileſt the Arch-Bishop and Biſhops preſent, one after another, kneeled before him, and were kiſſed by him.

In the mean time, the Kings Chair of State, wherein He was anointed, was ſet above the upper Steps at the entrance upon the Theatre, whither the KING went, as ſoon as He had performed the Ceremony of kiſſing the Biſhops, having now four Swords born naked before him, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and Great Officers attending: at his arrival there, the Arch-Biſhop ſaid this Prayer, the King kneeling,

Grant, O Lord, that the Clergy, and People, gathered together by thine Ordinance for this ſervice of the KING, may by the moſt gracious aſſiſtance of thy goodneſs, and the vigilant care of thy Servant Our KING, be continually governed, and preſerved in all happineſs.

Then the King aroſe, and repoſed himſelf in the ſaid Chair, whileſt both the *Quires* ſung *Te Deum*.

When *Te Deum* was ended, the King aſcended his Throne placed in the middle of the Theatre, the Swords, and Great Officers ſtanding on either ſide; as alſo the Biſhops, ſome in Copes, others in Rochets, the Arch-Biſhop then ſaying, *Stand, and hold faſt from henceforth that Place, whereof hitherto You have been Heir by the Succeſſion of Your Fore-Fathers, &c.*

After this, the *Biſhops*, and *Nobility* did their Homage to the King in manner following:

And firſt the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* kneeled down before the Kings Knees, and ſaid,

I, William Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, ſhall be Faithful and True, and Faith and Truth bear unto You, Our Sovereign Lord, and Your Heirs, Kings of England, and ſhall do, and truly acknowledge the Service of the Land, which I claim to hold of You, in the right of the Church: So help Me God.

Which ſaid, he kiſſed the Kings left Cheek.

The like did all the other *Biſhops*, that were preſent.

Then came up the Duke of York, with *Garter*, principal King of Arms, before him, and his Train born by two Gentlemen, who, being arrived at the Throne, kneeled down before the King, put off his Coronet, and did his Homage; at which the Drums beat, Trumpets ſounded, and all the People ſhouted.

The like did the Dukes of *Buckingham*, and *Albemarle*, for themſelves, and the reſt of the Dukes.

So alſo did the *Marqueſſes* of *Worceſter*, and *Dorcheſter*.

Next, the Earl of *Oxford* did homage after the ſame manner for himſelf, and all the reſt of the *Earls*, who attended upon him to ſignifie their conſents.

After him, Viſcount *Hereford* did the like for himſelf, and the reſt of the *Viſcounts*; and then the Drums beat, and Trumpets ſounded again, and the People ſhouted.

Laſtly, Baron *Audley* in like manner did homage for himſelf, and all the *Baronage*, who alſo accompanied him to the Throne, in teſtification of their Conſents; which being finiſhed, Drums, Trumpets and Shouts followed.

Note, That the Words of Homage were ſaid by every one of the *Nobility*, that kneeled down, viz.

I, N. N. do become Your Liege-man of Life, and Limb, and of Earthly Worſhip; and Faith and Truth I ſhall bear unto You, to live, and die, againſt all manner of Folks: So God Me help.

Afterwards the Duke of York, and all the *Nobility* ſingly aſcended the Throne, and touched the Kings Crown, promiſing by that Ceremony to be ever ready to ſupport it with all their power.

During the performing of this Solemn Ceremony, the Lord High Chancellor went to the South-Weſt, and North-fides of the Stage, and proclaimed to the People the Kings General Pardon, being attended by Mr. *Garter* to the South-fide, and by a *Gentleman-Uſher*, and two *Heralds* to the other two Sides.

And at theſe three Sides, at the ſame time, did the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treasuſer of his Majesties Houſhold, ſling abroad the Medals, both of Gold, and Silver, prepared for the Coronation, as a Princely Donation, or Largeſs, among the People.

The King being thus enthronized, the Gentlemen of his Chappel began this following Anthem, Behold O Lord, Our Defender, and look upon the Face of Thine Anointed.

The Violins, and other Instrumental Muſick, (who were robed in Scarlet Mantles, and plac'd in a Gallery erected over againſt them, on the North-fide of the Altar) anſwering alternately: at the ending of which Anthem, the Trumpets ſounded, and Drums beat again. In which time the King took off his Crown, and delivered it to the Lord High Chamberlain to hold; the Scepter with the Croſs to Mr. *Henry Howard*, and that with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle*.

The Epistle (taken out of the Firſt Epistle of St. Peter, the ſecond Chapter, and beginning at the eleventh Verſe) was read by the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.

The Goſpel (being part of the twenty ſecond Chapter of St. *Matthew*, beginning at the 15th Verſe) by the Biſhop of *Ely*.

After

After which the *Nicene Creed* was began by the Bishop of *London*, and sung by the *Gentlemen* of the Chappel, with *Verse*, and *Chorus*, (that, and the rest of the special *Musick*, for the Solemnity, being set by Captain *Cook*, Master of the Children of His Majesties said Chappel.) The *Violins*, and other *Instrumental Musick* placed in the Gallery over-against them, alternately playing.

All which time the *King* stood by His *Throne*.

But towards the end of the *Creed* He took again his *Crown* from the Lord Great Chamberlain, and put it on his Head; as also the *Scepter* with the *Cross*, from Mr. *Howard*, and that with the *Dove* from the Duke of *Albemarle*, and prepared for His Descent from His *Throne* towards the *Altar*, to receive the Communion.

And, as soon as the singing of the *Creed* was fully ended, the *King* descended with the *Crown* on his Head, and *Scepters* in both Hands (the Bishops of *Duresm*, and *Bath and Wells*, supporting him) with the four *Swords* naked before, and all the great Officers attending.

In the time of this *Proceeding*, the *Quire* sung.

Let my Prayer come up into thy presence as the Incense, and the lifting up of my hand be as an Evening-Sacrifice.

Here the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury* retired from the Ceremonies into *St. Edward's Chappel*, and thence went home, leaving the remainder of his Duty to be performed by the Bishop of *London*.

At the Kings approach to the *Altar*, the Bishop of *Ely* delivered unto Him Bread, and Wine, which He there offered, and then returned to the *Fald-stool*, on the *South-side* of the *Altar*, near his Chair of State, before which He kneeled down, and laid His *Crown* upon the *Cushion*, before Him, towards His right Hand; and the *Scepter* with the *Dove*, on his left; and gave again to Mr. *Howard* the *Scepter* with the *Cross*, who held it, kneeling on the Kings right Hand: the Grand Officers, and the *Noble-men*, with the four *Swords* naked, and erect, standing about Him.

Then the Bishop of *London* said this *Prayer*.

Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy Gifts, and sanctifie them unto This holy Use, &c.

At the end of which, the Lord *Cornwallis* Treasurer of the Household, presented the *King* with another *Wedge of Gold*; which goeth under the name of the *Mark of Gold*. This the *King* offered into the *Bason*, kneeling still at his *Fald-stool*, whilst the Bishop of *London* said the following *Prayer*,

Almighty God give Thee the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the Earth, and abundance of Corn and Wine, &c.

And next pronounced this Blessing,

Bless, O Lord, the virtuous carriage of This King, and accept the Work of His Hands: replenish the Realm with the Blessings of Heaven, of the Dew, of the Water, and of the Deeps.

Then the Bishop proceeded to the Consecration of the *Sacrament*: which being finished, he first of all received; next, the *Dean* of *Westminster*; then the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*; and lastly, the Bishop of *Duresm*.

These four *Prelates* having communicated, Preparation was made for the *Kings* Receiving, who kneeled all this while before His *Fald-stool*.

The *Towel* was brought thither by Mr. *Rumbal* on the behalf of the *Master* of the *Wardrobe*, and presented to the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Carlisle*, who held it before the *King*, while He received.

The Bishop of *London* gave the *King* the *Bread*, and the *Dean* of *Westminster* the *Cup*.

As soon as the *King* had received, this *Antiphon* was begun by the upper-*Quire*,

O hearken unto the voice of my calling, my King, and my God, &c.

In the mean while, the *King* returned to His *Throne* upon the *Theatre*, with the *Crown* on his Head, and bearing the *Scepters* in his Hands.

When he came thither, he put off his *Crown*, and delivered it to the Lord Great Chamberlain, the *Scepter* with the *Cross* to Mr. *Howard*, and that other with the *Dove* to the Duke of *Albemarle*.

And then the Bishop of *London* went on with the Communion, which being finished, the *King* (attended as before) descended from his *Throne* Crowned, with both the *Scepters* in his Hands.

The rest of the *Regalia* (which lay all this while on the *Altar*) being delivered to the *Noble-men*, that brought them in the *Proceeding* to the Church were carried before him, and thence the *King* proceeded into *St. Edward's Chappel*, the *Organs* playing all the while.

Where being arrived, he took off *St. Edward's* *Crown*, and delivered it to the Bishop of *London*, who immediately laid it upon *St. Edward's* *Altar*; all the rest of the *Regalia* were given into the hands of the *Dean* of *Westminster*, and laid there also.

Afterwards the *King* entred into the *Traverse* erected in the middle of the *Wall*, on the back-side of the *High-Altar*, and there retired, whilst he was disrobed of *St. Edward's* Robes by Mr. *Seymour*, and Mr. *Asburnham*, Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*, on the behalf of the Lord High-Chamberlain, Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Progers*, Colonel *Philips*, and Mr. *Chiffinch* assisting.

These Robes were laid on *St. Edwards* *Altar*, by the Bishop of *Duresm*; and afterwards delivered to the *Dean* of *Westminster* to lay up with the *Regalia*.

After this, the *King* was arrayed in his *Purple Robes*, and then came near to *St. Edward's* *Altar*, where the Bishop of *London* stood ready with the *Imperial Crown* in his hands, and set that upon the *Kings* Head; thereupon the *King* took the *Scepter* with the *Cross* in his right Hand, with the *Globe* in his left; and immediately the *Proceeding* (ordered also by the *Heralds*) began thence into *Westminster-Hall*, the same way that he came, and attended after the same manner, saving that the *Noble-men*, and *Bishops*, which brought the *Regalia* to the *Abbey-Church*, went not now immediately before the *King*, as

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1661

they did then, but were ranked in places according to their Degrees, and Consecrations: all the *Noblemen*, with their *Coronets*, and *Caps* on their Heads. The *Kings of Arms* marched likewise with their *Crowns* on.

The *Proceeding* being entred into *Westminster-Hall*, the *Nobility*, and others, who had *Tables* assigned them, went, and placed themselves thereat; but the *King* (attended with the *Great-Officers*) withdrew into the *Inner-Court of Wards*, for half an hour.

In the mean time, all the *Tables* in the *Hall* were served, (*viz.*) before the *King's Service* came up; and were placed in this manner:

On the right hand of the *King's Throne*, below in the *Hall*, were set two *Tables*, one beneath the other: at the upper-end of the first next the *State*, (which had two *Side-Tables* to serve it) sate the *Bishops*, and below them the *Judges*, with the rest of the *Long-Robe*.

At the second *Table*, (which had two *Side-Board-Tables* likewise to serve it) sate the *Masters* of the *Chancery*, and the *Six-Clerks*.

And here, at this *Table*, were the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* necessitated to sit, although the upper-end of the first *Table* was appointed for them.

The Occasion this: No sooner had the aforesaid *Barons* brought up the *King* to the Foot of the *Stairs* in *Westminster-Hall*, ascending to His *Throne*, and turned on the left hand (towards their own *Table*) out of the way, but the *Kings Foot-men* most insolently, and violently seized upon the *Canopy*, which the *Barons* endeavouring to keep and defend, were by their number and strength dragged down to the lower end of the *Hall*, nevertheless still keeping their hold: and, had not Mr. Owen *YORK-Herald* been accidentally near the *Hall-Door*, and seeing the Contest, caused the same to be shut, the *Foot-men* had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim also, (speedy notice hereof having been given the *King*) one of the *Querries* were sent from Him, with Command, to imprison the *Foot-men* and dismiss them out of His Service, which put an end to the present Disturbance.

These *Foot-men* were also commanded to make

their submission to the *Court of Claims* (which was accordingly done by them, the 30th of *April* following, and the *Canopy* then delivered back to the said *Barons*.)

Whilst this Disturbance happened, the upper-end of the aforesaid *Table* was taken up by the *Bishops*, *Judges*, &c. and hereupon it came to pass, that the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* lost their Places, and were necessitated to sit down at the said second *Table*, with the *Masters* of *Chancery*, &c. where there was Room left by some of the *Long-Robe*, that sate at the *Upper-Table*.

Upon the left hand of the *Kings Throne*, below, on the other side of the *Hall*, was placed likewise a long *Table*, which reached down near to the *Common-Pleas-Court*, whereat the *Nobility* dined; and this *Table* had four *Side-board-Tables* to serve it.

And behind this, close to the *Wall*, at a shorter *Table*, sate the *Lord Major*, *Aldermen*, *Recorder*, and twelve chief *Citizens* of *London*, who had also two *Side-Tables* to serve them.

Lastly, within the *Court of Common-Pleas* was a *Table* with one *Side-Table* to serve it, set for the *Officers* of *Arms*, whereat they also dined. Each *Table* was furnished with three *Courses* answerable to that of the *Kings*, besides the *Banquet*.

A little before the *King* returned to *Dinner*, two *Esquires* of the *Body*, *viz.* *Ferdinando Marsham*, and *Henry Norwood*, took their Seats upon two little *Foot-stools*, on either side of the foot of the *Kings Chair*, (placed in the middle of the *Table*) and there sate until the *King* came in to *Dinner*; when rising, and performing their Duty in placing the *Kings Robes* for his better conveniency of sitting, they sate down again at the *Kings Feet* a good part of *Dinner-time*, and until the *King* gave them leave to rise; He accepting that time of Session in full performance of their Service.

On the right Side of the *Throne* was erected a *Gallery*, for the *Kings* of *Arms* *Heralds*, and *Pursuivants*; and opposite to that, on the other side, another for the *Musick*; and below, on the old *Scaffolds*, next the *Court of Common-Pleas*, stood the *Kings Trumpeters*.

*The Proceeding at Carrying up of the First Course
to the KINGS Table.*

SIR George Barker,
Mr. Stephen Fox,

Clerks Comptrollers :

Clerks of the Green-Cloth :

All four in black Velvet-Gowns, trimm'd with black Silk, and Gold-Lace, with Velvet-Caps raised in the Head.

Sir William Boreman,

Sir Henry Wood,

William Ashburnham Esquire, Cofferer.

Six Serjeants at Arms, two and two.

The Earl-Marshal
on the left Hand.

The Lord High-
Steward.

The Lord High-Constable
on the right Hand.

All three mounted on Horse-back in their Robes, and with their Coronets on their Heads: having their Horses richly trapped.

Six Serjeants at Arms, two and two.

Comptroller of the Household,

Treasurer of the Household,

With their White Staves:

Earl of Dorset, Sewer.

Earl of Chesterfield, his Assistant.

The Knights of the Bath,

Who carried up the Service, two and two to a Dish, which was set upon the Table by the Earl of Lincoln Carver, assisted by the Earl-Sewers.

In the Rear came up three Clerks of the Kitchen, (*viz.*) Mr. Leonard Pinkney, Mr. John Clements, and Mr. Henry Firebrass, all suited in Black Fugar'd Satin-Gowns, and Velvet-Caps, in fashion like those worn by the Clerks Comptrollers:

Dinner being set on the Table, the King came forth from the Inner-Court of Wards; in his Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, and Scepter in his Hand, having the three Swords born naked before him, and went directly to his Chair at the Table, wherein he fate down to Dinner, the Bishop of London saying Grace. The Bason and Ewer were brought up and presented by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, assisted by the Lord Paget, and the Serjeant of the Ewery.

On the Kings right Hand, the Noble-men that carried the three Swords, stood holding them naked, and erected; all the Dinner-while; at his left Hand stood the Lord High-Chamberlain, to whom the King had given the Scepter to hold; and at the Tablesend, on the Kings left Hand, fate the Duke of York in his Robes and Coronet.

Soon after Dinner was begun, the Lord Allington carried to the King his first Draught of Drink in a silver gilt Cup, being assisted by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Viscount Montague, and the Lord Paget, his Assistants.

The Office of Cup-Bearer, as also the Fee, having been by the Court of Claims adjudged to him, as being seized of the Mannour of Wymundeley in the County of Hertford; and when the King had drank, the said Lord Allington received the Cup for his Fee.

Next, Thomas Leigh Esquire, was brought up to the Table with a Mefs of Pottage, called

Dillegrout, this Service being adjudged unto him by the aforesaid Court of Claims in right of the Mannour of Addington, in the County of Surrey; whereupon the Lord High-Chamberlain presented him to the King, who accepted the Service, but did not eat thereof.

Afterwards, a little before the second Course was ready, Sir Edward Dymock (to whom the Court of Claims had adjudged the Office of the Kings Champion, as being seized of the Mannour of Scrivelsby, in the County of Lincoln) entred the Hall on a goodly white Courser, and armed at all Points in rich Armour, having a Plume of Blew Feathers in his Helm, he there made a stand for sometime, and then advanced in manner following, way being made for him by the Knight-Marshal.

First, two Trumpets.

The Serjeant-Trumpeter.

The Serjeant at Arms.

An Esquire carrying a Target, having the Champions own Arms depicted thereon.

An Esquire, carrying the Champions Lance upright.

Mr. Owen York-Herald.

The Earl-Marshal on his left Hand.

The Champion.

The Lord High-Constable on his right Hand.

Both likewise on Horse-back.

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At

1661.

At the lower end of the *Hall*, YORK-Herald proclaimed the *Challenge*, in these words following:

The Form of the *Challenge*, however omitted in Mr. *Ashmoles* Original, being in all the rest more Compleat and Correct, we have supplied out of the other Narratives which was since done, and extracted out of his

IF any Person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny, or gain-say Our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Son and next Heir to Our Sovereign Lord CHARLES the First, the last King deceased, to be Right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England, or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his Champion, who saith, that he lieth, and is a false Traytor, being ready in Person to Combate with him, and in this Quarrel will adventure his Life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed.

Thereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet*, which lying some small time, and no body taking it up, it was delivered unto him again by YORK-Herald. Then all advanced forward, until the *Champion* came to the middle of the *Hall*, where YORK-Herald made the like Proclamation, and the *Gantlet* was again thrown down, taken up, and returned to the *Champion*, who advanced to the foot of the ascending steps to the *State*, and at the top of the said steps, the said *Herald* proclaimed the said *Challenge* the third time; whereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet* again, which no body taking up, it was delivered unto him.

This being done, the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, (assisted, as before) presented on the Knee to the King a Gilt Cup with a Cover, full of Wine, who drank to his *Champion*, and by the said Earl sent him the Cup; and he, after three Reverences, drank it all off, went a little backward, and so departed out of the *Hall*, taking the said Cup for his *Fee*, according as had been adjudged him by the said Court of Claims:

When this Solemnity was finished, the *Kings* *Heralds* and *Pursuivants* descended from their Gallery, and went into the *Hall*, to the lower end of the *Noble-mens* Table, and there all together made their Reverence. Thence they proceeded a little further, and there made a second Reverence; and the like Reverence at the steps ascending to the *State*: Where all standing still, *Garret*, Principal King of Arms, cried *Large's* thrice, and proclaimed the *Kings* *Style* in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*, making Reverence betwixt every *Style*. At the finishing of which, they all retired backward into the midst of the *Hall*, and there, after crying *Large's* again thrice, he proclaimed the *Kings* *Style*, as before. Lastly, they went yet backwards to the end of the said *Noble-mens* Table, and did the same again; and from thence into the *Common-Pleas-Court*, to Dinner.

Immediately after this, the second Course was brought up by the *Gentlemen-Pensioners*, with the former Solemnity.

And the last Dish being carried by *Erasmus* *Smith* Esquire, he having delivered the same to the Table, presented the King with three *Maple-Cups*, on the behalf of *Robert Bernham* Esquire, who was seized of the *Mannour* of *Nether-Bilington* in the County of *Kent*.

Lastly, The Lord Mayor of *London* presented the King with Wine in a Golden Cup, having a Cover; of which the King, having drank, the said Lord Mayor received it for his *Fee*.

By this time the day being far spent, the King (having water brought him by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Assistants) washed, and rose from Dinner before the third Course was brought in; and retiring into the *Inner-Court* of *Wards*, he there disrobed himself: and from thence he went privately to his *Barge*, which waited for him at the *Parliament-Stairs*, and so to the *Privy-Stairs* at *White-Hall*, where he landed.

It is a thing very memorable, that towards the end of Dinner-time, (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceding day, in which the King made his *Cavalcade* through *London*, were the only fair days that we enjoyed of many, both before, and after) it began to Thunder and *Lighten* very smartly; which, however some sort of people were apt to interpret as ominous, and ill-boding, yet it will be no difficult matter to evidence from Antiquity, that Accidents of this nature, though happily they might astonish and amaze the common Drove of men, were by the most Prudent and Sagacious looked upon as a prosperous and happy *Pre-sage*. And of this, *Virgil* gives us a very pertinent example (in the Eighth Book of his *Aeneids*) where *Evander*, having addressed himself in a Speech to *Aeneas* for aid against the *Hetrurians*, and he being solicitous how to answer his request, mark what Sign was immediately sent from Heaven,

*Namque improvise vibratus ab Aethere fulgor
Cum sonitu venit, &c.*

For suddenly from Heaven a brandished Flash With Thunder came, &c.

And presently after the Poet adds,

*Obstupere animis alti, sed Troius Heros
Agnovit sonitum, & Diva promissa Parentis.*

While other stood amazed, the Hero knew His Mothers Promise by the Sound that flew.

The same Author, in another place, * mentions the same thing, as a testimony of Prayers * Lib. 2. heard, and answered; as when Old *Anchises*, seeing the *Lambent flame* upon his Grand-child *Julius* his head, lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed to *Jove* for help, and direction, he was thus answered;

*Vix ea fatus erat Senior, subitoque fragore
Intonuuit laevum, &c.*

Scarce had the grave Sire spoke, when suddenly It thundered prosperous, &c.

For so *Intonuuit laevum* is interpreted by *Servius*, according to the Maxim of the Ancient *Augurs*, who interpret Thunder from the North, that is, (as they, contrary to the common *Astronomers*, accounted it) the left part of Heaven, for a prosperous Omen.

But, in reference to our present purpose, we may proceed to a larger Interpretation, and conclude,

clude, that the Heavens, with the Volleys of Thunder, and nimble Flashes of Lightning, seemed to give a *Plaudite* and Acclamation to this Grand and Sacred Solemnity, in like manner as we Mortals use to close our greater Triumphs with Fire-works, Bonfires, and the loud Report of our Great Ordnance: this Terrestrial Thunder being but the Imitator and Counterfeit of the Heavenly Artillery.

And so I observe it expounded by *Claudian* in these Verses, †

† Claud. de
Conf. Probrini
& Olybii
vers. 205.

*Ut Sceptrum gessere manu, membrisque rigentes
Aptavere togas, Signum dat summus hiulca
Nube Pater, gratamque facem per inane rotantes
Prospera vibrati sonuerunt Omnia Nimbi.*

As soon as Rob'd, and Scepter'd, Jove aloud
His Signal Favour thunders from a Cloud,
Successful Lightning through Heav'n's Arches
shines;
Both at his Coronation happy Signs.

Thus having travell'd through a *HISTORY* fraught with Troubles and Confusions, an Unnatural and Intestine War, succeeded by a long time of Usurpation and Mis-rule; and now having at length arriv'd to such a point of Settlement and Right restor'd, as promises a long continued Calm and Peaceful Government, we glad to have found such a convenient Haven, shall here chuse to cast our Anchor; and though several things have hapned from the Coronation to this present time (as the Kings Marriage with

the Daughter of *Portugal*, the Transactions of the present *Parliament*, with other matters sufficiently Memorable; yet in regard we cannot Close at a more happy Period, we shall reserve as well something of what is past, as what is yet to come, for a farther Continuation, as likewise the observation of that Method which our *Historian* ever observes at the end of every Kings Reign, that time only admitting of the said Method. And if the last Part of our *HISTORY* somewhat exceed in Bulk what may be thought proportionable to the rest, it will no doubt be in a great measure excus'd by the consideration of what manner of Times we have had to set forth an Interval of such Wonders, such strange and Capricious Revolutions as are scarce to be parallell'd by any Age or Kingdom, hoping that the Intricate Turns and Labyrinths of Fortune being now at length run out, the Course and Stream of the *History* will run more smooth and clear through all the subsequent Years (which God grant may be many and prosperous) of his present *Majesties* Reign; than whom, never was any Prince likely to prove a more glorious President to those that after him shall sit at the Helm of State, both in respect of his innumerable other Vertues and Regal Endowments, and particularly of his admirable skill and understanding in that which is the Bulwark of the Nation; the improvement whereof so mainly imports his own Glory and Renown above all other Princes of the World, and the Reputation and Enrichment of his Subjects; a thing wherein he hath ever shew'd himself to be most Zealously concern'd.

1661.

Mayors

1661.

Mayors and Sheriffs of LONDON, to the 30th. Year of his Reign.

In his First Year, 1649.

Thomas Foot, was Mayor.

Christopher Pack, *Rowland Wilson*, died in the Year. *John Dethick*, Sheriffs.

In his 2d. Year, 1650.

Thomas Andrews, was Mayor.

Robert Tichborn, *Richard Chiverton*, Sheriffs.

In his 3d. Year, 1651.

John Kendrick, was Mayor.

Andrew Richards, *John Ireton*, Sheriffs.

In his 4th. Year, 1652.

John Fowke, was Mayor.

Stephen Eastwick, *William Underwood*, Sheriffs.

In his 5th. Year, 1653.

Thomas Vyner, was Mayor.

James Phillips, *Walter Bigge*, Sheriffs.

In his 6th. Year, 1654.

Christopher Pack, was Mayor.

Edmund Sleigh, *Thomas Aleyn*, Sheriffs.

In his 7th. Year, 1655.

John Dethick, was Mayor.

William Thompson, *John Frederick*, Sheriffs.

In his 8th. Year, 1656.

Robert Tichborn, was Mayor.

Tempest Milner, *Nathaniel Temms*, Sheriffs.

In his 9th. Year, 1657.

Richard Chiverton, was Mayor.

John Robinson, *Thomas Chandler*, died in the Year, *Richard King*, Sheriffs.

In his 10th. Year, 1658.

John Ireton, was Mayor.

Anthony Bateman, *John Lawrence*, Sheriffs.

In his 11th. Year, and part of the 12th. 1659.

Sir Thomas Aleyn, Baronet, was Mayor.

Francis Warner, *William Love*, Sheriffs.

In his 12th. Year, and part of the 13th. 1660.

Sir Richard Brown, Baronet, was Mayor.

Sir William Boulton, *Sir William Peake*, Sheriffs.

In his 13th. Year, and part of the 14th. 1661.

Sir John Frederick, was Mayor.

Francis Menill, *Samuel Starling*, Sheriffs.

In his 14th. Year, and part of his 15th. 1662.

Sir John Robinson, was Mayor.

Sir Thomas Bludworth, *Sir William Turner*, Sheriffs.

In his 15th. Year, and part of the 16th. 1663.

Sir Anthony Bateman, was Mayor.

Sir Richard Ford, *Sir Richard Rives*, Sheriffs.

In his 16th. Year, and part of the 17th. 1664.

Sir John Lawrence, was Mayor.

Sir George Waterman, *Sir Charles Doe*, Sheriffs.

In his 17th. Year, and part of the 18th. 1665.

Sir Thomas Bludworth, was Mayor.

Sir Robert Hanson, *Sir William Hooker*, Sheriffs.

In his 18th. Year, and part of the 19th. 1666.

Sir William Boulton, was Mayor.

Sir Robert Vyner, *Sir Joseph Sheldon*, Sheriffs.

In his 19th. Year, and part of the 20th. 1667.

Sir William Peake, was Mayor.

Sir Dennis Gauden, *Sir Thomas Davies*, Sheriffs.

In his 20th. Year, and part of the 21th. 1668.

Sir William Turner, was Mayor.

John Forth, Esq; *Sir Francis Chaplaine*, Sheriffs.

In his 21th. Year, and part of the 22th. 1669.

Sir Samuel Starling, was Mayor.

Sir John Smith, *Sir James Edwards*, Sheriffs.

In his 22th. Year, and part of the 23th. 1670.

Sir Richard Ford, was Mayor.

Samuel Forth, *Patience Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his 23th. Year, and part of the 24th. 1671.

Sir George Waterman, was Mayor.

Sir Jonathan Dawes, died in the Year. } Sheriffs.
Sir Robert Claiton, *Sir John Moore*,

In his 24th. Year, and part of the 25th. 1672.

Sir Robert Hanson, was Mayor.

Sir William Pritchard, *Sir James Smyth*, Sheriffs.

In his 25th. Year, and part of the 26th. 1673.

Sir William Hooker, was Mayor.

Sir Henry Tulse, *Sir Robert Jeffry*, Sheriffs.

In his 26th. Year, and part of the 27th. 1674.

Sir Robert Vyner, was Mayor.

Sir Nathaniel Herne, *Sir John Lethienlier*, Sheriffs.

In his 27th. Year, and part of the 28th. 1675.

Sir Joseph Sheldon, was Mayor.

Sir Thomas Gold, *Sir John Shorter*, Sheriffs.

In his 28th. Year, and part of the 29th. 1676.

Sir Thomas Davies, was Mayor.

Sir John Peake, *Sir Tho. Stamp*, Sheriffs.

In his 29th. Year, and part of the 30th. 1677.

Sir Francis Chaplaine, was Mayor.

Sir William Rawstorn, *Sir Tho. Beckford*, Sheriffs.

T H E I N D E X.

A.

A BACOT, the Kings Cap of Estate so called, 204.

Abbeys, and Priories, and Monasteries, never kept vacant by King *William* the Conquerour, 26. But kept vacant, and made use of by King *William Rufus*, 33. And by King *Henry* the First, 40. Never kept vacant by King *Stephen*, 46. But kept vacant, and to his own use, by King *Henry* the Second, 56. Put into the hands of Lay-men, by King *John*, 72. Kept vacant to his own use, by King *Henry* the Third, 88. All Priories, Aliens, and their Goods, seized by King *Edward* the First, 100. All Monasteries within the Diocess of *Canterbury* seized on also, *ibid.* Priories Aliens, one hundred and ten suppressed by King *Henry* the Fifth, 178. Forty small Monasteries suppressed by *Woolsey*, 273. Three hundred seventy six Monasteries, of the yearly value of 300 Marks, given to the King by Parliament, 283. Frieries and Nunneries all suppressed, 286. All Chantries, Colledges, free Chapels and Fraternities given to King *Edward* the Sixth by Parliament, 304. Begun to be re-edified by Queen *Mary*, 325.

The Abbot of *Westminster*, in whose House a Confederacy of divers great Lords against King *Henry* the Fourth: how pursued, and how discovered, 159. How he dyed, 160.

The Abbot of *Westminster* hath return of Writs taken from him, 96.

George Abbot, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, shooting at a Deer, by chance killed a Man, doubted whether it made him not irregular, and resolved that it did not, 423. His work of Piety, *ibid.* He is suspended from his Jurisdiction for refusing to License Dr. *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, called *Apostolical Obedience*, 440. His Narrative concerning the Cause of his suspension, *ibid.*

Aberdeen, the Standard of King *Charles* the Second set up there, 604. The Town taken by the Parliaments Forces in *Scotland*, 611.

Abergeveny, the Barony granted to *William* *Beauchamp* of *Bedford*, 148.

The right of the Barony examined and discussed, and how ordered, 376.

Acts in the Reign of King *Charles* the First. See the head of Laws and Ordinances.

Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government, 588. The *Funto*'s Act of Oblivion, 613. An Act of the *Funto* against the raising of Money without consent of Parliament, 660. An Act for appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army, *ibid.* An Act of the Long Parliament for Constituting five Commissioners for the Government of the Army, 787. The Act of General Pardon taken into debate by the Commons, 713. Three Acts signed by the King, *ibid.* Several other Acts sign'd, 718. The Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings, 719. The Act for Pole-money, *ibid.* An Act for restraining Excessive Usury, 720. The Act of Indemnity, *ibid.* An Act for observing a perpetual Anniversary for His Majesties Restauration, 722. Twenty

two Acts more signed by His Majesty, 723. An Act for Confirming and restoring of Ministers, 724. The substance of the Act for Encouragement of Navigation, *ibid.* The substance of the Act of Attainder, 733.

Addresses made to *Richard Cromwel* from several parts, to congratulate his advancement to the Protectorship, 636. From all the Regiments of the Army, *ibid.*

The Cities Address to General *Monk* at *Morpeth*, by their Sword-Bearer, 678. Addresses to him from the Gentry of the Country in all parts, as he march'd towards *London*, *ibid.* Addresses to him from *Northamptonshire*, and other parts, pleading for a free Parliament, 681. The Address of the Officers to General *Monk*, in compliance with the King's Letter and Declaration, 705. Approved by the House of Commons, 705. Sent to His Majesty by Commissary *Clarges*, *ibid.* Congratulatory Addresses from all parts of the Nation upon his first arrival, 714.

Adela, a Daughter of *William* the Conquerours, married to *Stephen* Earl of *Elois*, and Mother to King *Stephen*, 29.

The French King's Daughter Affianced to King *Henry* the Second's younger Son, is delivered to King *Henry*, 55. with whom King *Henry* himself is thought to have unlawful familiarity, *ibid.* Is sent back to her Father, 62.

Adjutors chosen in the Army, 687.

Adrian, the Emperour, repairs the Wall between *England* and *Scotland*, 2.

Adrian, once a bondman, chosen Pope, 58.

Adultery in a married Woman punished with cutting off her Nose and Ears, 16.

An Affront to the King, yet passed over, 91. 131. *Montford* tells King *Henry* the Third to his face, that he lied, 84.

Sir *Anthony* *Aucher* valiantly defends *Callice*, 324.

Ailmer, Bishop of *London*, his work of Piety, 424.

Alanson, Brother to the King of *France*, comes privately into *England*, a Suitor to Queen *Elizabeth*, who departing after a short stay, the Queen commands the Lord *Burgley* and other Lords, to consult with *Simyer*, the French Lieger, concerning the Marriage Covenants, 360. Being afterward Duke of *Anjou*, and coming again into *England*, is so kindly received, that in a private Conference with the Queen, she drew a Ring off her Finger, and put it upon his; but the next Morning the case was altered, and the Duke goes away complaining of Womens inconstancy, 361. He dieth of grief in *Holland*, 362.

Albania, the ancient Name of *Scotland*, and why, 1. S. *Alban* suffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*, 3. S. *Alban*'s Monastery founded by *Offa*, King of *Mercia*, 7.

Albertus *Alasco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, comes into *England*, his carriage and entertainment, 363.

Duke of *Albemarle*, Gen. *Monk* created into that Dignity by Letters Patents, 715.

Albina, the eldest of the fifty two Daughters of *Dioclesian*, 1.

Albion, why *England* anciently so called, 1.

Aldermen of *London*, when first ordained, and changed yearly, 89. Seven died in two Months, and who they were,

The Index.

- were, 326. At another time seven died in ten Months, 399.
- Divers Aldermen, and other Eminent Citizens of *London*, sent from the City to His Majesty, 707.
- Aldersgate* in *London* new builded, when, and by whom, 424.
- Aldgate* in *London* new builded, when, and by whom, *ibid.*
- Aldred*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, his insulting over King *William* the Conqueror, 28.
- Alexander*, King of *Scots*, falls off his Horse and breaks his Neck, 96.
- Pope *Alexander* the Sixth poisoned, and by what accident, 249.
- Alured*, King of *England*, and his Policy to repel the *Danes*, 8. who divided the day into three parts, in several Employments, *ibid.* And divided the Kingdom into Shires and Hundreds, 9. His Vertues and Pious Works, *ibid.*
- Alice Peirce*, her insolence, 127.
- Allegiance sworn, by the Nobility, to *Maud* the Empress, 44. flighted again, and why, 46.
- The Oath of Allegiance ministered to all sorts of Persons, 420.
- Oaths of Allegiance little regarded, 46. See *Oath*.
- All-Souls* Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 178, 199.
- Sir *John Allen*, Lord Mayor of *London*, his gifts of Piety, 297.
- Edward Allen*, an excellent Stage-Player, 402. His work of Piety, 423.
- Cardinal *Allen* dieth, his Education and Course of Life, 383.
- Sir *Giles Allington* fined, and made to do Penance for Marrying of his Niece, 450.
- Allum*, the price how raised, 251.
- When first made in *England*, and by whom, 413.
- Alphegus*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, stoned to death by the *Danes*, 13.
- Alpheredus*, an Historian in the Conquerours time, 31.
- Altars in Churches taken down, and Tables placed in their room, 304.
- Alliance by Marriage small strengthening of friendship, 308. but light in the Scales of States, 117.
- Duke d' *Alva* called home, and why, 351.
- Col. *Alured*, one of the five Commissioners appointed by Act for the government of the Army, 687. He solicites in vain Gen. *Monk's* return to *White-hall*, *ibid.*
- Ambassadors. See *Ambassadour*.
- Ambergreefe* found in the *Bermudas*, and the price there, 427.
- Ambersbury*, of whom so called, 4.
- The Abbey there, by whom founded, 12.
- Ambrii*, the ancient Name of *Salisbury*, 4.
- Amyens* in *France* recovered by *Baskerville's* and Sir *Arthur Savage's* Valour, 388.
- Andrews*, Lord Mayor in the room of Alderman *Reynolds*, 588. The abolishment of Kingly Government, *ibid.*
- St. *Andrews* taken, &c. 611.
- Andrews*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and his Commendation, 426.
- Anger* Castle in *Essex*, by whom founded, 58.
- Angiers*, a Town in *France* where King *John* was born, 70.
- Guyard de Angoulesme*, Schoolmaster to *Richard* the Second, 136.
- Anne Bullen* is made Marchioness of *Pembroke*, 281. Is Married secretly to King *Henry* the Eighth, *ibid.* Is Crowned in great state, 282. Is delivered of a Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, *ibid.* Is delivered of a second Child before her time, 283. Is committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Is arraigned and condemned, *ibid.* Is beheaded with the Sword of *Calice*, by the Hangman of the Tower, 284. Her Parentage, Alms-Deeds, and Innocency, *ibid.*
- Anne of Cleve*, her Parentage and Religion, 287. She is Married to King *Henry* the Eighth, *ibid.* She is divorced from him, 288. Was never carnally known of him in all the time of their lying together, *ibid.*
- Anne of Denmark*, Daughter of *Frederick* King of *Denmark*, Espoused to *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland*, 379. Comes into *England*, how attended, 406. She dies, 418.
- Anne Stanhope*, Wife of the Duke of *Somerset*, Proctor, seeks to take place of *Katherine Parre*, the Queen Dowager of King *Henry* the Eighth, and out of envy to her, makes variance between her Husband the Proctor, and his Brother the Lord Admiral, who had Married Queen *Katherine*, which proved both their destructions, 360. Her death, 376.
- Annats* forbidden to be paid to the Pope, 279.
- Annory*, a fair House in *Devonshire*, anciently of Sir *Sohn Haukesford*, or *Haskford*, and afterward of Sir *John Stentleger*, 209.
- Duke of *Anjou* enters *Normandy*, 47.
- A Princess of *Anjou*, a great Enchantress, and what became of her, 60.
- Anselme*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in contention with King *William Rufus*, and why, 35. Is called from Exile by King *Henry* the First, 38.
- Sir *Robert Anstruther* sent Ambassadour to the Emperor to treat about the Palatinate, 448.
- Anticipation*, a word used by Cardinal *Woolsey*, to draw the People to pay the Subsidy before the time, 272.
- Don Antonio*, driven out of *Portugal* is received by Queen *Elizabeth*, as being descended of *English* blood, and the House of *Lancaster*, 360. Goes with Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Francis Drake* to recover his Kingdom, but without success, 378.
- Marc. Antonius de Dominis*, Arch-Bishop of *Spalato* comes into *England*, sets forth Books, and makes Sermons in defence of the *English* Church, is made Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*; yet afterwards retracted all he had said, or written, and thereupon is expelled the Kingdom, 422. He goeth to *Rome*, and there inveigheth against Protestants; yet, as having relapsed, is censured there, and how, 423.
- St. *Anthony's* Church, with the Free-School, by whom builded, 250.
- Antwerp* pillaged, and the *English* Merchants Houses rifled, whereupon the States take up Arms, and send to Queen *Elizabeth* for Aid, 353.
- Apothecaries made a Corporation, and when, 421.
- Apparel appointed, what Men of every degree should wear, 128. Sumptuousness of Apparel, 137. Meanness of Apparel, 35.
- Appeals to the Pope, when first used, 36. Forbidden, 279.
- D. *Aquila*, with a great many *Spaniards*, landed at *King'sale* in *Ireland*, with whom *Tiroen* joins, 395. He requires a Parley, and the *Spaniards* yielding up all their Forts, depart with Life and goods, *ibid.*
- Thomas Aquinas*, when he lived and dyed, 103.
- Lady *Arbella* secretly Marries, is committed to the Tower, and there dies, 417.
- Arden* and *Somerville* condemned, and why, 363.
- Arden* in *Kent* murdered, and the strange Circumstances of it, 312.
- Marquess of *Argile* assists at the King's Coronation at *Scoon* in *Scotland*, carrying the Crown before him, 621. None of the *Scotch* Nobility so far complying with the *English* Common-wealth, 641. He and several others committed Prisoners to the Tower of *London*, 739.
- Arlotte*; the Mother of *William* the Conquerour, and what she was, 19.
- Bishop of *Armagh*, his Death and Burial, 627.
- Arminius* his Doctrine examined and condemned by the Synod of *Dort*, and in what Points, 422.
- Mr. *Armorer* sent by the Lord *Mordant* to the King at *Fontarabia*, to inform him how matters went in *England*, 681.
- Armour of worthy Men hanged up in Churches, how it began, 16.
- Army of King *John* worsted by the *French*, 71.
- Great Armies defeated by small, 121, 170.
- A supplemental Army necessary in War, 23.
- The Parliaments Army new modelled, 549. Their Representation and Proposals, 550. They Impeach eleven Members, *ibid.* They march through the City, 541. Their Proposals to the King, 553. They Petition for Justice against the King, 564. Their Remonstrance to the same effect, *ibid.* They seclude divers Members of the Parliament, 545. They grow jealous of *Richard Cromwell*, 641. They force him to Dissolve the Parliament, and resign up his own Power, 642. The chief Officers of them meet and consult at *Desborow's* House, *ibid.* The prevailing part of the Army force the young Protector to quit his Power, 643. Their Declaration to invite the remnant of the Long Parliament to sit again, *ibid.* Their humble Petition and Address to the Remnant Parliament, 644. They enter into new Counsels against the said Parliament, 654. Their Petition and Proposals to the said Parliament,

The Index.

ment, 655. Their humble representation and Petition, 657. Their Proposals, *ibid.* The prevailing party of them no great favourers of General Monk 659.

The Army in Scotland well satisfied with the Generals Actions, 675.

The Army draw up at *Black-beath*, welcome his Majesty with loud acclamations into England, 711.

Sir Nicholas Arnold valiantly defends *Bulloin* against the French, 306.

Commission of Array issued out by the King, 517.

King Arthur, the Son of *Uter Pendragon*, his Acts and his death, 4. &c. His bones found at *Glassenbury*, 66. 67.

King Arthur's and his Wife *Guiniver's* bones found, and where, 59.

Prince Arthur, Son of *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Elder Brother to King John, marries the King of France's Daughter, 69. Is taken Prisoner by King John, and soon after is made away, 70.

Prince Arthur, Son of King Henry the Seventh, marries the Lady Katherine of Spain, and lie together the first night, 245. Six months after his marriage he dieth at *Ludlow*, 246. His towardliness in Learning, *ibid.* Born in the eighth month after his conception, a cause perhaps of his short life, 251.

Articles against King Richard the Second, 152.

Articles against Card. *Wolsey*, 278.

Articles agreed on between the Lord *Hopton* and General *Fairfax*, 545.

Articles against the Earl of *Bristol*, 437.

Articles against the Duke of *Buckingham*, 432.

Articles against the Earl of *Strafford*, 477.

Articles of High Treason against the Queen, 526.

Articles of Peace between the King of France and the English Lord Protector, 627.

The Six Articles set forth by the Bishops, and what they were, 296.

Robert d' Artois in a Battel wounded, whereof he died, and was buried in *Pauls*, 120.

James d' Artois, his Loyalty to King Richard, 151.

The Earldom of *Arundel* always goes with the Castle of *Arundel*, 360.

Sir John *Arundel* with above a thousand, are all drowned, 137.

His sumptuousness in Apparel, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Arundel* in King Richard the Second's time beheaded, 149. Of whom the Fame went, that his head was grown to his body again, but upon search found to be a Fable, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Arundel's* Commitment to the Tower gives offence to the Peers in Parliament, 434. He is made General of the Kings Forces, 466.

Arundel Steeple in the Church of *Canterbury*, by whom builded, 154.

Henry Earl of *Arundel* hopes to Marry Queen *Elizabeth*, 333.

Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of *Arundel* dieth, in whom was extinct the Sir-name of that Noble Family, which had continued three hundred years, and how the Earldom came to *Howard*, 360.

Philip Earl of *Arundel* committed to the Tower, and why, 366. condemned of divers Crimes, but his life spared, 378. He dieth in the Tower, 384.

Earl of *Arundel* sent Ambassador to the Emperour about the restitution of the Palatinate, 456.

Arundel Castle taken by Sir William Waller, 533.

Thomas *Arundel* of *Warder*, made an Earl of the Empire by the Emperour, for his service in *Hungary*, but not suffered to enjoy it at home, 386. Is made Baron of *Warder*, 428.

Ascham, an Agent of the Common-wealth of England, slain at *Madrid*, 613.

Mr. John *Ashburnham*, one of those Persons that accompanied the King when he went disguised to the Scots Army, 546.

Ashdown Church in *Essex* built by King *Canutus*, 16.

Col. *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, and *Duckenfield*, attend upon the House with the Armies Petition

Sir Anthony *Ashley Cooper*, one of the seven Commissioners for the Management of the Army, 676. Nominated by the Long-Parliament for one of the new Council of State, 678. Created Baron *Winterton St. Giles*, 737.

The Lord *Ashley* routed at *Stow* on the *Wold* by Sir William *Brereton* and Col. *Morgan*, 545.

Colonel *Edward Ashon* and others Executed for a Plot, 633.

Roger *Askam*, who had been Queen *Elizabeth's* School-Master, yet out of his delighting in Gaming and Cock-fighting, dieth a poor man, 401.

A General Assembly called by the Scots, 467. Dissolved by the Kings Orders, *ibid.*

Another General Assembly meets at *Edinburgh*, and abolisheth Episcopacy, &c. *ibid.*

Another General Assembly dissolved by Collonel *Morgan*, 623.

An Assembly of Divines sit at *Westminster*, 549.

Affizes at *Oxford*, where of a sudden ill favour there died all that were present; amongst whom *Pell* and *Barham*, Judges; but not a Woman nor a Child, 355.

Associated Counties, which, 516. The Lord *Gray* of *Wark* Commands them as Major General, *ibid.*

An Association of Lords and others in defence of Q. *Elizabeth*, 365.

Sir *Arthur Aston* Governour of *Tredagh*, with several others put to the Sword by *Cromwell* when he took the Town by storm, 592.

Astronomers mistaken 100 Years in their Computation, 272.

Famous Astronomers when living, 201.

Athelston King of England, gets many Victories against the Danes, the Scots, the Welsh, and the Irish, 10.

He punishes his Brothers death, *ibid.* Presents are sent to him, *ibid.*

Doctor *Atkins* sent into Scotland, to the Kings younger Son *Charles*, whom he recovered of his sickness, and brings him to London, 406.

Mr. *Atkins* and Collonel *Markham* sent with a Letter by General *Monk* to the City of London, 672. Imprisoned upon pretence that the Letter was fictitious, 673.

Avarice of Commanders in War, occasion of great defeats, 119.

The Lord *Aubigny*, why so called, 357. Made Duke of *Lenox*, *ibid.*

Avicen, *Averroes*, and *Mesue* contemporary with King *Stephen*, 51.

James Lord *Audley* his Valour and Bounty, 124.

Another Lord *Audley* beheaded, and why, 450.

Prince of *Aurange*. See *Orange*.

Aurelius Ambrosius besiegeth the Castle *Votigern*, and burnt it, 4.

He was poisoned at *Winchester*, *ibid.*

Auricular Confession, when first ordained, 73. When forbidden, 312.

Saint *Austins* Arms, bought by King *Canutus* at *Pavia* for one hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold, is also given by him to the Church of *Canterbury*, 16.

St. *Austins* in *Canterbury*, why so called, 5.

Austin-Fryers called Mendicant-Fryers, when and by whom begun, 66.

Austin-Fryers Church in London by whom re-edified, 131.

John d' *Austria*, natural Son of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, sent Governour into the Low-Countries, 353. His practises against Queen *Elizabeth*, 354. He dieth, 355.

Albertus, Duke of *Austria*, and Cardinal, is made Governour of the *Netherlands*, and for his first piece takes *Callice*, 385.

Collonel *Axtell* excepted out of the Act of Oblivion, 721. is Executed for the Murther of King *Charles* the First, 731.

Aid for marrying the Kings eldest Daughter, by whom first begun, 40.

For making the Kings eldest Son Knight, 413.

Sir George *Ayscough* reduceth the English Plantations in *Virginia* and the *Caribie*-Islands, to the subjection of the English Common-wealth, 612. Beats the Dutch Fleet twice, 614.

The Index.

B

B

SIR *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper dieth, to whom succeedeth Sir *Thomas Bromley* the Queens Solicitor, 357. His Work of Piety, 398.
 Sir *Francis Bacon* his Son, Lord Chancellour of England, Censured for Bribery, 418. His Elegancy of Writing, 426.
John Baconthorpe, a great Writer in Divinity, and when he lived, 133.
Babram in *Norfolk* burnt, 250.
 Bakers of *London* when first drawn upon hurdles, 101.
Baker, the Family in *Kent*, from whom descended, 43.
 Sir *John Baker* of *Kent* refuseth to subscribe to the excluding of King *Edward's* Siliers, 311. He dieth, having been a Privy Counsellour to King *Henry* the Eighth, to King *Edward* the Sixth, and to Queen *Mary*, 325.
Ralph Baldock, Bishop of *London*, writ a Chronicle of England in Latine, and when he lived, 114. His Work of Piety, 113.
Ralph Baldock writ a History, Entituled *Historia Anglica*, 114.
Baldred the last King in *Kent*, 5.
John Ball, Priest, a chief Incendiary of the Insurrection in *Kent*, 128. His Letters of Nonsense, 139.
 Tennis Balls sent to King *Henry* 5. in derision, 169.
 170.
Robert Bale, the elder, writ the Customs of *London*, and the Acts of King *Edward* the Third, 201.
 Ballances. Look Weights.
Ballard and *Babington* with others hanged, 370.
Balliol crowned King of *Scotland*, 117.
Balliol College in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 101.
Robert Baljack writ *De re Militari*, 201.
Bamburgh Castle builded by *Ella* and *Ida* Kings of *Northumberland*, 7.
Banbury surrendered to the King, 523. re-taken for the Parliament, 547.
 Sir *Ralph Sadler*, the last Banneret in *England*, 376.
 Banishment the greatest punishment for Treason in King *Henry* the First's time, 39.
 The ordinary punishment of great mens Delinquencies, 150.
Bannister, who betrayed the Duke of *Buckingham*, how by the Divine hand punished, in himself and in his Children, 230.
 Banqueting-House at *White-Hall*, when, and by whom built, 423.
 The *Barbadoes*, and other English Plantations, subdued by Sir *George Ayscough* to the subjection of the English Common-Wealth, 612.
 Our Lady of *Barking* near the Tower by whom founded, 234.
 The Abby of *Barking* founded by *Erkenweld* Bishop of *London*, 7.
 Baron of *Barkly*, who made, 58.
Barkley Castle taken by Collonel *Rainsborough*, 531.
 Sir *John Barnes*, Mayor of *London*, gave a Chest with a stock of Money to be lent to young men upon security, 131.
 Sir *George Barnes* Mayor, his Works of Piety, 313.
Barnwell, with the Priory near to *Cambridge*, burnt, 58.
 The Title of Baron, which had before been promiscuous to men of Estate, was first confined to such only as by the King now were called to have a voice in Parliament, 101.
 Barons made by Summons to the Parliament, 153.
 When first made by Letters Patents, where before they were made by the Kings Writ, calling them to the Parliament, *ibid.*
 Barons anciently made by the Earl of *Chester*, 24.
 Free from taking the Oath of Supremacy, 396.
 The Barons refuse to serve the King out of the Realm, 69.
 They demand of King *John* their ancient Liberties, 71.
 Upon his granting and not performing they take up Arms, *ibid.*
 They send for the King of *France* his Son, and receive him for their King, *ibid.*
 They confederate against King *Henry* the Third, 79.
 85.
 They agree with King *Henry* upon a Peace, *ibid.*
 They have all their ancient Priviledges restored by him, 80.
 In Contention again with him, and why, *ibid.*
 They Confederate against him, 80.
 They being summoned to Parliament, refuse to come, *ibid.*
 They threaten to chuse a new King, *ibid.*
 They refuse to come to a Parliament to be holden in the Tower, *ibid.*
 Upon grant of their Liberties, they consent to a Subsidie, *ibid.*
 They come to the Parliament armed, 80.
 Their Grievances against King *Edward* the Second, 106.
 They Confederate for removing the *Spensers*, 109.
 They justifie their taking up Arms, as not done against the King, but in defence of the Kingdom, *ibid.*
 Many of them put to death, the first of this kind in *England*, 111.
 They Confederate against King *Richard* the Second, and require to have delivered to them such as were Traytors about the King, 144.
 They come to the King with forty thousand men, shewing his Letters which he had written to their destruction, 145.
 Upon the Kings breach of promise, they threaten to chuse a new King, *ibid.*
 They put divers Gentlemen to death, 146.
 Baronets, when first instituted, and under what Laws, 416.
Henry Barrow executed for derogating from the Queens Ecclesiastical Authority, and his Sectaries punished, 398.
 Dr. *Samuel Barrow*, Physician to General *Monk's* Army, a person of great Trust and discretion about the General, and of loyal Principles, 651.
 He adviseth the General in the Treaty between him and *Lambert*, 666.
 He urges the danger of General *Monk's* delaying to close with the City of *London*, 685.
 St. *Bartholomew's* Hospital in *Smithfield*, founded by a Minstrel, 42. By whom else in great part founded, 165.
 Upon St. *Bartholomew's* day at a Wrestling, a strife falling out between the Lord Mayor and the Prior of St. *John's*, how appeased, 193.
 St. *Bartholomew's* Spittle given to the City, and by whom, 297. By whom given for relief of diseased people, 312.
Elizabeth Barton, called the Holy Maid of *Kent*, her practice and Abettors, at last all hanged, 282.
Andreas Barton, a Scottish Pirate, wounded to death, 255.
Basing - House, how it was besieged by Sir *William Walker*, 535.
 Taken by *Cromwell*, 544.
Peter Basset, he writ the Life of King *Henry* the Fifth, 201.
 Bastardy no Bar at first to succession, 20.
 Bastards and all Brothers, *Peter Lombard*, *Comester*, and *Gratian*, 51.
Bastwick, *Pryn*, and *Burton* Censured, 457.
William Bateman, Bishop of *Norwich*, builded *Trinity* Hall in *Cambridge*, 166.
Henry of *Bath*, chief Justice, was fined for corruption, 83.
 The City of *Bath* taken by the Parliament Forces, 546.
 When it was first made a Bishops See, 36.
 The Battel of *Bannocksbrough* with the Scots, 107.
 The Battel against the Scots at *Milton*, called the White Battel, and why, 108.
 The Battel of *Borough-bridge*, between the Barons and the Forces of King *Edward* the Second, where divers of the Earls Forces revolt to the King, 110.
 The Battel of *Fonkirk* in *Scotland*, 97.
 The Battel of St. *Johnstowne* in *Scotland*, 98.
 The Battel of *Blackmore*, 112.

The

The Index.

- The Battel with the Scots at *Halydown-Hill*. 117.
 The Battel at *Cressy* in France. 120.
 The Battel at *Nevel-Cross* against the Scots, where their Army of sixty thousand was defeated, and *David* their King taken Prisoner. 121.
 The Battel of *Poitiers*, where Prince *Edward* defeated the French Army, six times as many as his own, and took *John* King of France Prisoner. 123.
 The Battel of King *Henry* the Fourth with his Lords at *Shrewsbury*. 162.
 The Battel of *Agincourt*, where the French were six times as many as the English, yet defeated, and by what Policy. 171.
 The Battel of *Vernueil* in France. 181.
 The Battel of *Herrings* in France, why so called. 183.
 The Battel of *Blorne-Heath*. 165.
 The Battel at *Northampton*, between the Earl of *March* and the Queen. 196.
 The Battel of *St. Albans*, between King *Henry* and the Duke of *York*. 193.
 The Battel at *Wakefield*, between the Duke of *York* and the Kings Party, where the Duke of *York* was slain. 197.
 The Battel at *Mortimers Cross*, between the Earl of *March* and the Kings Party, where the Earl prevailed. *ibid*.
 The Battel at *Barnet-heath*. *ibid*.
 The Battel between *Towton* and *Saxton*, between King *Edward* and King *Henry*, where 36 thousand slain. 203.
 The Battel at *Examfield*, where King *Edward* defeated King *Henry* and the Scots. 204.
 The Battel called *Banbury Field*. 207.
 The Battel called *Loosecoat field*, and why. 208.
 The Battel at *Barnet* between King *Edward* and the Earl of *Warwick*, where the Earl was slain. 211.
 The Battel at *Flodden field*, where *James* King of Scots was slain. 260.
 The Battel at *Teuksbury*, between King *Edward* and Queen *Margaret*s Forces. 211.
 The Battel near *Bosworth* in *Leicester-shire*, between King *Richard* and the Earl of *Richmond*. 232, 233.
 The Battel of *Stoke* between King *Henry* the Seventh, and the Earl of *Lincoln*. 238.
 The Battel of *Muskeborough* against the Scots, where was a great defeat with small loss. 303. Another. 600.
 The famous Battel of *Newport* in *Flanders*. 391.
 The Battel called of *Spurs*, and why. 259.
 The Battel at *Edg-hill* between the Forces of King *Charles* and the Parliament. 522.
 The Battel at *Newbury*. 528.
 The Battel at *Marston-Moor*. 534.
 The Battel at *Naseby*. 542.
 The Battel at *Dunbar*, between the Scots and *Cromwell*. 601.
 The Battel at *Fuentes Fort* between the Spaniard on the one side, and the English and French on the other. 633.
 Battel Abbey in *Suffex* founded by *William* the Conquerour. 29.
 Battelfield College in *Shropshire*, by whom founded. 165.
 The Marquess of *Baydex* and his Lady perish at Sea in a Ship set on fire. 628. And two of his Sons and two Daughters taken Prisoners and brought into England. *ibid*.
Balliol is by King *Edward* the First adjudged to be King of Scotland, upon condition to do him Homage. 97. Is Cited to appear in England, and not suffered to answer by a Procurator, with which incensed he falls to rebell. *ibid*. Is once again forced to swear Fealty to King *Edward*, yet is sent Prisoner into England. *ibid*. He doth Homage to King *Edward* for his Realm of Scotland. 117.
Balliol College in *Oxford* built by *John Balliol* King of Scots, and when. 101. Increased with Fellowships, by whom. 424.
Balliol King of Scots assisted by *Edward* the Third. 117.
 Bays, Says, and Serpes, when and by whom first made in England. 399.
 Old Bay-Trees withered, afterwards grew green again. 154.
Baynards Castle, used often for the Kings Lodging. 31.
 By whom founded. 42. Of whom it took Name. 54. By whom new builded. 249.
Beauchampe Earl of *Warwick*, Protector to King *Richard* the Second. 137. Distresses the French. 141.
Beauchamp, why King *Henry* the First so called. 38.
 Why preferred before his Brother *Robert*. *ibid*.
 The Family of *Beaufort*, why so called. 136.
Thomas Beaufort, a Son of *John* of Gaunt, by *Katherine Swinford* before Marriage, is by Parliament made Legitimate, and created Earl of *Somerset*. 147.
Thomas Beaufort Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of King *Henry*, dieth. 182.
 Beauty without a good Portion serves not King *Henry* the Seventh's turn to Marriage. 248.
Beaumarish Castle in the Isle of *Anglesey*, by whom built. 101.
Thomas Becket, his Parentage and Education, his contention with King *Henry* the Second, and whereabouts, he retracts his former assent, and why, lives poorly in banishment, is called home from banishment, is murdered, where, and by whom, and how occasioned, his murderers die miserably, his Tomb visited by many great Princes. 56. 57. King *Henry*'s voluntary Penance for his murder. 54.
Becket's bones burnt. 286.
Thomas Beckington Bishop of *Bath*, writ against the Law *Salique* of France. 201.
Bede, called Venerable, a Priest in the Monastery of *Werimont*, dedicateth his English History to *Kedwolph* King of *Northumberland*. 6.
 The Duke of *Bedford* appointed Regent of France. 180.
 He marries *Anne* the Sister of the Duke of *Burgundy*. 181.
 His valour. 200.
 The difference between him and the Duke of *Burgundy* for place. 184.
 He dieth. *ibid*.
 His Titles and Commendation. *ibid*. and 185.
 The Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland* fly to *Oxford* to the King, but soon return back to the Parliament. 533.
Bedford Free-School when, and by whom founded. 398.
Belvoir-Castle taken by Colonel *Pointz*. 545.
Julian Bemess writ of Hawking and Hunting; also of the Laws of Arms, and of Heraldry. 218.
 Benefices forbidden to be confirmed by the Pope. 129.
 None to be held by an Alien. 177.
 Plurality restrained by Parliament. 278. also 295. also 101.
 Beer Castle in *Wales* the Seat of Prince *Leolin*. 96.
Beeston Castle by whom built. 89.
Robert de Bellesmo Earl of *Shrewsbury*, rising against the King, is defeated and banished. 39.
Berengarius, who denyed the Real Presence, when he lived. 28.
Beverly Town, with the Church of *St. Johns* burnt. 59.
 A Benevolence for raising of Money, used by King *Edward* the Fourth, and what a rich Widow gave him, and why. 213. & 216.
 No Benevolence to be imposed upon the Subject. 234.
 A Benevolence required by King *Henry* the Seventh, and granted. 240.
 Also a second Benevolence. 242.
 A Benevolence demanded by King *Henry* the Eighth. 292.
Bennet Colledge in *Cambridge*, endowed by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*. 398.
 Sir *Henry Bennet* Negotiates for his Majesty at the Treaty of Peace between France and Spain. 653.
 Is honourably entertained by the Spaniard. *ibid*.
 Sir *John Bennet* Judge of the Prerogative Court, fined for Bribery. 417.
 Saint *Bennets* Abbey in *Norfolk*, built by King *Canutus*. 16.
Berengaria, Wife to King *Richard* the First. 62. Uncertain what became of her. 66.
Bernard Colledge in *Oxford*, founded by *Henry Chicheley* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named Saint *John*'s Colledge. 178. 199.
 Saint *Bernard* contemporary with King *Stephen*. 51.

The Index.

Sir *Peregrine Berry* made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*. 362.

Berwick betrayed to the *Scots*, and besieged by King *Edward* the Second. 108. Again taken by *Scots*. 140. Who fell it. *ibid*.

Berwick delivered to the King of *Scots* by King *Henry*. 204. After it had been held by the *Scots*, one and twenty years, is delivered back to the *English*. 216.

Berwick and *Roxborough* Castles sold by King *Richard* to the King of *Scots*. 62.

Berwick and *Carlisle* surpris'd by the *Cavaliers*. 561.

Beton, Archbishop of *S. Andrews*, hinders the Marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* and the Heir of *Scotland*. 290.

Bethlehem Monastery by *Richmond*, by whom founded. 178.

Bible translated into the *Saxon* Tongue. 10.

Bigot *Hugh* submits to King *Henry*. 54. Chief Justiciar to King *Henry* the Third. 86.

Bilson Bishop of *Winchester*, his learned Work of *Christ's* descent into *Hell*. 401.

The Bill for a Triennial Parliament assented to by the King. 477. The names of those that refused to pass it. 506.

The Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*. 509.

The Bill of Attainder, and the Bill for continuation of the Parliament passed by the Kings Commission. 509.

The Bill for the Militia the King denies to sign. 556.

Four Bills sent to the King to be signed, which he refuseth. *ibid*.

Viscount *Esmond*, who and when first made. 329.

Richard *Bingham* his severe Government causeth a Rebellion in *Ireland*. 367.

Colonel *Birch* takes *Hereford* for the Parliament by a Stratagem. 544.

King *Charles* the Second his Birth-day celebrated by the *Scots*. 605.

His Birth-day the day of his Triumphal entry into *London*. 712.

Bishops and Bishopricks, their Vacancies never made use of by King *William* the Conquerour. 26. Seised to find Souldiers. *ibid*. Restrained from exercising any Temporal Authority. 24. Their Sees translated. 28. In what awe the Conquerour stood of his Bishops. *ibid*. Their Vacancies made use of by King *William* *Rufus*. 33. And by King *Henry* the First. 40.

The Bishop of *London* is as Dean to all the Bishops of *England*, and his Prerogative thereby. 38.

Bishops not to be Imprisoned by the King. 50.

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King. 80. Vacancies of Bishopricks kept by King *Henry* the Second to his own use. 56.

A Bishop brought to the Bar, is taken away by other Bishops. 113.

Bishops not to be present where Sentence of Blood should pass. 148. 478.

Bishops restrained from alienating Lands, though to the King himself. 420. King *James* thinks them to be *Jure Divino*. 422.

Six new Bishopricks erected, and when. 286.

Bishopricks pared in their Revenues. 304.

Bishops made by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding, or confirmation ensuing. *ibid*.

Bishops the old removed, and new put in their places, by Queen *Mary*. 316. The like by Queen *Elizabeth*. 331. In *England* cried down by divers, but upheld by Queen *Elizabeth*. 397. Restrained from letting their Lands but with limitation. 396.

Bishops sent out of *England* to the Council of *Ariminum*. 3.

The Bishops of *Ireland* consecrated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 35.

The Bishop of *St. Andrews* appointed to be Metropolitan in *Scotland*, which before the Bishop of *Tork* was. 217.

Six new Bishopricks erected by King *Henry* the Eighth, and which. 286.

Bishops Jurisdiction abated. 95.

Bishops-Gate in *London* new built, when, and by whom. 217.

Bishop of *London* Lord Treasurer. 455.

Bishop *Wren* committed to the Tower, with the five Judges that were for *Ship-money*. 511.

Bishops Votes in Parliament voted down. 477.

Twelve Bishops absenting from the House, and protesting against their Actions, are charged with Treason, and committed to custody. 515.

Bishops Lands Ordered by the Parliament to be sequestred. 476.

Episcopacy abolished by Ordinance of Parliament. 512. Restored. 731.

George Bishop, Stationer, his Work of Piety. 424.

Blasphemy of King *William* *Rufus*. 35.

Of King *Henry* the Second. 55.

Of King *John*. 73.

William *Blackney* a Carmelite Fryer, and a Necromancer. 252.

Black-Fryers Monastery founded by *Edward* *Kilwarby* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. 29. The Foundation when and by whom laid. 101.

Blacknes taken by the *English*. 617.

General *Robert* *Blake* takes many rich Prizes upon the Coast of *Portugal*. 636. He lands Forces in the Isle of *Scilly*, for the taking of *Tresco* and *Bryers*. 630. He intercepts the *French* Fleet going to relieve *Dunkirk*; he beats the *Dutch* at Sea near *Goodwin Sands*. 613. His attempt before *Tunis*. 625. His Victory over the *Spanish* Fleet near *Cadix*. 627. His successful Enterprize against the *Spaniard* at *Santa Cruz*. 629. His Death. 631.

Blank Charters made by King *Richard* the Second, which he compelled Men to seal, that he might afterwards charge them at his pleasure. 153.

Sir *Charles* *Blunt* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*. 390. He takes *Alphonso* *O Campo*, the *Spaniard's* chief Leader, prisoner. 395. he comes out of *Ireland*, and brings with him the Earl of *Tiroen*. 406. Is made Earl of *Devonshire*. 428.

A Blazing Star seen, and what height. 425.

Bleeding of a dead body in presence of the Murthrer. 60.

A shower of Blood, where. 58.

Sir *Thomas* *Bodley* his Work of Piety. 398.

Bodmin, the Abbey of *St. Petroius*, and the Priory of *Piston* founded there by King *Athelstan*. 10.

Humphrey *Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, re-edified *Augustine-Fryers* Church in *London*. 131.

Edward *Bohun* Duke of *Buckingham*, the last high Constable of *England*. 267.

Bolton, Prior of *St. Bartholomews*, built his house upon *Harrow on the Hill*, and why. 272.

Sir *George* *Booth*, and others of the Secluded Members claim their Priviledge of Sitting, but are kept out. 644.

He raiseth Forces for the King in *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*. 649. His Declaration. *ibid*. His Rising aided by the Kings Friends from all Parts. *ibid*. The main of the Design prevented by discovery. 650. He appears in *Cheshire* with a Considerable Body. *ibid*. Possesseth *Chester*, and *Chirk*-Castle. *ibid*. Engageth with *Lambert*, and is defeated. 652. Taken Prisoner. *ibid*. Created by the King, Lord de la *Mere*. 737.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, after 18 years imprisonment in *England*, is set at liberty, and the same day dieth. 184.

General of the Emperours Army is slain before *Rome*. 275.

Sir *John* *Bourchier*, Translated the Chronicles of *Froyard* into *English*. 299.

The Lord *Boroughs* sent Deputy into *Ireland*, and soon dieth. 388.

Bordesly Abby, founded by *Maud* the Empress. 58.

Boston, a Monk of *Berry*, writ a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church. 167.

Bow Church, and the Chyme there, by whom made. 424.

Bows and Arrows first in use in *England*, in the Conquerours time. 27.

Bowly Abby in the *New-Forrest*, founded by King *John*. 73.

Boxeley Abbey in *Kent*, by whom founded. 50.

Henry *Eraston* who writ a Book of the Law, and when he lived. 91.

John *Bradford* burnt for Religion. 321.

The Index.

Henry Bradshaw, writ the Life of St. Werborough, and also a certain Chronicle. 299.

Thomas Bradwardyn, Archbishop of Canterbury, called Doctor Profundus. 133.

The Brake, a Rack in the Tower called the Duke of Exeter's Daughter. 206.

Sir William Brandon, King Henry the Seventh's Standard-Bearer, slain. 233.

His Son Charles Brandon, is made first Viscount Lisle, and then Duke of Suffolk. 261. Is sent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of France, and by the way marries her. 263. He dyeth. 293. Look Suffolk. His three Daughters, how married. 311.

Brass, a rich Vein of it found in Cumberland, and when. 399.

Braybrook, Bishop of London, made Lord Chancellor. 140.

Brazen-Nose Colledge in Oxford, by whom founded. 250. Endowed by Alexander Nowel Dean of Pauls. 398.

Sir Nicholas Brember plots the murder of several Lords. 142.

Breakspear, a Bondman of St. Albans, comes to be Pope. 58. Is choaked with a Flie in his Drink. *ibid.*

Sir Robert Brent made a Viscount by King Henry the Fifth. 173.

Sir William Brereton takes Eccleshall Town and Castle for the Parliament. 553. Westchefer. 545. He and Colonel Morgan rout the Lord Ashley at Stow on the Wold. *ibid.*

Breton a Lawyer, and when he lived. 103.

Bribes of what force, even with great ones. 214.

Bridewell, built out of the Ruines of the Kings house there. 29. By whom given for riotous and idle persons. 312.

Brideton Manner in Dorsetshire, given by King Henry the First to redeem some other Lands given by his Father. 29.

London Bridge finished of Stone, when and by whom. 74.

Begun of Stone by King Henry the Second, and by whom else. 58.

Stone-Bridges the first that were made in England, which. 42.

The Tower at the Draw-Bridge in London, when and by whom built. 199.

Master Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, saves the Life of the Lady Elizabeth, and how. 320. Is created Baron Chandos of Sudley. 321.

Bridgewater besieged by Fairfax. 543. Surrendered by Col. Windham. *ibid.*

Bristol: The Schoole there, by whom founded. 325. The Castle and Priory of St. James there, by whom founded. 42. The Cathedral Church there, founded by King Henry the Second. 58. The Monastery of St. Augustine there, by whom founded. *ibid.*

Bristol delivered up to Prince Rupert. 526. Besieged by Fairfax and Cromwell. 543. Taken by storm. *ibid.*

The Earl of Bristol's Answer to Secretary Conway's Letter. 436. He petitioneth the House of Lords about his Liberty. *ibid.* His Petition incenseth the King. *ibid.* A Charge brought against him by the Attorney General. *ibid.* His Narration touching the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham towards him. 437. His Articles against the Duke. *ibid.* His Articles against the Lord Conway. 458. His Answer to his Charge. 459. He labours to bring about an Accommodation between the King and Parliament. 535.

Britain, Why England anciently so called. 2.

Britain in France, why so called. *ibid.*

The style of Great Britain when first ordained. 420.

Britains Burse in the Strand, when and by whom built. 413.

Broad Seal, that is now used by our Kings, was first used by King Edward the Confessor. 19.

Sir Pecksal Brocas censured for Adultery. 416.

John Bromley of Bromley, his valiant Act. 170.

Sir Thomas Bromley, the Queens Solicitor, made Lord Chancellor. 357.

George Brooke beheaded. 407.

The Lord Brooke besieging Lichfield-Close is shot into

the Eye and slain. 524.

Thomas of Brotherton, a Son of King Edward the First. 102.

Robert Brown, Author of the Brownists, and what his Doctrine was. 398.

Sir Anthony Brown, is created Viscount Montacute. 321. He dieth, and how he came to that honour. 382.

Woolstan Brown made Knight by the King of Spain, hath a Canton of Granado given him for augmentation of his Arms. 255.

Col. Brown, garrisons Abington against the King. 538.

Sir John Brown, defeated by M. Gen. Lambert. 605.

Sir Richard Brown, the Kings Resident at Paris, Knighted at St. Germans. 598. One of the Clerks of his Majesties Privy Council. 713.

Robert Bruce attempts for the Crown of Scotland. 97. Enters England with an Army, but through Treachery escapes. 116.

David Bruce, Prince of Scotland, not seven years old, marries Jone, King Edward the Thirds Sister, not so old. *ibid.*

Bruce King of Scotland enters England. 107. His Brother is Crowned King of Ireland, but in a Battel is taken and his head cut off. 108.

Bruce refuseth to accept the Crown of Scotland, upon condition to do homage to King Edward. 96.

Brant Island, and Inchegarvey Castle, taken by Cromwell's Forces. 605.

Bruce's story fabulous. 1.

Buchanan, his Dialogue de Jure Regni apud Scotos. 339. He seeks to prove, that the People have power both to create and to depose their King. *ibid.* his Book prohibited. 365.

Sir Thomas Sackville is created Baron of Buckhurst. 340.

Is sent into France to congratulate the Kings Marriage. 346.

Is sent into Flanders to examine the Earl of Leicester's doings there, but through Leicester's greatness, at his return is confined. 375. Is charged with being the cause of the dearth of Corn, but cleareth himself. 391. He dieth suddenly, and the manner, and his Commendation. 412.

Is made Earl of Dorset. 428.

The Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Hastings, seize upon the Lord Rivers in his Inn, and commit him to Custody. 220. He accuseth him to the King, whom the King excuseth, and at the Dukes hard dealing weeps. 221.

He extenuates the privilege of Sanctuaries. 221. He joins with the Duke of Gloucester to take away the two Princes lives. *ibid.* He propounds at Guild-Hall the Duke of Gloucester to be King and how he was heard. 224.

He brings the Citizens to Baynards Castle, to persuade the Duke of Gloucester to take upon him the Crown. 225.

Contention begins between him and the Duke of Gloucester. 228. He plots with Morton, Bishop of Ely, against King Richard. *ibid.* He never consented to the Murder of the two young Princes. He plots with Bishop Morton to bring the Earl of Richmond to the Crown. 229.

He refuseth to come to King Richard, as an inhumane Butcher; He raiseth Forces, but forsaken of all, flieth to the house of one Bannister, by whom betrayed, he is beheaded. 230.

Edward Bohun, Duke of Buckingham, and the last High Constable of England, upon Woolsey's accusation beheaded. 267.

The Duke of Buckingham impeached by the House of Commons. 437. Chosen Chancellor of Cambridge. 482. His Expedition to the Isle of Rhe. 438. Which proves unsuccessful. 440.

He undertakes another Expedition to the Relief of Rochel. *ibid.* He is stabbed to death by John Felton. 442.

George Bullen, Lord Rochford, writ divers Songs and Sonnets. 300.

Sir Thomas Bullen is created Viscount Rochford: Look Anne Bullen.

Sir Edward Bulmer repels the Scots. 260.

Boloin won by Henry the Eighth. 292. Restored to the French upon paying to King Henry eight hundred thousand Crowns. 293.

To be delivered to the French upon paying four hundred thousand Crowns to King Edward the sixth. 308.

Peter Burchet, his frantick Opinion and Fact. 351.

Nicholas Brungey wrote a History called *Admirations Chroniconum*. 201.

The Countess of Buguban strangely punished. 98.

Thomas Burdet of Arrow in Warwickshire, for halty speech

The Index.

speech beheaded at *Tyburn*, and what the speech was. 215.

Hugh Burgh valiantly defends *Dover Castle* for King *John*. 72. His great Loyalty to King *John*. 75. Questioned by *Henry* the Third, and his goods seized. 79.

Burgundy, the Duke treacherously murdered by the Dauphin of *France*. 174.

Burleigh, see *Cecil*.

Walter Burley School-Master to the black Prince. 133.

Captain *Burley* executed, and why. 558.

Burning and Execution for Religion, when first put in practice. 164.

Burials within the Walls of Cities, first permitted by *Kutbred* King of the West Saxons. 6.

A place of Burial without *Bishopsgate*, by whom made. 398.

Sir *John Busbie*, Speaker of the Parliament, chargeth the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with Treason, who is not suffered to answer. 148. He attributes to the Kings Titles of Honour, fitter for God, than for any earthly Prince. *ibid*.

Butchers, their meat to be sold by weight. 295.

James Butler of *Ireland*, made Earl of *Ormond*, and when. 116.

Buildings in the Suburbs of *London* forbidden, and Inmates restrained. 396.

Forefronts to be of Brick or Stone. 421.

Bibles and Books of Common-Prayer torn in pieces by Rebels. 343.

Births monstrous and unnatural. 312. also 425.

Birth-days not fortunate. 22.

Sir *John Biron* removed from his Lieutenantancy of the Tower, and Sir *F. Coniers* put in his room. 531. He takes *Worcester* for the King. 521.

C

C

Jack Cade, who he was, and what his purpose, 190. He is called Captain *Mend-all*, and marcheth with an Army to *Black-Heath*, *ibid*. His complaints of Grievances to the Parliament, *ibid*. He comes to *London*, commands Armour and Money, and is obeyed, 191. He cuts off the Lord *Sayes* head, *ibid*. At last flying, is taken at *Hothfield* in *Sussex*, and making resistance is slain. 192.

Cadwan succeedeth *Careticus* in the Kingdom, 4.

Cadwallo succeedeth his Father *Cadwan*, *ibid*. His Image placed upon *Ludgate*, for a terrour to the Saxons, *ibid*.

Cadwallader succeedeth *Cadwallo* in the Kingdom, and by reason of a Famine flieth into *France*, *ibid*. Purposing to return into *England*, is forbidden by an Angel, goes to *Rome*, and there dies a Monk, *ibid*. Foretells Prophetically, that some hundred years after his Offspring should reign in *England* again, which was accomplished in King *Henry* the Seventh, 236.

Caerlegion, the ancient name of *West-Chester*, 6.

Caermarden informeth Queen *Elizabeth*, how much she was deceived in her Customs, 379.

Julius Caesar invading *England*, is resisted by *Cassibelan*, 2.

Callice surrendered to King *Edward* the Third, how, and when. 122. Hath all its Natives turned out, and is supplied with a Colony of *English*, *ibid*. Attempted to be betrayed, but with ill success, *ibid*. Fourteen hundred Towns and three thousand Villages offered for it, 127. The only place left to the *English* in *France*, 192. So much longed for by the *French*, that a *French* Lord wished it were in their possession again, upon condition that he lay seven Years in Hell, 240. Assaulted by the *French*, is by Coopers and other Artificers defended, 258. Is won by the *French*, after it had been above two hundred years in possession of the *English*, 324. Is won from the *French* by *Albertus* Duke of *Austria*, and Cardinal, 385.

Callibourn, the name of King *Arthur*'s Sword. 4.

John Calthorp, his Work of Piety, 313.

Bernard Calvert of *Andover*, his Journey from *S. George's*

Church in *Southwark* to *Callice* in *France*, and back again in one day. 418.

Camden, the Hospital there by whom founded, 424.

William Cambden, his Work of Piety, 423. His Commendation, 426.

Cambria, the ancient name of *Wales*, so called of *Camber*, the third Son of *Brute*, 2.

Cambridge in great part burnt, 101. The Library there by whom erected, 325.

Cambridgeshire is taken from the Diocess of *Lincoln*, and appointed to *Ely*, 41.

Richard Earl of *Cambridge*, who, and why put to death, 170.

Campion the Jesuite comes into *England*, his Education and Books, 358. Is arraigned and Executed, 361.

The Camp of Cloth of Gold, what so called, 266.

Campeius Cardinal comes to *London*, and the base carriages he brought to make a shew, 263. Commissioner for the Pope to hear and determine the cause of Divorce between King *Henry* and Queen *Katherine*, 276. He adjourns the Court, 277. Is made Bishop of *Salisbury*, *ibid*.

Canonizing a Prince costs more than to canonize a private person, 200.

Canons and Constitutions voted down. 476.

Canterbury given by King *Ethelbert* to *Austin* the Monk, 5. Holy Reliques brought thither, *ibid*. The Archbishops style is decreed to be *Primas totius Angliæ*, and he of *Tork* to be *Primas Angliæ*, 28. He consecrates all the Bishops of *Ireland*, 35. Contention between him and the Archbishop of *Tork*, 41. Hath the Constablenesship of *Rochester Castle*, 41. Challengeth the Crowning of the King to belong to his See, 43. Hath Jurisdiction over *Tork*, 57. The Town almost all burnt, 58. The Monastery of *Black-Ervers* there by whom founded, 89. In a great part, and the Church of Saint *Mildred* there, burnt, 90. The West-Gate of the Town, by whom built, 154. The Alms-houses there, by whom built, 399. The Archbishop decrees, That the Scriptures ought not to be Translated into the *English* Tongue, and Gods Judgment upon him for it, 177. The Archbishop banished the Realm, 149.

Canterbury Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 130.

Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s House at *Lambeth* beset by Apprentices, 471. He is committed to the Black-Rod, 476. See *Laud*.

Canutus the Dane prospers in *England*, 15. After the death of *Edmond Ironside*, becometh sole King of *England*, and the means he useth to establish himself in it. *ibid*. He confuteth his flatterers, by not being obeyed of the Sea, 16. He renounceth the wearing of his Crown, but Crowneth with it the Picture of Christ. *ibid*. His Death, and where buried, and of his bones removed. *ibid*.

Caen in *Normandy* taken, 172.

King *Henry*'s liberal dealing with the Citizens thereof, 173.

Sir *William Capell*, Mayor of *London*, his Work of Piety, 250.

Fined, and for what, 248.

Lord *Capell* Tried before a High Court of Justice, 589. His Speech at his Death, 590.

John Capgrave writ the Legend of the *English* Saints, 201.

A Cap of Maintenance sent by the Pope to King *Henry* the Eighth, 262.

Cardinals, their Red Hats, when, and why first ordained, 89.

Caraticus succeeding *Vortiphorus* in the Kingdom, is beaten by the Saxons, and flying into *Wales*, there dyeth, 4.

Sir *Nicholas Carew* of *Beddington* in *Surrey* beheaded, for seeking to advance *Reginald Poole* to the Crown, 286.

Sir *Alexander Carew* beheaded for his Loyalty, 538.

Carlisle, the City and Castle repaired by King *William Rufus*, 36. Made a Bishoprick, 41. Consumed with fire, 102. The Bishops bold Speech in Parliament against King *Henry* the Fourth, 158.

Carlisle and *Berwick* surpriz'd by the Cavaliers, 561. Surrendered to the Parliament, 542.

Carnarvon

The Index.

- Carnarvan Castle by Snowden, by whom built. 101.
- Sir Edward Carne, the last Leiger that ever was sent to the Pope from the Kings of England. 333.
- Carps and Turkies when first brought into England. 298.
- Alexander Carpenter writ a Book, called *Destructionum Vitorum*, against the Prelates of that time. 200.
- Sir Robert Carr his first coming in favour with King James. 414. Made Earl of Somerset, marries the Lady Katherine Howard, divorced from the Earl of Essex *ibid.* Robert and his Lady arraigned and condemned, but their Lives spared. *ibid.*
- Sir Robert Cary carries the first news of Queen Elizabeth's Death to King James, and how rewarded. 404.
- Sir Henry Cary is made Baron of Housdon. 329.
- Sir Alexander Cary beheaded. 538.
- Mr. Cary and others sent Commissioners to General Monk from the Independant Churches. 668.
- Cassibelan King of the Trinovants. 2.
- Castles, four erected by the Conquerour, and where, 24. Allowed the Nobility to build. 47. Allowed by King Stephen, demolished by King Henry. 52.
- The Earl of Castile-Haven arraigned for Rape and Sodomy. 450.
- The Earl of Castles his Speech to the King at Breda. 594.
- Catesby a Lawyer of Leicestershire, false to the Lord Hastings. 223. Beheaded. 233.
- Robert Catesby, a principal Contriver of the Powder Treason. 410. How slain. *ibid.*
- Catholicks conceive good hope of Kings James his inclination, by reason of his taking some Catholicks to be of his Council. 404.
- Cattigorn the Brother of Vortimer, and Horsa of Hengist, fight hand to hand, and slay each other, and the Monuments erected for them. 3.
- The triumphal Cavalcade of his Majesty through the City of London at his return to England. 712. At his Coronation. 737.
- Cavendish of Suffolk, having failed about the World, returns home with rich spoil. 375. Cast away, and where. 381.
- William Caxton writ a Chronicle called *Fructus Temporum*, and an Appendix to *Trevisa*. 218.
- William Cecil made King Edward the sixth's Secretary. 310. Envied by divers great Lords, is accused to Queen Elizabeth, but she defends him. 342. He and Throgmorton not of one Faction. *ibid.* He is a friend to the Duke of Norfolk, and gives him good counsel, but not followed. 344. Is made Baron of Burghley. 345.
- Sir Robert Cecil his Son is made Secretary of State. 386. The Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer, dieth, and his Commendation. 389.
- Sir Robert Cecil made Baron of Essendon. 406.
- Master of the Ceremonies, who, and when first ordained, and his Fee. 406.
- The Fatal Chair of Scotland brought into England, and placed near Westminster, where it still remains. 97.
- Sir Thomas Chaloner writ five Books of the restoring of the English Common-wealth. 401.
- King of England challengeth the French King. 123.
- Duke of Orleans challengeth King Henry the Fourth. 162.
- John a Chamber a Ring-leader of Rebellion. 239. Taken and hanged. *ibid.*
- Sir Roger Chamberlain and others hanged, yet saved. 188.
- Chancellour refuseth to deliver the Great Seal to the King, as having received it from the Parliament. 80. Required to be chosen by Parliament 81. Also, 84. And granted and sworn to, by the King, and the Prince. 85. Is made by consent of Parliament. 142.
- All Chanteries, Colledges, and Hospitals given by Parliament to King Henry the Eighth. 293. Also to King Edward the sixth. 304.
- Gentlemen of the Kings Chappel, their Fees enlarged. 423.
- The Chappel of our Lady of Peace, why builded. 147.
- Private Characters discovered by Thomas Phillips. 369.
- Charity in King Richard the first, in a high degree. 67.
- Charity rewarded from Heaven. 90.
- Charles King of Castile elected Emperour. 267. He comes into England, and to what purpose. 266. 268. Is lodged at the Black-Fryers. 269. He sends Presents to King Henry the Eighth, and the Queen, and what they were. 272. Takes the French King Prisoner. 273.
- Charles the Eighth King of France, slain with a shot at the Siege of Saint John d' Angelo. 344.
- Charles the French King dieth, and the Duke of Anjou succeedeth. 352.
- Charles, King James younger Son, is created Duke of York, and the solemn Rites of it. 409. Created Prince of Wales. 417.
- Charles Prince of Wales goes into Spain, about marriage there. 419. His entertainment there. *ibid.* His return into England. *ibid.* His Treaty of Marriage with the Lady Mary Daughter to the King of France. *ibid.* To whom married. 431.
- He is afterwards King of Great Britain, by the name of Charles the first. See his Story throughout. 431. He is Proclaimed. *ibid.* Sets up his Standard at Nottingham. 520. Disguised leaves Oxford. 546. Comes to the Scots Camp before Newark. *ibid.* Carried to Newcastle. 547. Brought to Hampton-Court. 551. Brought to the Isle of Wight. 555. In close restraint 548. His Declaration. 558. 579. Private practices against his life. 555. and 565. Removed from Hurst Castle to Saint James's. 565. Murdered most barbarously. 580. His Character. 582.
- Prince Charles (afterwards King Charles the Second) his Birth 448. A Regiment to be raised for his Guard, under the Command of the Earl of Cumberland. 544. He embarks for the Isle of Scilly after the Fight of Torrington. 545. A part of the Navy revolt to him. 561.
- King Charles the Second. See his story throughout. 587. His wonderful escape from Worcester Fight. 608. His miraculous preservation, and the manner of it. 609. Arrives safely in France. 610. Removes from France. 622. He with his Brothers takes Shipping for England. 711. Lands at Dover, *ibid.* Comes to the Parliament. 713.
- Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta, confirmed by King Henry the third. 88. But again revoked. 79. Again confirmed. 80. King Edward the first, confirmeth the Great Charter, and promiseth never to charge his Subjects, but by consent of Parliament. 99.
- Magna Charta confirmed by King Edward the third. 128. Confirmed by King Henry the third in most solemn manner. 83.
- Charter-house by Smithfield, by whom builded. 130.
- Chartley-Castle, by whom built. 89.
- Chastity, in Thomas Archbishop of York. 41. In a high degree in the Nuns of Coldingham. 8. Also in Cuthburg. 7. Also in Ethelbald. *ibid.*
- Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, our English Homer, and when he lived. 134. He married the Daughter of John of Gaunt. 132. Where he died, and where buried. 167.
- A Cheat of one Daniel to the Countess of Essex, and how punished. 394.
- Cheapside, a Justing holden there, where the Stage, on which the Queen sat, fell down, but no hurt. 131.
- A Colledge built at Chelsey. 424.
- The Lord Chandos, Baron of Sudeley, from whom descended. 14.
- Chepstow in Monmouthshire taken by Collonel Morgan. 563.
- Sir William Chester, Alderman, his Work of Piety. 313.
- The Earldom of Chester, given by the Conquerour to Hugh Lupus, by vertue whereof he made four Barons. 24.
- Chester Abby built by Hugh Earl of Chester. 36. Erected into a Principality by King Richard. 149.
- Chester. See West-Chester.
- Duke of Chevereux King Charles Proxy in espousing the King of France his Daughter. 431.
- Henry Cheyne made a Baron. 348.
- Sir Thomas Cheyne, his pulse beat after he was dead. 399.
- Richard Chichester, a Monk of Westminster, writ an excellent Chronicle, from the year 449. to the year 1348, 137.
- The Town burnt by the Saxons by a wile. 4. Founded by

The Index.

by Cissa King of *Sussex* and *Surry*. 5. Burnt down to the ground. 43. All burnt. 58.

Robert Chicheley Mayor of *London*, his Works of Piety. 178.

Alwyn Childe, a Citizen of *London*, founder of Saint Saviours at *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*. 29.

Childham Castle, by whom built. 80.

Kings Children drowned. 42.

Children born with Horfes tails, and why. 57.

Christianus King of *Denmark*, the Queens Brother, comes into *England*, and his entertainment. 411. He comes the second time into *England*. 416.

Christianismo, the Title transferred from the King of *France*, upon the King of *England*. 262.

Christs Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded. 250.

Christ-Church Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 297.

Christ-Church in *London*, by whom founded. *ibid*.

Christ's Hospital by whom given for relief of poor Children. 312. Singing School there, by whom given. 424.

The Library there, by whom erected. 165.

Christ counterfeit, and punished. 89.

Christ's seemless Coat, and a part of *Aaron*'s Rod, brought to *Canterbury*. 5.

Christ's Church within *Aldgate*, founded by *Maud* Wife of King *Henry* the first. 42.

Sir George Chudleighs declaration for the King. 525.

The Church service changed, from the use of *Pauls* to the use of *Salisbury*. 177.

The strict Discipline of the Church. *ibid*.

Ordinances of the Church not to be questioned. 422.

Church Lands first freed from Tribute. 8.

King *Henry* the Eighth, first called Supreme Head of the Church. 280. Confirmed to Queen *Elizabeth*. 330.

Cecily, the Sister of *Erick* King of *Sweden*, comes into *England*, to see Queen *Eliz.* for the great fame she had heard of her wisdom. 337.

Cinque-Ports, Lord Warden there first ordained by the Conquerour. 27.

Cicester Abby founded by King *Henry* the first. 41.

Cirencester taken for the King by Prince *Rupert*. 524. Retaken by *Essex*. 528.

The *Cistercian* Order, founded by *Stephen Harding*, a *Benedictine* Monk. 45.

Richard de Clare Earl of *Gloucester*, his valorous act. 91.

Clarence what Dukedom it was. 132.

The Duke of *Clarence* marries *Isabel* the Earl of *Warwick*'s Daughter. 206. He falls off from the Earl of *Warwick*. 210. Is fully reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*. *ibid*. Drowned in a Butt of *Malmesey*. 215.

The Duke of *Clarence* King *Henry*'s Brother, after many Victories, is by Treachery drawn into an Ambush, and with many other Lords slain. 203.

Clarencieux King at Arms, why so called. 132.

Clare-hall in *Cambridge* new built. 570.

Mr. *Thomas Clarges* made choice of to be sent into *Scotland*, to acquaint Gen. *Monk* with *Richard Cromwel*'s Advancement. 636. He returns from *Scotland* to the Protector. *ibid*. He takes care for the transportation of Mr. *Monk* into *Scotland* to his Brother the General. 651. He and Colonel *Talbot* sent by the Grandees of the Army into *Scotland*, to solicit Gen. *Monk* to a Treaty. 663. They are well receiv'd at *Edenburgh* by the General. 665. The General discovers to him some glimmering of his intentions. *ibid*. He is sent to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and others, to engage them to side with Gen. *Monk*. 668. He excuses Major Gen. *Morgan* to *Lambert*. 669. His Conference with Mr. *Bowles*. *ibid*. His negotiation retarded by a mischance that befell them. *ibid*. He deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to abet *Monk*'s Designs against *Lambert*. 670. He gives Gen. *Monk* an account how Affairs stood at *London*. 679. He gives his advice touching the Regiments quarter'd in *London*. *ibid*. He counsels the General to endeavour the speedy regaining of the Cities good opinion. 685. He is sent into the City to acquaint the Lord Mayor with the General's intentions. 686. He finding the Lord Mayor distrustful, applies himself to Alderman *Robinson*. *ibid*. He is appointed, with some others, to Treat with the Secluded Members. 688. He is made Commissary General of the Musters. 692. His Conference with a Nobleman concerning the Sitting of the Lords House. *ib*.

He acquaints the Council of State with some designs of the Common-wealth Faction. 693. His Answer to *Okey*'s Speech at the Council of Officers. 694. The Conference between him and the *French* Ambassadour. 695. He draws up an Engagement to be subscribed by the Officers. 697. Is appointed by Gen. *Monk* to wait upon the King with the Armies Address. 706. The Generals instructions to him when he took his Journey. 707. Arrives at *Breda*, and is graciously received by his Majesty. 709. Is Knighted by his Majesty. *ibid*. Presents himself to the two Dukes, the Princess Royal, and others of the most eminent of the Court. *ibid*. He returns with intimation of his Majesties Resolution. 710.

Saint *Clement* Dances in *London*, why so called. 17.

Clergy-Men, not subject to temporal Magistrates. 50. Subject. 55. But whether Subject or not Subject, was the contention between King *Henry* and *Thomas Becket*. *ib*. Not fit to meddle in secular matters. *ib*. The Clergy curbed by King *Edward* the first. 95. Excluded from sitting in Parliament. *ibid*. Put out of the Kings Protection. 100. None to have any more than one Benefice with cure of Souls 101. All the great Offices of the Kingdom in King *Edward* the thirds time in their hands. 129. No Clergy-Man to possess Lands, or Houses without the Kings License, and the chief Lords 154. Being convict of Murther or Theft, to be punished as Lay-men. 249. The whole Clergy found in a Premunire, purchaseth their Pardon for a thousand Pounds. 280. Allowed to marry. 312. Married, are put from their Benefices by Q. *Mary*. 316. The Clergy complained against by the Parliament in many points. 277.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Claypole*, *Cromwel*'s second Daughter, her Death. 634. Her Charity. *ibid*.

Sir John Clifford by a device takes *Ponthois*. 186.

Sir Nicholas Clifford, and *Sir Anthony Shirley* made Knights of the Order of Saint *Michael* in *France*, and coming home, are committed to prison, and made to resign their Order. 386.

Sir Conyers Clifford slain in *Ireland*. 389. Look *Cumberland*.

Cloath-workers, King *James* made Free of that Company. 412.

Colonel *Clobery*, one of the three Commissioners appointed by General *Monk* to Treat with *Lambert*. 667. He and Col. *Lydcot* sent with a Letter from Gen. *Monk* to the Long Parliament. 686. He and Col. *Bridges* sharply upbraided *Scot* and *Robinson*. *ibid*.

Hugh Clopton, Mayor of *London*, his Works of Piety. 250. *Clun*, in *Shropshire*, the Alms-houses there, by whom founded. 424.

Sea-Coals forbidden to be burnt in *London* and the Subburbs, and why. 101.

Col. *Cobbet*, *Ashfield*, and *Duckenfield*, attend upon the *Funto* with the Armys Petition. 655. He is detained at *Berwick*, and sent to *Edenburgh* Castle by the Generals order. 665. He and *Lambert* taken Prisoners at *Darenty*, and sent to the Tower. 699.

Cobham Colledge in *Kent* founded by *Sir John Cobham*. 131.

The Lord *Cobham* and others arraigned and condemned. 406.

In him ended the noble Family of the *Brooks*. *ibid*. Is set at liberty, but lived and died in great penury. 407.

Captain *Cobler* a Monk, ring-leader of the Rebels in *Lincolnshire*. 285.

A strange Cock coming out of the Sea. 199.

Coggeshall in *Essex*, the Abby there founded by King *Stephen*. 50.

Colchester Abby of St. *Johns*, by whom founded. 42.

Colchester besieged by *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, and taken. 551.

Coldingham, the Nuns there, to avoid ravishing, deform their Faces, with cutting off their upper Lips. 8.

John Colet Dean of *Pauls*, founded the Free-School there. 299.

Colledges to have their rent paid, part in Corn, when first ordained. 396.

The Coller of Gold wore by the Mayor of *London*, by whom given. 297.

Collingborn, for making a Libel against King *Richard* the third, hanged and quartered. 231.

Commission of Array. See Array.

High Commission Court. See Court.

Commissioners appointed to manage the State during the Minority of King *Richard*. 2. 137.

Com-

The Index.

Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for a Treaty. 524. The Kings Directions to his Commissioners at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. 539. Their Offers concerning Religion, the Militia, and *Ireland*. *ibid*.

Commissioners sent with Propositions to the King at *Newcastle*. 547. At the *Isle of Wight*. 556.

The *Scots* Commissioners require that the King may be admitted to a personal Treaty. 589. They are call'd in question by the *English* Junto. *ibid*. Commissioners sent to treat with the King at *Breda*. 645.

A Commission from the King at *Brussels* to several Persons that acted for him in *England*. 640.

All Commissions to the Officers of the Army, ordered to be signed and given by the Speaker. 647. Commissioners appointed for the Government of *Ireland*. 649. The Kings Commissioners endeavour to raise the Country for him. *ibid*. The Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and others voted void. 660. Commissioners appointed for the Government of the Army by an Act of the Junto. *ibid*. Commissioners appointed by the General to Treat with *Lambert*. 677. Commissioners sent from the Independent Churches to *Monk*. 670. Commissioners from the several Shires and Boroughs of *Scotland*, wait upon Gen. *Monk* at *Berwick*. 674. Seven Commissioners appointed by the Junto for the Management of the Army. 676. Commissioners from the City of *London*, meet General *Monk* at *Harborow*. 681. Commissioners sent from the City of *London*, to wait upon his Majesty at *Breda*. 707. From both Houses of Parliament. *ibid*. They have audience of his Majesty at the *Hague*. 710.

A Committee of Safety appointed for the Government of the Nation. 662.

A Committee of Estates conven'd in *Scotland*. 717.

The Committee of *Derby-House* new impowered, 558.

New Commotions in *Scotland*. 458, &c.

The Common-wealth Faction desire the General rather to take the Government upon himself, than bring in the King, 693. They Treat with him about it. *ibid*. The General refuseth the offer. *ibid*. *Clarges* gives intimation of their proceedings to the Council of State. *ibid*.

Henry Compton made a Baron. 348.

The Prince of *Conde* taken Prisoner by the Duke of *Guise*. 334.

The great Conduit in *Cheap*, when begun to be built. 101.

The Conduit in *Fleetstreet*, when and by whom built. 199.

The great Conduit in *Cheapside*, when and by whom built. *ibid*. and 250.

The Conduit in *Gracestreet*, when and by whom built. *ibid*.

The Conduit in *Bishopsgate*, by whom built. *ibid*.

The Conduit at *Walbrook*, when and by whom built. 398.

The Conduit in *Cornhill*, when begun to be built. 165.

Confession Auricular, and Transubstantiation, when first ordained. 73.

Confirmation in ancient times, never used but by Bishops. 421.

Sir *J. Conyers* made Lieutenant of the Tower in the room of Sir *John Byron*. 531.

Conscience, a guilty Conscience, how it frights it self. 365.

Conspiracy against *Henry* the fourth. 159. 160. 161. But defeated. 162.

Sir *Robert Constable*, hanged in Chains at *Hull*, and why. 285.

The High Constable of *England*, of what great Authority. 267.

The Emperour died at *Tork*. 3.

Constantine the Great, first saluted Emperour at *Tork*. *ibid*.

Constantine King *Arthurs* Cousin, succeedeth him in the Kingdom. 4.

Constantinople, when won by the *Turks*: 199.

Controversie about the Sabbath. 568.

Convocation of Bishops to consult about Church Affairs. 459.

They Grant the King a Benevolence. *ibid*.

Sir *Thomas Cook* of *Giddy-Hall* in *Essex*, how and why fined. 206.

Sir *Anthony Cook* of *Giddy-Hall* dieth, and how his four learned Daughters were married. 354.

Sir *Edward Coke* Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, put from his place. 417. His Commendation. 426.

Mr. *Clement Coke's* Expression in Parliament. 435.

Sir *Edward Coke*, one of those that contend for the Privileges of the Subject against the illegality of the Loans. 470. His death. 482.

Sir *John Cook*, Secretary of State, argues for the King in the business of Supply. 460.

Copenhagen having been long besiged by the *Swede*, is relieved by the *Dutch*. 638.

Sir *Charles Coot*, a Commander against the *Irish* Rebels, 513.

His success in *Ireland*, under the *English* Commonwealth. 622. He reduceth *Connaught* to a compliance with General *Monk's* design. 677. Is created Earl of *Monmouth*. 728.

John Copland taking the King of *Scots* Prisoner, how rewarded. 121.

Copper, a rich Veign found in *Northumberland*, and when. 399.

Anne Corbet a Concubine of King *Henry* the first. 43.

Cor de lyon, the surname of King *Richard* the first, and why. 67.

Corn, when first sold by weight. 101. When it may be transported. 198.

Cornhill, the Ton there converted to a Prison, and by whom. 101.

Cornwall, so called of *Corynaus*, for overcoming the Gyant *Gogmagog*. 2. This and five other Shires adjoyning, made the third Kingdom of the *Saxons*. 3. When first erected into a Dutchy. 128.

Richard Earl of *Cornwall* his great Riches, 85. Crowned King of the *Romans*, but through his violent Exactions driven out. *ibid*. Returns into *England* meanly accompanied. 86. Swareth to assist the Lords. *ibid*.

Coronation, a Solemnity so great, that a Knight was crowded to death. 105. To carry the Crown of *St. Edward*, at a Coronation, the greatest honour can be to a Subject. *ibid*. The manner of King *Richards* Coronation. 61. A Coronation, where King *Henry* the fourth is anointed with a Prophetical Oyl. 156. Coronation Solemnity. 95. King *Richard* the thirds Coronation performed with great Solemnity. 226.

Coronation of King *Charles* the first, the solemn manner of it, 434. &c. Of King *Charles* the second at *Scone* by the Estates of *Scotland*. 603. At *Westminster*. 738. ad finem.

Corpus Christi Feast, when first instituted, and by whom. 113.

Corpus Christi Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded, 250. 297. Endowed by *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 398.

Corinaus, *Brutes* Cousin. 2.

The Lord *Cottington* sent Ambassador from King *Charles* the second, to the King of *Spain*. 610.

The *Scotch* Covenant taken by both Houses. 540.

Coventry, the *Carmelite* Fryeis Church there, by whom founded. 130.

Coventry Lord Keeper dies. 470.

Coverfen ordained by King *William* the Conquerour. 24.

The Council of *Trent*, why and by whom called, 296. Never received in *France*, *ibid*. In a Council at *Constance*, *England* ranked before *Spain*, 177. To a Council holden at *Ariminum* against the *Arrians*, three Bishops were sent out of *England*. 3. The *Lateran* Council holden in King *John's* time, 73.

Common Council of *London* when first ordained, 74.

A Council of State erected by the *English* Commonwealth, 618. A new Council of State nominated by the Long Parliament, 678. A new Council of State after the admission of the Secluded Members, 690. They set forth a Proclamation for preventing disturbances, 696. The Names of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council, 713.

Woodstreet Counter when first made, 325.

Counterfeiters of Money punished by pulling out their Eyes, or cutting off their Privy Members, 41.

Henry Courtney Earl of *Devonshire*, is created Marquess of *Exeter*, 274. is beheaded for seeking to advance Cardinal *Pool* to the Crown, 286.

Courts of Justice ordained by the Conquerour, 26.

The Index.

Suit of Court to mean Lords, when and by whom first brought up, 89. Exchequer and Courts of Justice remove to *Tork*, 97. The Dutchy Court of *Lancaster*, by whom instituted, and why, 164. The Courts of Exchequer, Wards, and Liveries, kept at *Richmond*, 407. Courtessie oftentimes prevaieth more than force, 94.

High Commission Court voted down, 511.

Court of Wards voted down, *ibid.*

A High Court of Justice erected for the Tryal of the King, 565. Of the Lord *Capel*, Duke *Hamilton*, &c. 589.

The abolishing of the Court of Wards and Liveries confirmed by Act of Parliament, 731.

New Coins created, 128.

Coins inhaused, to prevent the carrying them over, 295. made baser to raise money for King *Edward* the sixth, 312. Base Coins called in, *ibid.* New Coins of Gold and Silver, and what they were, 325. Of base Metal called in, 396. New Coins ordained, 421. New Coins and half-pence of Silver when first made, 101. Base moneys coined to serve the King in his Wars, 128. A coin called a Salute, 175. New coins of Gold and Silver ordained, 216. Base coins, and when called in, 295.

Cranmer takes upon him to prove King *Henry's* Marriage unlawful, and is thereupon sent by the King to prove it before the Pope, who having a day of audience was hindered, and by what accident, and after went to the Emperour, and there made it good to *Cornelius Agrippa*, and then returned, 281. Is made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 282. Is sent to the Tower, 317. Upon hope of life he recants, but brought to the Stake he there acknowledgeth his infirmity, and for a punishment thereof he first burns his right hand, 323. His heart remained whole and untouched, when all his body was consumed with fire, *ibid.*

Credulity oftentimes dangerous, 175.

Cremensis a Cardinal coming into England to restrain Priests marriage, is himself found in Bed with a common Harlot, 41.

Cridington in *Devonshire*, anciently the Bishops See, which was afterwards removed to *Exeter*, by *Edward* the Confessor, 11.

De la Cressy Abby, by whom built, 89.

Cripplegate in *London*, the Hospital there by whom founded, 29. Formerly a Prison, re-edified when and by whom, 217.

Elizabeth Croft suborned to counterfeit to be a spirit in a Wall, and her punishment, 321.

The Lord *Croft* Embassadour for his Majesty at the Court of the King of *Poland*, 607. The Lord *Wentworth* and Duke *Hamilton's* Letters to him a little before the Fight at *Worcester*, 606. He takes his place as a Baron of the Realm in the House of Peers, 712.

Sir *James Cromer*, high Sheriff of *Kent*, his head chopp'd off by *Jack Cade*, 191.

Cromwell defendeth *Woolsey* in the Parliament, 277.

Thomas Cromwell, made Master of the Jewel-house, 282. Is made Lord *Cromwell*, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Master of the Rolls, 283. And Vicar-general over the Spirituality, 284. Is made Earl of *Essex*, 287. Is committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Is beheaded, *ibid.* His Parentage, Education, and Rising, *ibid.*

Colonel *Oliver Cromwell* made Governour of the Isle of *Ely* for the Parliament, 527. He routs the Kings Forces at *Ipsley-Bridge*, and takes *Blechingdon*, 541. He routs the Club-men, 556. He takes the *Devises*, *Winchester*, and *Basing-House*, 544. He takes *Pembroke-Castle* by surrender, 560. Defeats Duke *Hamilton's* Army, 562. Enters *Scotland*, *ibid.* Is sent with an Army to subdue *Ireland*, 592. Takes *Tredagh* by storm, *ibid.* Returns out of *Ireland*, is made General of the Parliaments Forces in the room of *Fairfax*, 600. He marcheth again into *Scotland* with an Army, *ibid.* He vanquisheth the Scots at *Dunbar*, 601. Takes *Edinburgh Castle*, 603. He dissolves the Long Parliament, and takes upon himself the Government, with the Title of Lord Protector, 620. Falls sick and dyes, 634. 635. His descent, *ibid.*

Richard Cromwell, eldest Son of *Oliver*, installed Chancellour of *Oxford*, 630. He is proclaimed Lord Protector of the Three Nations, 636. Congratulated by Addresses from all parts of the Nation, *ibid.* From

every Regiment of the Army, *ibid.* He endeavours to new Model his Council, 639. The Army grow jealous and censorious of him, *ibid.* He is perswaded by *Desborough* to resign the Command of the Army to *Fleetwood*, *ibid.* Refuseth, *ibid.* Calls a Parliament, *ibid.* He is forced by *Desborough* to sign a Commission for the Dissolving of his Parliament, 641. The form of his submission to the Common-wealth Power, 647.

Henry Cromwell, second Son of *Oliver*, made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the room of *Fleetwood*, recalled from thence by the Common-wealth Parliament, *ibid.*

Frances Cromwell, the Protectors third Daughter, marries Mr. *Robert Rich*, the Earl of *Warwick's* Grand-child, 630.

Mary Cromwell, the Protectors youngest Daughter, married to the Lord *Falconbridge*, *ibid.*

King *Henry* the third undertakes the Cross, 83. So do divers Lords, 153. The like doth King *Henry* the fourth, 164.

St. Cross Hospital near *Winchester*, by whom founded, 42.

The Cross taken by many English Lords, 56.

Crosses erected in memory of Queen *Eleanor*, and where 102.

The Cross in Baptism used ever since the Apostles time, 421.

Sir *John Crosby* Knight, his works of Piety, 217.

Crouchback, who and why so called, 90.

Crouchet Fryers, when they first came into England, 113.

Crowland Abby, by whom founded, 7.

Crown Lands resumed, 52, 56.

The Crown once gain'd, takes away all defects, 230. Succession in the Crown appointed by King *Edward* the sixth, 311.

Cruelty extream by King *Harold* upon Prince *Alfred*, 17.

Henry Cusse a chief Incendiary of the Earl of *Essex* practices, 391. Arraigned of Treason, and his pleading for himself, 394. Is hanged at *Tyburn*, and his description, *ibid.*

Cumberland granted by King *William* the Conquerour to *Malcolme* King of Scots, 24. Held by the King of Scots as his Inheritance, 47. The King of Scots renounceth his claim to it, 116.

Sir *Henry Clifford* created Earl of *Cumberland*, 274. *George* Earl of *Cumberland*, his Voyage to the Indies, 380.

His second Voyage, but with little success, 389. *Cumbraberg* Abby founded by *Sigebert* King of the East-Angles, 7.

Cumbermere Abby in *Cheshire*, by whom founded, 42.

Robert Curteis the Conquerours eldest Son, why so called, 29.

A Custom in *Scotland* that the Lord should lie the first night with the Bride, abrogated, and by whom, 33.

Customs of Merchandizes in England, raised from 13 thousand pounds a year, to two and forty thousand pounds, by Queen *Elizabeth*, 380. Both outward and inward raised by King *James*, 420.

Cutburga Wife of King *Osred*, out of a loathing weariness of marriage, fues a Divorce, and becomes a Nun, 7.

Cyprus conquered by King *Richard* the first, who puts the King of it in bands of Silver, 63.

D

D

THE Lord *Dacres* of the North arraigned of High Treason, but acquitted, 283. Lord *Dacres* hanged at *Tyburn*, and why, 288.

Leonard Dacre rebels, and is put to flight, 343.

Dagger added to the City of *London* Arms, 140.

Danbury in *Essex*, where the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Fryer, and what hurt he did, 165.

Thomas Dando writ the Life of *Alfred*, King of the West-Saxons, 201.

The

The Index.

The Danes begin to infest England, 8. They demolish divers Monasteries, *ibid.* They infest England a second time, 13. At Canterbury they Massacre 43 thousand, *ibid.* Swain the Dane becometh absolute Lord of England, *ibid.* The Danes with their King Canutus once again driven out of England, 14. He returns again, and prospers, *ibid.*

Canutus possessed of the whole Kingdom, 15. Marries Q. Emma, 16. Makes good Laws, *ibid.* Takes a Journey to Rome, *ibid.* Builds divers Monasteries, *ibid.* How he convinces his Flatterers, *ibid.*

Danegilt being forty thousand pounds a year, remitted by King Edward the Confessor, 18. Released by King Henry the first, 38.

Edmond Earl of Darby dieth, famous for his skill in Surgery and bone-setting, 350.

Dartford Nunnery in Kent, by whom founded, 130.

The Lord Darby, Son to Matthew Earl of Lenox, gets leave of Queen Elizabeth to go into Scotland, 336. The Queen of Scots falls in love with him, *ibid.* Is made Duke of Rothsay, *ibid.* Marries the Queen of Scots, *ibid.* He murders David Rixie the Queens Favourite, 338. Is strangled in his bed, *ibid.*

Dartmouth taken by General Fairfax, 545.

Dauphin of France, whence and when first so named, 123. Sends to King Henry the Fifth a tun of Tennis-Balls, and King Henry's answer, 170. Dieth with grief, 171. The new Dauphin differs with the Duke of Burgundy, which was for King Henry's advantage, 173. Banished the Realm of France, 175. Crowned King at Poytiers, 180. Reconciled to the next Dauphin, 186. Dauphin of France marries Mary Stewart heir of Scotland, 324.

David King of Scots doth homage to King Henry for the County of Huntingdon, 53.

David Prince Leolin's Brother, beheaded and quartered, 96.

David King of Scots enters England with an Army, 119. Is taken Prisoner, 121.

David King of Scots after eleven years imprisonment is set at liberty, 124.

Saint Davids, anciently called Caerleyn, 3.

John Davies finds out a new way to the East-Indies, 368.

Lady Eleanor Davies her Character, Predictions, and death, 617.

Davison, Secretary, exceeds his Commission about the Queen of Scots, 373. Is convented in the Star-Chamber, his answer, and censure, 374.

Days, some fortunate, and some unfortunate, 238.

304.

General Dean slain, 618.

A strange Death, a great Lord devoured by Mice, though removed from place to place, 29. A Pope choaked with a Fly in his drink, 58. Sudden death of William Ufford Earl of Suffolk, 140.

Many noble personages dye. 383. Strange death of the Earl of Derby, *ibid.*

A Dearth four years together. 66. 67. Another so great that Horses and Dogs were eaten, and continued three years, 117. 199.

Debtors taking Sanctuary, had their persons secured, but their goods were liable, 153.

The Declaration of the Irish Rebels, 508.

The Kings Declaration to the Peers at York, 518.

A Declaration of the Parliament, representing the causes of their fears and jealousies, 520. Brought to Royston to the King by the Earls of Pembroke and Holland, *ibid.* Another Declaration published by the Parliament, 525. Answered by the King, *ibid.*

The Kings general Declaration, 555. The substance of the Kings grand Declaration, 559.

The Parliaments Declaration sent by W. Strickland into Holland, 536. The Declaration of the Commonwealth Parliament for the justifying of their proceedings, 588. Of the Army, to invite the Remnant of the Long Parliament to sit again, 643. The Declaration of the said Parliament, 644.

The Declaration of Sir George Booth at the time of his Rising, 649. The substance of the Committee of Safety's Declaration, 662. The Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry about London, 700.

The Kings Declaration from Breda, 702.

Deer, killing them, or Fowl, restrained by Proclamation, 410.

West-Derham in Norfolk, the Monastery there by whom founded, 74.

The Family of the Derham's in Norfolk, *ibid.* Francis Derham charged with familiarity with the Queen, is hanged and dismembred, 288.

Defender of the Faith, Title given to King Henry the Eighth, for writing a Book against Luther, 268.

Degrading from the Order of Knighthood, in what manner done, 204. 205.

Delay in preparations oft hinders great actions, 138.

Delinquents against the Long Parliament made to compound for their Estates, 582.

The King of Denmark his Transactions with the State of England, 621. Warlike actions between him and the King of Sweden, 638.

Dennington Castle attempted by three parties, but in vain, 537. Relieved, 538.

Deptford in Kent, the Abbey of Nuns by whom founded, 130.

The Earl of Derby raiseth Forces for King Charles the Second, 607.

He is routed by Colonel Lilburn, *ibid.*

He is taken Prisoner in the fight at Worcester, 608.

He is Beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire, 612.

Countess of Derby defends Latham-house 18 Weeks, 533.

London Derry, and Colerain in Ireland granted to the City of London, 417.

Colonel Desborough perswades Richard Cromwell to resign the Command of the Army to Fleetwood, 639. Several factious Officers of the Army meet and consult at his House, *ibid.* He forceth Richard to sign a Commission for the dissolving of the Parliament, 641. He and Fleetwood promise him the continuance of his Power, 642. His words to the Juno upon the delivery of the Army's humble Representation and Petition, 657.

Earl of Desmond slain, and by whom, 363.

Despair, the greatest spur to valour, 290.

Destiny hath its way beyond mans reach, 36.

The Family of Devereux, how came to be Earls of Essex, 287. Look Essex.

Walter Devereux, Brother to the Earl of Essex, slain, 380.

The Devises in Wiltshire, by whom built, 42.

The Devises taken by Cromwell, 591.

Devotion in King Edred, 11.

Devotion of Elianor the Conquerours eldest Daughter; her knees were brawned with continual praying, 29.

The Devotion of Queen Mathild, 43.

The Devotion of King Henry the Fifth after a Victory, 170.

Diet appointed to Labourers, but one meal a day, and what meats they should eat, 128.

Sir Everard Digby, a principal Leader in the Duke of Suffolk's Army, 271.

Sir Everard Digby, and the other Conspirators of the Powder Treason, hanged and quartered, 411.

Sir John Digby slain, 543.

The Lord Digby flies beyond Sea, 544. His Letters intercepted, *ibid.*

He and Sir Marmaduke Langdale routed near Sherbourn, by Coply and Lilburn, 544.

Sir Dudley Diggs his Prologue to the Articles against the Duke of Buckingham, 466. He is sent to the Tower, *ibid.* His Apology after his Release, 472.

Sir John Dimmock, for his Mannor of Striveling, claims to be the Kings Champion at his Coronation, 136.

Sir Robert Dimmock, King Richards Champion at his Coronation, 227.

Discipline in War necessary, 170. The strict Discipline of the Church, 177.

Disobedience of Children, though pardoned of Parents, is not so easily pardoned of God, 25.

Dissembling well rewarded, 208. A Dissimulation strangely cloaked, 247.

Distrustfulness the sinew of Wisdom, 347.

Divinity School in Oxford by whom built, 199.

Doleman's Book, seeking to prove Isabella Infant of Spain, to have right to the Crown of England, by what Titles, 383.

The Index.

A Dolphin 10 foot long taken at London-Bridge. 154.
 Dolphins taken in the Thames, 178.
 Dolphins taken at *Quinborough* and at *Black-wall*, 312.
 Saint *Dominick*, Founder of the Fryers Preachers, 66.
 Doctor *Donne*, and his Commendation, 427.
Donnington-Castle, the Hospital there by whom founded, 199.
 Dooms-day Book, why so called 25.
Dorchester given by *Kingile* King of the *West-Saxons* to *Berynus* who convert d him, and made an Episcopal See, 5.
 It is consumed with fire, 423.
 Dr. *Doristans*, an Agent for the *English* Commonwealth, slain by Assassins in *Holland*, 613.
 Sir *Marmaduke Darrel*, his Work of Piety, 424.
 Robert Earl of *Dorset*, his Work of Piety, 423.
 The Synod holden at *Dort*, by whom, and what points it determined, 422.
Dover Castle had a Constable first appointed by *William* the Conquerour, 27.
 The Pories there founded by King *Henry* the Second, 58.
 Robert *Dowes*, Merchant Taylor, his Work of Piety, 424.
 A Dragon, the Warlike Ensign of England, first by *Vier* *Pendragon*, who thereof took his name, 4.
 A Dragon of marvellous bigness, burning houses, 58.
 Captain *Drakes* return from his Voyage about the World, his Parentage and Education, and the passages of his Voyage, 359.
 He is sent with Captain *Carlise* by the Queen to the *West-Indies*, and what they did, 367.
 He is sent once again to molest *Spain*, and what he performed, 375.
 He is sent to *Port Ricco*, and in the Voyage dieth, 384.
 His Personage, 401.
 At *Drayton* in *Shropshire*, a Free-School by whom builded, 313.
 Dreams not always vain, 424. Sometimes presagious, 36, 237.
Drogh.dah. See *Tiedagh*.
 Drought of weather, so extream, that small Rivers were clean dried up, and the River of *Thames* well near also, 298.
 A great Drought, and what the effects were, 400.
 Drunkenness first learnt by the *English*, 360.
William Drury is sent with Forces into *Scotland*, to aid *Morton*, 351.
 Sir *William Drury*, Deputy of *Ireland* dieth, 357.
 Sir *William Drury* slain by Mr. *Boroughs* in single Combat, 379.
Dublin in *Ireland*, a stately Palace built there by King *Henry* the Second, 58.
 An University erected in *Dublin* by Queen *Elizabeth*, 381.
Dublin in danger of surprisal by the *Irish* Rebels, 512. It is besieged by the Marquess of *Ormond*, 592.
Dublin Castle surprized by Captain *Foyer* and Captain *Bond*, being of the Party that adhered to General *Monk*, 677.
Dudley and *Empson*, King *Henry* the Seventh's Agents for taking forfeitures of penal Statutes, 247. He writ a Book entituled, *Arbor Reipublicæ*, 252. Is committed to the Tower, 254. Is arraigned and beheaded, *ibid*.
 His Son Sir *John Dudley* is made Viscount *Lisle*, and by what means, 289. Is arraigned and beheaded, 316. Look *Northumberland*.
 Robert *Dudley*, afterwards Earl of *Leicester*, is arraigned and condemned, 318.
 Is made first Baron of *Denbigh*, and after Earl of *Leicester*, 335.
 Queen *Elizabeth* seeks to match him with the Queen of *Scots*, 336.
 He slays the proceedings, in hope to marry Queen *Elizabeth* her self, *ibid*. Look *Leicester*. His death, 378.
 Of Duels: Of *Canigern* and *Horsa*, 4.
 A Duel between *Edmund Ironside* and *Cannus* the Dane, 15.

A Duel between *Kattrington*, a mighty man of stature, and *Annesley* a little man, yet *Annesley* prevailed, 138.
 A Duel between King *Edward* the Third, and the King of *France*, propounded but not performed, 119.
 King *Edward* fights hand to hand with *Riboumont*, and takes him Prisoner, 123.
 A Duel allowed between *Thomas Mowbrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, but not performed, and why, 149.
 King *Henry* the Fifth fights hand to hand with *Barbason* a *Gascoign*, 175.
 King *Richard* and the Earl of *Richmond* fight hand to hand, 233.
 A Duel between Sir *William Drury* and Mr. *Boroughs*, 379.
 Due's restrained, 421.
 King *Charles* the Second his Proclamations against Duels, 738.
 Dukes, When and by whom first erected 128. A creation of Dukes and Earls, 141. Another creation, 149. Another, 168. 187. 204. 236. 261. 274. 310.
 Dukes made by King *James*, *Lewis Stewart* made Duke of *Richmond*, 429. And *George Villiers* made Duke of *Buckingham*, *ibid*.
Dulwich in *Surrey*, an Hospital there, by whom founded, 423.
Dundee taken by storm, 611.
 Earl of *Dunferling* sent Ambassadour from the King into *Holland*, 607.
Dunkirk besieged by the joint Forces of the *French* and *English*, 633.
 It is surrendered to the *French*, and resigned into the hands of the *English*, 634.
 The *English* Governour thereof submits to the Commonwealth Government, 648.
John Duns, called *Doctor Subtilis*, when he lived, 114.
Duns River swelling to an incredible height, 298.
Dunstable, so called of one *Dun* a famous Robber, 40. The Priory there founded by King *Henry* the first, 43.
John Dynham, an Esquire of *Devonshire*, doth the Duke of *Tork* good service, 196. Is made Lord Treasurer of England, 237.
 The Bishop of *Durham*, *Hugh Pudsey*, buyes the Earldom, 62.
 Ralph Bishop of *Durham* incenseth Duke *Robert* to claim the Crown, 38. 39.

E

E

E *Admerus* a Monk of *Canterbury* writ the History of his own time, under the two *Williams*, and King *Henry* the first, 45.
 Earls created, with what Ceremonies, and first ordained by King *John*, 74.
 An Earthquake that continued 40 days, 43. Another great Earthquake, where and when, 58. One of a strange nature, *ibid*.
 An Earthquake in which the Earth removed, 399.
 Another the like in *Tork* shire, 400. Another the like in *Dorsetshire*, *ibid*.
East-Minster Abby near the Tower, by whom founded, 130.
Eaton-Colledge near *Windsor*, by whom founded, 199.
Edenborough Castle-wall falls down, 469.
Edendon Monastery of *Bonhommes*, by whom founded, 130.
Edgar King of England surnamed the Peaceable, 112. Made a Law to suppress Drunkenness, by sizing of Pots, *ibid*. Though he did many pious Works, yet was very lascivious, *ibid*. His Navy Royal, *ibid*.
Edgar Etheling is made Earl of *Oxford*, 19.
Edgar Etheling his Father, 15.
Edmund the fifteenth King of the *East-Angles*, scourged and shot to death by the *Saxons*, for continuing a Christian, 7.
Edmund Son of *Athelstone* makes the *Danes* receive Baptism, 10. His good Laws, *ibid*. His unfortunate end, *ibid*.
 Edmund

The Index.

Edmund Ironside discomfitteth the Danes. 14. By the treachery of Edrick is overthrown by the Danes. *ibid.* Fights a single Combat with Canutus the Dane, but at last divides the Kingdom with him. 15. Is treacherously slain by Edrick his Brother in Law, as he fate at the draught. *ibid.* Whose Son, and why called Ironside. 14. St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk built by King Canutus. 17. Why so called. 7. 165 houses burnt there. 425.

Edmund Earl of Kent stood four hours upon the Scaffold before any could be got to cut off his Head. 116.

Edmund surnamed Crouchback, the first Ancestor of the House of Lancaster. 90.

King Edreds Devotion. 10.

Edrick the Son in law, and great Favourite of King Ethelred, yet proveth treacherous, and complyeth with the Danes. 13. 14. Is beheaded by King Canutus for treachery, though in his behalf. 15.

Edwin, the Nephew of King Edred, succeeding at 14 years of Age, the very day of his Coronation, shamefully abuseth a Lady of great Estate, in the sight of all his Lords. 11.

Edward, Son of King Alfred, overcomes the Danes and Welsh. 9. Out of his love to his second Son Alfred, hath him Crowned with himself *ibid.*

Edward called the Martyr, and why. 12.

Edward the Confessor succeeds Hardicknute. 18. Permits Danegilt. *ibid.* Reforms the Law. *ibid.* His defects. *ibid.*

Edward, eldest Son of Henry the third, marries Eleanor Sister to the King of Spain. 84. He with his Brother Edmund undertakes the Holy War. 88. Takes his Fathers death heavily. 94. Reciprocal courtesies between him and the French King. *ibid.* Gives content to his Lords upon coming to the Crown. 95. Dyes in Scotland. 98. His Admonitions to his Son. 102.

Edward Plantagenet, Son and Heir to George Duke of Clarence, is by King Henry the seventh shut up in the Tower. 236. For confederating with Perkin in the Tower, is condemned, and on the Tower-hill beheaded: the last Heir Male of the name of Plantagenet, and of his simplicity through strait imprisonment from his youth. 245.

Edward the first, King of England, see his story throughout. 94.

Edward the second, King of England, see his story throughout. 105. Summoned into France. 111. The fear of his Queen made him fly to the Isle of Lundy. *ibid.* Driven thence into Wales. *ibid.* Taken prisoner, deposed, inhumanely used, 112. And murdered. 114.

Edward the third, King of England, see his story throughout. 116. Marries Philippa of Heynault. *ibid.* And surrenders his Title to the Crown of Scotland. *ibid.* Lying on his Death-bed forsaken of all. 137.

Edward the fourth, King of England, see his story throughout. 203. Proclaimed King. *ibid.* An Army rais'd against him in the North, but defeated. *ibid.* He is Crowned. 204. Sits three days together in the Kings-bench. 205. Passeth into France with an Army. 213. Which produceth a Peace. 214. Quarrels with the Scots, and why. 216. His discontents. *ibid.* A merry passage between him and a Widow. *ibid.* His Death. 218.

Edward the fifth, never Crowned, Murdered in the Tower. 220. 226. 227.

Edward the sixth, King of England, see his story throughout. 302. He is Crowned. *ibid.* His Death. 313.

Edward the Black Prince, why so called, uncertain. 140. Carried to the Wars in France at 15 years of age, and the valour he shewed at that age. 150. He takes John King of France Prisoner. 123. Whom he brings into England with most noble usage. 124. He goes into Spain and sets Peter of Aragon in his Kingdom, from whence he returns not well in health. 125. He falleth into a Dropsie. *ibid.* He dieth at Burdeaux. 126. He had married Joan the Daughter of Edmund Earl of Kent, who had been twice a Widow before, and died in the 46. year of his age. 125. 131.

Egbert King of the West-Saxons, becomes absolute Lord of all England. 6.

Thomas Eggeiton made Lord Keeper after Puckering. 387. Is made Baron of Elmere. 428. Hath the Great Seal taken from him, and delivered to Sir Francis Bacon. 417.

Earl of Eglington taken by Crook. 604.

Sir John Egremont made Captain of the Rebels in the North. 239. Flyeth into Flanders. *ibid.*

Eleanor the Conquerours eldest Daughter, her Devotion. 29.

Queen Eleanor King Edwards Wife dieth. 96.

Eleanor King Henry the seconds Wife, who. 52. A very licentious liver. 59.

Ellis and Ida the first Kings of Northumberland. 7.

Elephants, when first brought into England. 90.

Sir John Eliot seconds Sir Will. Wallers Speech in Parliament. 456. He aggravates the Articles against the D. of Buckingham. 437. Is sent to the Tower. 444. His Apology after his releasment. 446. Imprisoned for opposing the Loan, and his Petition to the King. 438. Questioned with other refractory Members at the Council-Table. 445.

The Lady Elizabeth born. 455. Dieth at Carisbrook-Castle in the Isle of Wight. 571.

William Elsing Mayor of London, made the New Hospital by Cripplegate, and became the first Prior there. 130.

Sir Ferreis Elvis Lieutenant of the Tower, Executed, and why. 414.

Ely Abby made a Bishops See. 41.

Ely House in Houlbourn, the great Gatehouse there, by whom built. 154.

Elfred perjurings himself, falleth suddenly down; and dyeth. 9. 10.

Elizabeth, younger Daughter of King Henry the eighth, is mentioned to a match with the King of Denmark's eldest Son, but she refuseth it. 309. She is committed to the Tower, but soon released, and then confined to Woodstock, under the custody of Sir John Beringfield. 320. Her discreet answer being, asked what she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my body.* *ibid.* She is Crowned Queen. 329. Look her story throughout.

Elphleda, a valorous woman. 9.

Embassadours sent to France to demand the surrender of that Crown. 169.

An Embassadour of Poland, his bold Speech, and Queen Elizabeth's witty checking him, and his excuse. 388.

An Embassadour of France, comes into England, with twelve hundred in his Train. 265. French Embassadour commanded to keep his house and why. 269.

An Embassadour being a Delinquent against the State, what may be done with him, whereof divers points resolved by the Civilians. 347.

The Bishop of Ross, though an Embassadour, is committed to the Tower. *ibid.*

Mendoza the Spanish Embassadour thrust out of England, and why. 365.

Embassadour from the French King to mediate between the King and Parliament. 529.

Embassadours from King Charles the second, to the Duke of Muscovy, the great Prince of Turkey, and others. 601.

The Lord Cottingtons Embassage to the King of Spain. *ibid.*

Embassadours from the Queen of Sweden to the English Common-wealth, And from France and Portugal. 621.

The Dutch Embassadour Courts the new restored Common-wealth Parliament. 648.

King Charles the second Complemented by the Embassadours and Agents of Foreign Princes. 728.

The Encounter between the French and Spanish Embassadours, at the landing of the Swedish Embassadour. 279.

Queen Emmal passeth Fire Ordeal, in proof of her Chastity. 18.

Emannet Colledge in Cambridge founded. 398.

The Emperour Henry the Fourth, the first Christian Prince that was ever excommunicated by any Pope. 35.

The Emperour defeated by the Swedes and French. 568.

Empson the Son of a Sieve-maker. 247. King Henry the sevenths Agent for exacting forfeitures of Penal Statutes. *ibid.* Is committed to the Tower. 254. Is condemned and beheaded. *ibid.*

A Form of Engagement to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth, &c. Imposed upon the People by the Com-

The Index.

Commonwealth-Parliament. 613. Abrogated by the Secluded Members. 693. An Engagement drawn up by Commissary *Clarges*, to be subscribed by the Army Officers. 697. The form of this Engagement. *ibid.* It is signed by most of the Officers in *England*. 698.

Presented to General *Monk* by Colonel *Howard*. *ibid.* Sent into *Scotland* to Major General *Morgan*. *ibid.*

Enemies killed in cold Blood, when accusable. 358.

The Entertainment of the King at *Guild-hall*, by the City of *London*. 714.

England when first so called. 7. Holden of the See of *Rome*, by the annual tribute of a thousand marks, granted by *K. John*. 73. Remains interdicted by the Pope 6 years together. *ibid.*

The Kings of *England* filed Kings of *Jerusalem*, and why. 63. Their eldest Son always Duke of *Normandy*. 40.

King of *England* and *France* fall out, and why. 98. A Truce between them upon a Marriage. 99. *English* decline in *France*. 183.

An Interview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and the solemn manner of it. 147.

Another appointed to treat of a Reconciliation. 174.

An interview agreed upon between them at *Guyfnes*. 266.

Another at *Picquency*, and the manner of it. 214.

Escuage taken by King *Henry* the Second. 56.

Essex and *Middlesex* make the fourth Kingdom of the Saxons. 6.

Walter Devereux Viscount *Hersford*, is made Earl of *Essex*. 348. He hath leave to go into *Ireland*, and takes his Patent of being Governour of *Ulster*, from Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Deputy of *Ireland*. 351. He goes the second time into *Ireland*, where to disgrace him, he is appointed only to be an ordinary Commander over 300 Souldiers. 353. He is sent again into *Ireland*, with the empty Title of Earl Marshal of *Ireland*, with the grief whereof he fell into a Bloody-Flux, and died. 354. At the time of his death he admonished his Son scarce ten years old, to have alwayes before his eyes the fix and thirtieth year of his age, which neither himself nor his Father before him could outlive. *ibid.*

Henry Earl of *Essex*, for letting the Kings Standard fall to the ground, how punished. 53.

Robert Earl of *Essex*, in great favour now with Queen *Elizabeth*, is sent with an Army into *France*. 380. Where he challengeth Monsieur *Villiers* Governour of *Roan* to a single Combat, but is refused. 382.

Is pretended by some to have right to the Crown, and by what Title. 383. Is sent with Forces against *Spain*, who take *Cales*, and the passages of it. 385. Incenses the Queen to give him a box on the Ear. 389. Is made Earl Marshal of *England*, and why. 388. He is sent Deputy of *Ireland*, and of his carriage there, and of his returning and Commitment. 390. Of his carriage afterward. 391. He is condemned and beheaded. 393. 394.

The Earl of *Essex* is divorc'd from the Lady *Frances Howard*, marries Sir *William Paulet's* Daughter, and in a while parts also from her, refusing to come to the King when sent for, he is put out of his place at Court. 502. He is made General of the Parliaments Army. 519. Proclaimed Traytor by the King. 520. He takes *Redding* for the Parliament. 524. Is block'd up by the Kings Forces in *Cornwall*. 536. He and other Lords deliver up their Commissions to the Parliament. 541. He dies of an Apoplexy. 547.

An Estrich Feather Prince *Edward's* Livery. 210.

Ethelbald the Tenth, King of *Mercia*, founded the Abbey of *Crowland*. 7.

Ethelbald King of *England* marries *Jude's* his Fathers Widow. 8.

Ethelbert the first Christian Saxon King of *England*. 5.

Ethelfryd King of *Northumberland* slaughters 12 hundred Christian Monks at *West-Chester*, and was afterwards slain himself. 6.

Ethelbert invited by King *Offa* to marry his Daughter, is treacherously murdered by him. 7.

Ethelburgh, the Wife of King *Brithrick* flyeth into *France*, and is thrust into a Monastery, and why. 6.

Etheldred, Daughter of *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, twice married, yet continued a Virgin still, canonized by

the name of Saint *Andre*. 7.

Etheldred, the seventh King of *Mercia* leaves his Crown, and becomes a Monk. 7. He dieth, and is buried in *Paul's* Church near to King *Sebban*. 14.

Mr. *Evelin* attempts to bring over Col. *Morley* to the King. 661. His Letter to the said Col. *ibid.* His Apology for the Royal Party. 732. He is commanded by the King to draw up a Narrative of the Encounter between the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors 729.

The Lord *Evers* descended from the valiant *John Ewe*. 133.

Sir *Ralph Evers* his memorable carriage in defending of *Scarborough* Castle. 285.

John Eversden a Monk of *Berry*, a Historiographer. 133.

Evyland, the Mannor of *Evyland* given to *Exeter* by King *Edward* the sixth, for its Loyalty. 305.

Ewelme, the Parish there, by whom built. 199.

Col. *Ewer*, to whom *Hammond* is order'd to resign his Charge, convoys the King from the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst-Castle*. 564.

Exeter new walled and beautified by King *Athelstan*. 10. Demolished by the *Danes*. 14. Made the Bish ps See by *Edward* the Confessor, which was before at *Criding-ton*. 11.

The Cathedral Church there, when founded. 42.

Exeter-Colledge, and *Harts-Hall* in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 130. Endowed by Sir *William Peter*. 398.

Exeter useth policy in resisting the Rebels. 305. Hath the Mannor of *Evyland* given it for its Loyalty. *ibid.*

Exeter yielded to Prince *Maurice*. 529. To General *Fairfax*. 546.

A Duke of *Exeter* flying into *Essex*, is there apprehended, and shortly after beheaded. 160.

The Duke of *Exeters* Daughter, what is meant by it. 206.

The Royal Exchange built by Sir *Thomas Gresham*, so named by Queen *Elizabeth*. 398.

Exchequer and Courts of Justice removed to *Tork*, where they continued six years. 97.

Excise laid upon several Commodities by the Parliament. 450.

Excise a Tax laid upon Beer, Ale, Wine, &c. 731.

Excommunication by the Pope upon any Christian Prince, was first laid upon the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth. 35.

Richard Exton Mayor, hinders a Plot, to murder several Lords. 142.

Sir *Pierce* of *Exton* murders King *Richard*. 155.

F

F

Robert Fabean a Sheriff of *London* an Historiographer 252.

Faganus and *Damianus* sent by Pope *Eleutherius* to preach the Gospel in *England*. 3.

The Lord *Fairfax* defeated at *Adderton-Moor* by the Earl of *Newcastle*. 527.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* takes *Leeds* for the Parliament. 553. He is proclaimed Traytor by the Earl of *Newcastle*, with his Father the Lord *Fairfax*. *ibid.* Made General of the Parliaments Army. 541. Besieges *Oxford*. *ibid.* He takes *Leicester*. 542. He brings the Clubmen to Terms. *ibid.* Routs *Goring* near *Langport*. *ibid.* Takes *Bridgewater*. *ibid.* He takes *Sherborn* Castle. *ibid.* *Bristow*. 543. *Dartmouth*. 545. Defeats the Lord *Hopton* in *Cornwall*, and forceth him to disband. *ibid.* Takes *Exeter*, *Barnstable*, and *Oxford*. 546. Routs the *Kentish* men at *Maidstone*. 561. Besiegeth *Colchester*, and takes it by Surrender. 563. He resigns up his Commission. 600. He and several of General *Monk's* Party joining with him, rise in *Tork-shire*. 677. He visits General *Monk* at *Tork*. 678.

Family of *Love*, when and where it began. 397.

A Famine in *England* eleven years together. 4. Another so great, that Men eat Horses and Dogs. 25.

A great Famine in *Roan*. 174.

Major *Farmer* being sent by the General to possess *Carlisle*, is kept out by the Souldiers. 665.

A Fathers Will broken seldom prospers. 105. 108.

Favourites not alwayes loyal. 11.

Thomas Bastard *Fauconbridge*, with an Army of 17000 comes

The Index.

comes to *London*, imperiously requiring the releasment of King *Henry* the sixth, but is repelled. 212. And executed. *ibid.*

A stratagem of the Lord *Fauconbridge*. 203.

Thomas Faulconer, Mayor of *London*, builds *Moor-gate*. 178.

Felons that stole above twelve pence, when first ordained to be attached. 10.

Felt-makers when made a Corporation. 420.

Felton, who set up the Popes Bull against Queen *Eliz.* hanged. 344.

Feast of *Corpus Christi* first ordained. 113.

The Earl of *Feria* in *Spain*, solicites the Pope to excommunicate Queen *Elizabeth*, and why. 333.

Robert Ferrar Bishop of *Man*, burnt at *Carmarden*. 321.

George Ferrars, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inn*, appointed in a *Christmas* to be Lord of *Misrule* to make King *Edw.* the 6th. merry. 311.

Sir *Timothy Fetherston Hugh*, Beheaded at *Westchester*. 612.

Fetherston, a Millers Son, takes upon him to be King *Edward* the sixth, and his punishment. 322.

Feversham Abby founded by King *Stephen*. 50.

John Field a *Londoner*, writ a Treatise of *Man's Free-Will*, and *Collections* of the *Common-Laws* of *England*. 300.

John Fisher, Bishop of *Rochester*, excuseth himself of an inconsiderate Speech, concerning the *Parliament*. 278. Beheaded, and why. 282. was elected Cardinal by the Pope, and had the Hat sent, but his Head was off before it came. *ibid.*

Fifth of *August* kept holy, for the Kings Deliverance from the *Gowries*. 408.

Fifth of *November* kept holy, in memory of the *Powder-Treason*. 411.

A Fish in the shape of a Man, taken and kept at *Oxford*, till it stole away to Sea. 58. a Fish of monstrous length. 399.

Fishing upon the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* forbidden to foreign Nations. 413.

The Fight at *Brainsford* between the King and the *Parliaments* Forces. 523. At *Stratton* in *Cornwall*. 545. At *Newark*. 531. 532. The Fight at *Landdown*. 526. *Newberry* second fight, 537. *Rowton-heath* fight. 544. The Fight at *Warrington-bridge*. 606. At *Worcester*. 608.

A Sea-fight between the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*. 468. Between the *Sweeds* and the *Dutch*. 638.

Sir *John Finch* Lord Keeper. 470. Voted a Traitor and lies. 476.

Finchamsted in *Bark-shire*, where a Well, cast out blood. 36.

Fines for concluding of mens Rights, when first ordained. 249.

A great Fire upon *London-bridge*. 571. The Fire-crofs. &c. 303.

Several great Fires, and where. 43. 250.

The Fire-Crofs in *Scotland*, what it was. 303.

Fire Ordeal, the Tryal for Adultery, executed upon Queen *Emma*, which she escaped, and what it was. 18. abrogated by the Conquerour. 26.

First-fruits and Tenth, when given to the King. 296. Restored to the Clergy, but soon revoked. 325. Restored to the Crown. 331.

Geoffry-Fitz Peter dieth, who he was. 70.

Henry-Fitz Alan, Earl of *Arundel*, dieth, in whom was extinct the Surname of that Noble Family, which had continued 300 years. 360.

Henry Fitz Alan, the first Mayor of *London*. 66. 76.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald is created Earl of *Kildare*. 285. The miserable dissolution of the Family of the *Geraldines*. *ibid.*

Fitz-Herbert, Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* the first. 45.

Anthony Fitz-Herbert a Judge, writ an Abridgment of the Law 300.

Richard Fitz-Ralfe a learned Writer, when he lived. 137.

Henry Fitz Roy, King *Henry* the 8ths. Son by *Elizabeth Blunt*, is created Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*. 298.

Robert Fitzwalter, a most valiant Man. 75.

Viscount *Fitzwalter* is made Earl of *Essex*. 278.

The Lord *Fitz-Warren* is created Earl of *Bashe*. 284.

Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, Lord Admiral, is created Earl of *Southampton*. 286.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, the great Earl of *Desmond* slain. 355. Flagg in Ships ordained how to be born. 420.

Flamock a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith, by reason of a Tax, begin a Rebellion in *Cornwall*. 243. executed. *ibid.*

Flattery, confuted by an Act of King *Canutus*. 16.

A Fleet set out under the Earl of *Lindsey* to scour the Seas. 455. Another under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland* *ibid.*

The Kings Fleet, under Prince *Rupert*, ruin'd by several misfortunes. 617.

A Fleet sent towards *Hispaniola*. 625. Toward the Sound under General *Montague*. 638.

Lieutenant General *Fleeswood* made Deputy of *Ireland*, in the room of *Ireton* deceased. 612. He is recalled, and *Henry Cromwell* sent Deputy in his room. 630. He promised *Richard Cromwell* the continuance of his Power. 642. Is voted Commander in Chief of all the *Common-wealth* Forces. 647. Receives his Commission in the House from the Speaker. 648. He endeavours to justify the Officers of the Army, but in vain. 654. He is removed from the chief Command of the Army, by an Act of the *Junto*. 660. He submits to the *Junto*, and desires the Members to sit again. 676.

Richard Flemming Bishop of *Lincoln*, wrote a Book of the *Etymology* of *England*. 201.

Flemmings inhauning the *English* Coin, causeth much Money to be carried away. 278.

Banished out of the Realm. 52.

Robert Flemming writ a Dictionary in *Greek* and *Latin*. 201.

Flint Castle in *Wales*, by whom built. 101.

Flies in so great abundance, that they were swept away with Brooms, by heaps. 154. Also Beetles in a strange abundance. 400.

Florinus a learned Man, when he lived. 179.

Fodringhay Castle in *Northampton-shire*, by whom built. 165.

John Fogge Knighted. 255.

A Fool saves Duke *Williams* life. 21.

Sir *Martin Forbisher*, is sent to find a Passage to *Cathais*, but hindred by Snow and Ice. 354. is wounded to death at Sea. 333.

Forgery of King *Edward* 2. his birth. 113.

New Forrest in *Hampshire* made by the Conqueror. 27. *Miles Forrest*, and *James Dighton*, murder the two young Princes in the Tower. 227.

Frier Forrest hang'd in a strange manner. 286.

Fortescue a Judge, writ divers Treatises of the Law. 218.

The Fortune a Play-house near *Golding-lane*, burnt to the ground, and by what chance. 425.

Fox Bishop of *Winchester*, how he came first in favour with King *Henry* the 7th. 231. is made Keeper of the Privy Seal. 237. his Dilemma to the Clergy, to move them to a liberal Contribution. 248. his Work of Piety. *ibid.*

Foxely that slept 14 days together. 298.

France and *England* make Peace. 69. *Henry* 3. makes a Voyage into *France*. 81. in which he spent seven and twenty hundred thousand Pounds. 84. King of *France* made Arbitrator of the difference between *Henry* 3. and his Barons. 86. A Peace concluded. *ibid.* Crown of *France* claimed by King *Edward* 3. 117. he doth Homage to the *French* King for the *Dutchy* of *Gyenne*. *ibid.* makes War in *France*. 118.

Francis King of *France* taken Prisoner by the *Spaniards*. 273.

The King of *France* hath a new War with *England*, and how occasioned. 435. A Peace concluded between *France* and *England*. 446. *France* and the *United Provinces*, mediate a Peace between King and Parliament. 529. The *French* Fleet intercepted by Gen. *Blake*. 543.

Francis the young King of *France* dieth. 332. 352. St. *Francis* the Founder of the *Friers Minors*, and when. 89.

Francis, Prince of *Vaudemont*, comes into *England*, and his entertainment. 412.

A great Fray in *Fleet-street*, and for what. 447.

The *French* enter *England* and burn divers Towns. 138. They buy a Peace. 241.

A Frost, which lasted from the midst of *September* to *April*. 131. another 297. A great Frost soon thawed. 399.

A Frost

The Index.

A Frost continuing from *Decemb.* to *April*, and what hurt it did, 425. A Frost and Snow that continued four Months, 165.

Black-Fryers Monastery founded by *Edward Kilwarby*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, 29. the Foundation by whom built, 101.

Grey Fryars, when first came into *England*, 41. *Fryers Minors*, when and by whom begun, 66. *Augustine Fryers* called *Mendicant Fryers*, when and by whom begun, *ibid.*

Fryers Preachers, when and by whom begun, *ibid.* *Fryers Minors*, and where first in *England*, *ibid.* & 89.

Grey Fryers Quire begun to be built, and by whom, 113.

The *Carmelite Fryers Church* in *Coventry*, by whom founded, 130.

The *White Fryers Church* in *London*, by whom first founded, and by whom re-edified, 165.

The *Grey Fryers Church* by whom founded, 297. *Priory of Fryers Minors*, in *St. Nicholas Shambles*, when and by whom founded, 89.

Fryeries and *Nunneries* all suppressed, 286.

Fulmer the Church there by whom built, 424.

Furneys Abby in *Lancashire* founded by King *Stephen*, 50.

Funeral of King *James*, 431.

G

Sebastian Gabato persuades King *Henry* to set forth Ships for the discovery of foreign Countries, 245. Employed to discover a passage to the *East-Indies*, 311.

Games, as *Dancing*, *Cards*, and *Bowling* forbidden; but doing more hurt than good, was soon revoked, 295.

Stephen Gardiner made Bishop of *Winchester*, 283. Sent Leiger into *France*, *ibid.* Is made Chancellor of *England*, 316. he procured a Warrant to put the Lady *Elizabeth* to death, and how prevented, 320. his miserable death, and the cause, 323.

Sir Thomas Gardiner Recorder of *London*, impeached by the Parliament, flies to the King at *Tork*, 455.

Garlick-hithe Church in *London*, when and by whom built, 113.

Garnet a Jesuit executed, and why, 411.

The Order of the *Garter* how it first began, 62. Instituted and upon what occasion, 128.

Garter King at Arms over the *English*, when first instituted, 175.

Gaweston his advancement, 105. Is banished, *ibid.* Is called home from Exile, and exceeds in bravery, *ibid.* Is made Earl of *Cornwall*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain, *ibid.* Gets the honour of the day at a Tournament, 106. Casts Scoffs upon divers Lords, *ibid.* Is sent to *Ireland*, where he doth great acts, *ibid.* Marries the Earl of *Gloucester's* Sister, *ibid.* Is again banished the Realm, *ibid.* Goes into *France*, but is not received, *ibid.* Returns into *England*, whom the King received as an Angel, *ibid.* Is taken by the Lords at *Scarborough*, and beheaded, 107. his Parentage.

Gawen, Sister's Son of King *Arthur* found, and his body 14 foot long, 29.

Geneva relieved by Queen *Elizabeth*, 396.

Geoffry of Monmouth, the fabulous Writer of *Brutes Story*, 1.

Geraldines, or *Fitz Gerald*s, Earls of *Kildare*, and their disastrous desolation, 363.

Gerenden Monastery, by whom founded, 58.

A *Generals Commission* in War not fit to be limited, 315.

Saint Germans in *Cornwall* founded by King *Athelstan*, 11. Ordained by King *Edred* to be a Bishops See, but afterward annexed to the See of *Kirton* in *Devonshire*, and at last, both of them translated to *Exeter*, *ibid.*

Colonel *Gerald* and others tryed before a high Court of Justice, 621. he and *Vowel* executed, *ib.*

Nicholas Gibson Sheriff of *London*, his Work of Piety, 297.

Gifford the chief Discoverer of the conspiracy of *Babington*, and others: and who he was, 369.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert cast away at Sea, 363.

Saint Giles Hospital in the Fields, founded by *Mauke*,

Wife of King *Henry* the first, 42.

Saint Giles brotherhood without *Cripplegate*, by whom founded, 178.

Glawvilles sometimes Earls of *Suffolk*, 133.

Glastenbury Abby new builded by *Ina* King of the West Saxons, 6. burnt, 58.

Glencarn and *Middleton* defeated in the Highlands, 622.

Glencarn's Arguments to Gen. *Monk*, for arming the Scots to his Assistance, 675. he is made Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, 717.

Letter to *Sir Thomas Glenham*, 530. *Sir Thomas Glenham* Governour of *Tork* for the King, 534. Afterwards of *Carlise*, which he surrenders to the Parliaments Forces, 542. afterwards of *Oxford*, which he surrenders to the General *Fairfax*, 547. he and *Sir Philip Musgrave* raise Forces for the King in *Westmerland* and *Cumberland*, 561.

Owen Glendour, an Esquire of *Wales*, draws many into Rebellion, and takes *Edmund Mortimer* prisoner, 160. Is aided with 12 thousand *French*; but with no success, 161. Flying into the Woods, is there famished to death, 162.

The *Globe* a Play-house upon the Banck-side, consumed with Fire, and by what chance, 425.

Gloucester Monastery of *Saint Peter*, founded by *Elfreda*, and her Husband, 10. The Monastery of *Benedictine* Monks there, by whom founded, 58. Burnt to the ground, 101.

The Duke of *Gloucester* his unadvised Speech to the King, 147. incited by a Vision of the Abbot of *Saint Albanes*, confederates with divers Lords to seize upon King *Richard*, 148. his Plot is discovered, and by a wife apprehended, is sent to *Calis*, where he is soon after dispatched of his life, *ibid.*

The Earl of *Gloucester* taken and beheaded at *Bristol*, 160.

Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, generally called the good Duke, he writ a Book of Astrology, intituled, *Tabula Directionum*, 201.

The Duke of *Gloucester* Protector, marries *Faqualine*, who was married before to *John Duke of Brabant*, yet living, 182. after great contestations he deserted her, and marries his old Love *Eleanor*, Daughter to the Lord *Cobham*, *ibid.* who is accused of Sorcery, and doth Penance, 187. The Duke of *Gloucester's* pregnancy, in convincing a Beggar pretending blindness, 188. he sends a Defiance to the Duke of *Burgoin*, 185.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, plots his way to the Crown first, by causing his elder Brother the Duke of *Clarence* to be drown'd in a Butt of *Malmsey*, 215. he persuades the Queen, that young King *Edward* should dismiss his great Train, and why, 220. he gets the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Hastings* to joyn with him, to remove the Queens Kindred from about the King, 220. he sends to the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard Gray* the Queens Son to *Pomfret-Castle*, where they were both beheaded, 221. A fiction of his to blind the People, *ibid.* By his dissembling carriage, he obtains to be made Protector of the King and Kingdom, *ibid.* he receives the young Son out of the Sanctuary, with great complement of kindness, and sends both him and the King his Brother to the Tower, there to stay till the Coronation, for which there is great shew of preparation made, 222. he takes upon him the Crown, by the name of *Richard the Third*: See the rest of him in his story throughout, 226. 227. &c.

Henry Duke of Gloucester dismiss out of *England* by the Parliament, and sent to his Sister in *Holland*, 615. he goeth into *France*, and is honourably received by the King, *ibid.* remov'd out of the Jesuits Colledge, by the King his Brothers order, 629. he goeth to *Calen* to the King his Brother, *ibid.* 626. his Death, 730.

Gloucester, Bristol, and other places, garrisoned for the Parliament, 522. Besieged for the King, 527. Relieved by the Earl of *Essex*, 528. Infested by *Sir John Winter*, and the Lord *Herbert*, 529.

Matthew Gouch an old Souldier is sent against *Jack Cade*, and much distresseth him, 191.

Gogmagog a Gyant overcome by *Crinanus*, 1.

Godfrey of Bulloign goes to recover *Hierusalem*, 39.

Godmanchester Town presents King *James* with 70. Teams of Horse, and why, 405.

Gold and Silver forbidden to be transported, 396.

Three millions of Crowns of Gold paid to King *Edward* 3d. by the King of *France*, 134. No Gold to be offered in payment unless it were weight, 177.

Earl

The Index.

Earl *Goodwin* discomfitteth the *Vandals* in *Denmark*, 17. Punished by the Divine Hand, 18.

Goodwin Sands in *Kent*, first brake in, in *Will. Rufus* time, 35.

Sir *Ferdinando Garge* sets the Lords in *Essex* house at liberty, 393.

Col. *Goring* possesseth *Portsmouth* for the King, 518. he is forced to surrender the Town to the Parliaments Forces, 521. he lands with men, and Ammunition for the King, 524. Routed by Gen. *Fairfax*, near *Langport*, 542.

The Government of the Nation alter'd from a Monarchy to a Free State, 588. Committed to a certain number of men call'd a Committee of Safety, 662.

Gower the famous Poet, his work of Piety, 165. where he died, and where buried, 167.

The Earl *Gowry* in *Scotland* takes the King, and keeps him Prisoner, 362. Beheaded, 364.

Granado won by the King of *Spain* from the Moors, who is intituled the Catholick King, 240.

The Lord *Grandison* created Baron *Imbercourt*, 467.

Sir *John Greenville* secretly negotiated his Majesties Affairs in *England*, 640. The Kings Letter to him, 651. The manner of his application to Gen. *Monk*, 695. his Reception, *ibid.* The Generals Answer to his Message, with the discourse between them, 796. he takes his Journey to *Bruxels*, and gives his Majesty an account of his Negotiation, *ibid.* he presents Gen. *Monk* with a Commission from his Majesty, and a Letter for the Council of State, 701. he is created Earl of *Bathe*.

Sir *Richard Greenville* dieth of his wounds, not without commendation of the *Spaniards* themselves, 381.

Greenwich enlarged by King *Henry* the seventh, which *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester* had formerly built, calling it *Placentia*, 249. The Tower there by whom builded, 297. An Alms-house there built by *William Lambert*, 399. The Brick-wall about the Park there, by whom made, 423.

Sir *John Gresham* his Works of Piety, 313.

Gresham Colledge in *London*, when made, 398.

Thomas Grey, Earl of *Northumberland*, put to death, and why, 170.

Sir *Ralph Grey*, for revolting, degraded from his Order of Knighthood, and in what manner it was, and then beheaded, 205.

Leonard Grey, Deputy of *Ireland*, beheaded, and why, 288.

The Lord *Grey* obeyeth a Message by word of mouth from the King, before his Letter, and is rewarded for it, 294.

The Lord *Thomas Grey*, the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Brother, beheaded, 320.

The Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, oppressed with multitude, delivers up *Guyfnes*, 324.

Reynold Grey of a private man, made Earl of *Kent*, after 50 years the Earldom had been vacant, 351.

Arthur Lord *Grey* Deputy of *Ireland*, 358. dieth in the Tower, and in him is extinct the Barony, 407.

Prince *Griffith*, so nick-named, his ridiculous Expedition, 546.

A Groat wanting in a payment of seven hundred Marks, made a thousand Marks more to be paid, 26.

Groats and half Groats when first coyned, 128.

Grocers Hall in *Connyhope* Lane, by whom built, 165.

Robert Grosthead, Bishop of *Lincoln*, translated the Testament, and the twelve Patriarchs, out of Greek into Latine, 91.

Ground bare of grafs where Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Charles Lucas* were shot to death, 563.

Edmund Gryndal, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, dieth, 363. his Works of Piety, 398.

William Gryfant, named *Anglicus*, a notable Physician, whose Son came to be Pope, and was called *Urban* the Fifth, 133.

Yeomen of the Guard, when first ordained, 237. 249. encreased in number, and in pension, 423.

Guernsey Island attempted by the Kings Frigats, 602.

Henry Guldeford made Knight by the King of *Spain*, hath a Canton of *Granado* given him, for an augmentation of his Arms, 255. Is the Kings Standard-Bearer, 258.

Guild-hall, a great part of the West-end, by whom builded, 165. Of a little Cottage made a goodly house, and when, *ibid.* When the Feast kept there, 249.

Gondomar his Answer to King *James* about the Palatine, 419. his Character, *ibid.*

Guns, when first used by the *English*, when first invented, where and by what means, and by whom first used, 122.

Cast Pieces of Iron, when and by whom first made, 298.

The noyse of Ordnance heard an hundred miles off, 324.

Gun-powder, when first made in *England*, 424.

The Gun-powder Treason, by whom contrived, 409. and how discovered, 410.

Doctor *Gumble*, Mr. *Clarges*, and Col. *Cloesberry*, appointed to Treat with some of the Secluded Members, about their admission to sit, 688.

Guymond, *Henry* the First's Chaplain, his coming to preferment by a ridiculous reading, 41.

Guynebilla the Empress, being accused of Adultery, is defended in a Duel by an *English* Page, against a Gyant-like Combatant, 17.

Guyen, the Name of the King at Arms for *Gascoigne*, 134.

The Duke of *Guyse*, Head of the Holy League in *France*, murdered in the very Court, and why, 319.

Guyfnes delivered up to the *French*, 324.

Captain *Guillim* endeavouring to betray two Companies of the Generals men, is discovered, and prevented, 669.

Gerald his *Geralds* the great Earl of *Desmond* slain, and 500 of his Family within the space of three years, 363.

Gynth, King *Harolds* Brother, his counsel slighted, 23.

H

H

Hacket takes upon him to be Christ, 381. is hanged, *ibid.*

Alice Hackneys body taken up entire, having been buried, 174 years, 250.

The Earl of *Haddington* slain by accident, 492. 591. Long Hair forbidden, 40.

Sir *James Hales*, a Judge of the Common Pleas, refuseth to subscribe to the excluding of King *Edward*'s Sister, 311. He drowneth himself, and why, 316.

Alexander de Harls, a Fryer Minor a great Schoolman, 91.

Hales Owen Monastery in *Shropshire*, founded by King *John*, 73.

Hales in a Libel affirmeth the Crown to belong to the House of *Suffolk*, in case Queen *Elizabeth* should die without issue, 337.

Edward Hall writ a Chronicle of the Union of the two houses of *Tork* and *Lancaster*, 314.

Hail-stones as big as Goose-eggs, 74. Of eighteen Inches about, 250. At another time Hail-stones of fifteen Inches about, 326.

Hales Abbey in *Gloucestershire*, by whom founded, 89.

Halstead, a Chappel there, by whom founded, 424.

Thomas Halfewood wrote a book called *Chronicum Compendiarum*, when he lived, 114.

Mr. *Hambden*, one of the five Members, demanded to Justice by the King, 516. he is slain in the fight near *Tame*, 525.

Duke *Hamilton* procures the office of High Commissioner for the *Scotch* Affairs, 461. he is sent Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle, 530. he enters *England* with an Army, 562. is defeated by Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, 562. is taken Prisoner at *Uxeter* by the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, *ibid.* is tried and condemned to death before a High Court of Justice, 589. his Speech before his Execution, 590.

Colonel *Hammond* secures the King in the Isle of *Wight*, 563.

Hampton-Court, by whom built, 297. The King retires thither from the tumults of the City, 516. his Escape from thence when he was in the hands of the Army, 555.

Hanging of a strange kind, 286.

Knights of the Hare, who, and why so called, 118.

Hardicoute the last *Danish* King, his intemperance in Diet, 17. his sudden death, 18.

John Harding writ a Chronicle in *English* Verse, 218.

Stephen Harding, a Benedictine Monk, founder of the *Cistercian* Order, 45.

The Lotd *Harrington* dieth at *Worms*, 415.

Harflew besieged by the Earl of *Arminiacke*, 172. Relieved by the Duke of *Bedford*, *ibid.*

Sir *Robert Harlow* appointed to pull down Superstitious Pictures, 535.

Harold the Son of *Canutus* murders his Father, 17.

Harold called *Hartsfoot*, for his swiftness in running, 17. his policy to secure himself against Competitors, *ibid.*

K k k k k

Harold

The Index.

Harold the Son of Earl *Godwin*, making himself King of *England*. 19. is slain by Duke *William* of *Normandy*. 23.

Sir *George Harper*, *Wyat's* intimate Friend, forsakes him. 318.

M. Gen. *Harrison* and others secur'd. 629. he is try'd about the Kings Murther, hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd. 731.

The Earl of *Hartford*, Protector, is made Duke of *Somerset*. 302.

Hart-Hall in *Oxford*, by whom founded. 130.

Dr. *Harvey* writ a Treatise concerning the Circulation of the blood. 490.

Richard Hacket executed for Treason, for perswading *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, to assume the Title of the Crown, and upon what ground. 382.

Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, one of the five Members of the House of Commons, whom the King demanded to Justice. 516. He opposeth the Armies Proceedings after the Restoration of the Commonwealth Parliament. 654. and possesseth the House against them. *ibid.* having promised aid against *Lambert*, he withdraws for fear of incouraging the Kings Party. 670. he is appointed by Act one of the five Commissioners for the Government of the Army. 687. he clears himself to General *Monk*, of having been assistant to *Lambert's* Insurrection. 701. Pardon'd upon the Mediatio[n] of the Duke of *Albemarle*. 717. he dies of a Fever in the *Tower*. 735.

The Family of the *Hastings*, from whence descended. 146. In this Family it is memorable, that for many Generations together, no Son ever saw his Father, the Father always dying before the Son was born. *ibid.*

In whom the Family ended. *ibid.*

The Lord *Hastings* true to the young Princes, how made away. 222. 223.

The Lord *Hastings* is made Earl of *Humington*. 278.

Hatfield in *Hertfordshire*, by whom enlarged. 249.

Captain *Hart* and Captain *Dennis* bring off Col. *Cobets* Regiment to the General. 664.

Sir *Christopher Hatton* made Lord Chancellour of *England*. 376. he dieth. 381.

Richard Hawkins sent to Sea, is taken Prisoner by the *Spaniards*. 383.

Hawesford, or *Hankford*, a Knight and a Judge of that name, his strange melancholly. 209.

Sir *John Hawkwood*, a Taylor in *England*, but so famous for his valorous acts in *Italy*, that a Statue is there erected for him. 133.

Richard Haydock his strange imposture of preaching in his sleep, and how discovered by King *James*. 408.

Higham-house of black Nuns in *Kent*, found by King *Stephen*. 50.

Hell Kettles in the County of *Durham*, why so called. 58.

Saint *Helens* in *London*, an Alms-house there, by whom founded. 297.

Hengist and *Horsa*, Saxons, are called over, and inhabit the Isle of *Thanet*. 3. They are beaten out of *England*. 3.

Hengist returns again. 4. at a Treaty at *Salisbury*, he fraudulently slays 300 of the *English* Nobility. *ibid.* Begins the Kingdom of *Kent*. 5.

The Princess *Henrietta Maria* born at *Exeter*. 534. Conveyed into *France*. 546.

Henry King of *France* running at Tilt, is wounded, whereof he dieth. 331. Another *Henry* King of *France* killed by a Monk. 399.

Henry King of *Navarre* marties *Margaret*, the *French* Kings Sister. 349. is Crowned King of *France*. 379. aided by Queen *Elizabeth*, he besiegeth *Roan*. 380. he turns Papist. 382. is killed by *Ravilliac*. 413.

Henry the first, King of *England*. 38. See his Story throughout.

Henry the second, King of *England*. 52. See his Story throughout.

He causes his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King with him. 53. Who grows insolent. *ibid.* He rebels against his Father. 54. Leaves behind him nine hundred thousand pounds in money. 56.

Henry the third, King of *England*. 77. See his Story throughout. His Indigence forces him to borrow money of particular persons. 82. 88.

Henry Duke of *Hereford*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, appointed to Combat, but stayed. 149. he is banished for six years. 150. he with only three Ships lands at *Raven-spurie* in *Yorkshire*. *ibid.* he is Crowned King of *England*,

by the name of *Henry* the fourth. See his Story throughout. 157. his Son the Prince his disorderly courtes. 163. his submission to his Father. *ibid.*

Henry the fifth, King of *England*. See his Story in all. 169. his Reformation upon coming to the Crown. *ibid.* Passes with an Army into *France*. 170. his Devotion. *ibid.* Goes with another Army into *France*. 176. Affianced to the Lady *Katherine*, and proclaimed Heir and Regent of *France*. 175. Marches against the *Dauphin* with 60000 men. *ibid.* His Death. 176.

Henry the sixth, King of *England*. See his Story in all. 180. But eight Months old when he came to the Crown. 180. Proclaimed King of *France* in *Paris*. *ibid.* Crowned in *England*. 183. Crowned in *France*. 184. Affianceth the Earl of *Arminiacks* Daughter. 187. But by the Earl of *Suffolks* advice marries the Daughter of *Rayner*, Duke of *Anjou*. 187. His weakness of judgment appears. 188. Seeks an accommodation between him and the Duke of *York*. 194. 195. No Enterprize of War ever prospered where he was present. 197. His Death. 200. The manner of his Death. 212.

Henry the seventh, King of *England*. See his Story throughout. 236. Marries the Lady *Elizabeth*. 237. What Treasure he left behind him. 248. His Death. 252.

Henry the eighth, King of *England*. See his Story throughout. 254. Marries *Katherine* of *Spain*. *ibid.* like to be drowned. 264. made Arbitrator between the Emperour and *French* King. 274. His Death. 294.

Henry, eldest Son of King *James*, is made free of the Merchant-Tailors. 412. is created Prince of *Wales*, in most solemn manner, and keeps Court by himself. 413. he is Godfather to Sir *Robert Shirley's* Son. 415. he falls sick. *ibid.* and dieth. *ibid.*

Henry, eldest Son to King *Henry* the second, is by his Fathers appointment Crowned King in his own life-time, and the disturbance that grew of it. 53. he dieth. 54.

Heptarchy, a division of *England* into seven Kingdoms. 5. 8c.

Heraslius, Patriarch of *Hierusalem*, comes into *England*, and invites King *Henry* the second to undertake the Holy War; the Kings Excuse, and the Patriarchs insolent Reply. 58. and upon what ground. 60.

William Herbert, a *Welshman*, a Fryer, writ much in Divinity. 133.

Sir *William Herbert*, of a mean Gentleman, made Earl of *Pembroke*. 207. is put to death. *ibid.*

Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Cardiffe*, is made Earl of *Pembroke*. 310.

Hereford Cathedral Church, by whom founded. 7.

Hereford besieged by the *Scots*. 538. Taken by Colonel *Birch*. 542.

Hereticks in *Germany* burned in the Forehead with a hot Iron, and their patience. 58.

Two Hereticks immured by King *Henry* 3. and why. 89.

Richard Herring claims to be Usher of the Kings Chamber at a Coronation. 136.

A Counterfeit Herald sent by the King of *France* to King *Edward* the fourth, and why. 214.

Gasper Heywood, the great Epigramaticks Son, the first Jesuite that ever set foot in *England*. 364.

Sir *Baptist Hicks*, afterward Viscount *Cambden*, builds the Sessions-House, called *Hick's-Hall* in Saint *John's* Street. 424. his Works of Piety. *ibid.*

Sir *Edward Hide* made Lord High Chancellour of *England*. 713. Created Earl of *Clarendon*. 770.

Sir *Henry Hide* the Kings Lieger at *Constantinople*, beheaded over against the Old *Exchange* at *London*. 607.

Sir *Nicholas Hide* made Lord Chief Justice in the room of Sir *Randolph Crew*. 465.

A High Court of Justice erected for the Tryal of the King: See Court.

Radulph Higden, a Monk of *Chester*, an Historiographer. 138.

Sir *Thomas Hill*, Mayor of *London*, his Work of Piety. 249.

Sir *Rowland Hill*, his Work of Piety. 313.

Hispaniola, an Island belonging to the King of *Spain*, the *English* landing there, are vanquish'd, and driven out of the Island. 625.

The History Professor in *Oxford*, by whom erected. 423.

The Marshal of *Hocquincourt* slain at the Siege of *Dunkirk*. 634.

Hockstide, a holy day so called, and why. 18.

Lawrence Holbeck, a Monk of *Ramsay*, writ an Hebrew Dictionary. 167. Robert

The Index.

Robert Holcot, a black Fryer, and a learned Schoolman, 133.

Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, slain in France to beg his bread, and how found dead, 213.

The Earl of *Holland* refusing to come to the King when sent for, is put out of his place at Court, 530. Takes up Armes for the King, 561. he is routed by Col. *Rich*, and the Lord *Francis* slain, *ibid.* he is taken prisoner at *St. Needs*, *ibid.* he is try'd and condemn'd to death at a high Court of Justice, 589. his Speech at his Execution, 590.

Mr. *Holles*, one of the Members taxed by the King, 516. justified by the Parliament, *ibid.* he is created Baron, 757. *Holmby-house*, the King brought thither from the Scots Army, 548. Taken away from thence by Cornet *Foyce*, 550.

Holt in Norfolk, a Free-School there, by whom founded, 325.

Holy Land, King *Richard* the first makes great preparation to go thither, 62.

Homilies when first appointed to be read in Churches, 304.

Richard Hooker hath written notably of Ecclesiastical Discipline, 401.

John Hooper, late Bishop of Worcester, burnt at Gloucester, 321.

John Hopkins Translated divers of *Dauids* Psalms into English Metre, 327.

Hops, when first brought into England, 298.

Sir *Ralph Hopton*, the Action between him and the Parliaments Devonshire Forces, 525. he defeated Sir *Will. Waller* at *Landsdown*, 526. he is routed at *Torrington*, by *Fairfax*, 545. and blocked up at *Truro*, and forced to disband, *ibid.*

Sir *John Hotham* sent down to keep *Hull* for the Parliament, 517. proclaimed Traytor by the King, *ibid.* repulseth the Kings Forces, 519. he and his Son sent up Prisoners to the Parliament, 524. they are beheaded together with Sir *Alexander Carew*, 538.

Hotspur, why so called, 161. slain, 162.

Hounsditch, when and by whom first paved, 250.

Houses in England very mean, till after *Cæsars* coming, 2.

The House of Peers voted down by the Commonwealth Parliament, 588.

Householders appointed what meat they should eat, 128.

Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord Admiral, with 2500 defeats 10000 Britains, 256. afterward by his own policy drowned, 257.

The Lord *Thomas Howard* without the Kings assent, affianced the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, the Kings Neice, for which attainted, and died in the Tower, 284.

The Lady *Katharine Howard*, married to King *Henry* 8. 288. beheaded, and why, *ibid.*

The Lord *William Howard* is created Baron of *Effingham*, 321.

Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk is condemned, and for what crimes, 248. is beheaded, *ibid.*

The Lord *Henry Howard*, thought to be designed by the Papists to marry the Queen of Scots, 305. is made a privy Counsellour, and the Earl of *Northampton*, 387. he dieth, and his works of Piety, 424.

Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, writ divers Treatises in English Metre, 300.

Justice *Howard* stab'd in Westminster-Hall, 515.

Robert Huggan writ certain vain Prophecies, 218.

Doctor *Hewer* tryed before the high Court of Justice, refuseth to plead, 633. is beheaded, *ibid.*

William Hugh, wrote a Treatise called the troubled Mans Medicine, 201.

Hull, the King demandeth entrance into it, and is denyed, 517. his Forces repulseth from thence by *Hotham* and *Meldrum*, 519. besieged by the Kings Forces, *ibid.*

Hume and *Timplallan* Castles surrendered to the English, 616.

Hungar and *Hubba*, Danes, infest England, 9.

Sir *Walter Hungerford*, made Lord *Hungerford*, 284.

Baron of *Hunsdon*, who and when first made, 329.

Hunsdon house in the Black-Fryers at a Sermon, falling down, killed 100 persons, 425.

Walter Hunt a Carmelite Fryer, in a general Council at *Ferrara*, defended the Ceremonies of the Latin Church against the Greeks, 218.

Col. *Hunt*, Mr. *Nichols*, and Mr. *Mackworth*, proclaimed Traytors by the King, 520.

Hunting of Deer restrained by the Conquerour, 27. allowed to Gentlemen in their own Woods, 46.

The County of *Huntingdon* forfeited by the Scots, 55. The Earl of *Huntingdon*, when created, 278.

Huntingdon taken by the King, 540.

The Marquess of *Huntly*, and other Scotch Lords, proclaimed Traytors by the Council at *Edinburgh*, flee into England, 456.

Hurst-Castle, the King convey'd thither from the Isle of *Wight*, 564.

John Husse and *Hierome* of *Prague*, condemned of Heresie, and burnt, 177.

A Hyde of Land, how much it containeth, 26. A hundred Acres, 70.

J

Jackman and *Pet*, set forth by the Londoners, to find a shorter cut to the East-Indies by the North-west passage, return without success, 360.

Jamaica, an Island belonging to the King of Spain, the English take possession of it, 625. 632.

James, Son and Heir of *Robert* King of Scotland, a Child of nine years old, sailing into France, is taken at Sea, and sent to the Tower, 183. released after 18 years, 181.

James King of Scots murdered, 185.

James the third in a Battel against his Son is slain, 240.

James King of Scotland, with a hundred thousand takes *Norham* Castle, 259. Is slain at *Floddenfield*, with divers Lords and Bishops, 260. had been forewarned by an apparition, 261. his ill fate after he was buried, *ibid.*

King *James* the sixth, Crowned, 339. though but 12 years old, is admitted to take upon him the government, but hath Counsellors appointed him, 355. Is crowned King of England, 404. See the rest of him in his story, throughout.

Saint *James* a house of the Kings when built, 297.

Jasper, Earl of *Pembroke*, is created Duke of *Bedford*, 236.

The Lady *Jane* proclaimed Queen, 314. her willingness to resign, 315. Arraigned and Condemned, 317. though condemned, is allowed the liberty of the Tower, *ibid.* beheaded and her carriage in it, 320.

Judge *Fenkins* tryed by the Parliament, 583.

Anthony Fenkinson, the first of the English, that failed through the *Caspian* Sea, 340.

Judge *Fenkins* and Sir *John Stowell*, tryed at the Kings Bench Bar, 59.

The Isles of *Fersey* and *Man*, reduced by the Parliaments Forces, 612.

The Kings Jester gives him notice of an overthrow of the French, and in what sort, 119.

Jesuites and secular Priests bitterly inveigh against one another, but are commanded to avoid the Realm 395. Laws made against them, 366. The first Jesuite that ever set foot in England, who, 364.

Contentts between them and the secular Priests, 471. 568.

Jesus Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 250.

Jesus Colledge in *Oxford*, 570.

John Jewel Bishop of *Salisbury*, writ an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, 401.

A Jewel, worth as much as the revenues of England, 16.

Jews first brought into England by the Conquerour, 27. Much favoured by King *William Rufus*, 35. Restrained from burying any where but in London; are by King *Henry* the second allowed to bury where they dwelled, 56. Slain at the Coronation of King *Richard* the first, and why, 61.

62. A Jew refusing to pay his Taxation, hath his Teeth pulled out, till at last he consented, 72. Made to give Money to King *Henry* the Third, 82. The Jews let out to farm by King *Henry*, 84. Two hundred ninety seven executed at London, 100. Banished out of England by King *Edward* the first, *ibid.* Appointed to wear a Cognifance, whereby to be known, 101. Jews converted, had a Church builded for them in London, by

The Index.

by King Henry the Third, 89. Massacred, and upon what occasion, 65. a Jew falling into a Privy, would not be taken out that day, because it was their Sabbath, and was not suffered the next day, because it was the Christians Sabbath, and the third day he was found dead, 90.

A debate held at Whitehall, about the admission of the Jews, 627.

Igren, the beautiful Wife of the Duke of Cornwall, enjoyed by Uter Pendragon, in the likeness of her husband, by Merlin's art, 4.

Thomas Ilam Alderman, new built the great Conduit in Cheapside, 250.

Ilay a Scottish Pursuivant, 270.

Images removed out of Churches, 286.

An Image of Wax made by Necromancy, at an hour appointed, spake certain words, 154.

An Imbargo upon the Goods of English Merchants in Spain, 627.

Feoffees for Improvements condemned, and why, 451.

Inclosures pulled down by Parliament, 295.

Inclosures in Northamptonshire thrown down by Captain Pouch, 412.

Commanded to be laid open, 295. 304.

A new way to the East-Indies, found out by John Davies, 368.

Ina King of the West-Saxons, and his pious Works, 5.6.

Informers restrained, 350.

Ingerson's Alms-Houses built by Sir Will. Porter, 398.

Col. Ingoldsby and several others, counsel Richard Cromwell to suppress the meetings at Desborough's House, 632. He is removed from his Regiment, which is conferred upon Col. Rich, 642. He and Col. Streater march against Lambert, 699. Defeats his party, and takes him Prisoner, *ib.*

Installation of Oliver Cromwell Protector, 630. Of Richard Cromwell Chancellor of Oxford, *ibid.* Of the Knights of the Garter, 736.

An Insurrection in Kent about Pole-Money, and the cause of it, 142. the like in several other places, 142. 143.

An Insurrection in London against Strangers, 264.

An Insurrection made by Bluebeard soon pacified, 189. by the Prentices of London, 194.

An Insurrection in Leicester-shire, by reason of Innovation in Religion, to which the King went in person, 285.

An Insurrection in the North, called the Holy Pilgrimage, in which were 40 thousand, and how pacified, *ibid.*

Six several Insurrections upon the Innovation of Religion, 285.

Another in Somersetshire, 305. Another in Norfolk about Inclosures, *ibid.* Another in York-shire, 305. 307.

An Insurrection of Venner the Wine-Cooper, a Fifth-Monarchy-man, 734.

Intemperance of Diet used by King Hardicknut, 16. The like used by King John, 74.

Interest for Money, Twelve in the hundred paid by Queen Mary to the City, 325.

An Inundation called the Duke of Buckingham's water, 234.

An Inundation in Somersetshire to what height, 425.

Another at Coventry, *ibid.*

Inundations in Norfolk and Suffolk, *ibid.*

Duke John takes upon him to be King, 68.

John King of France, taken Prisoner by the Black Prince, 123.

Is brought over into England, and lodged at the Savoy, 124. After five years Imprisonment is released, 125. He returns into England, and why, and there dieth, *ibid.*

John the fourth Son of King Henry the second, called John without Land, and why, 59. He comes to be King of England, 68. see his story throughout.

Why preferred before his Nephew Arthur, 68. divorced from his Wife Avis, 69. Married another, and who, *ib.* dies, and how, 72. surrenders his Crown to the Pope, 73.

John Earl of Warren resists the Kings way for raising of money by Quo Warranto, 100.

John of Gaunt, the fourth Son of King Edward the third, and his three Wives, 132. styled King of Castile and Leon, and why, 133. hated of the Commons, *ibid.* He dyeth at Ely-house in Holbourn, is intombed in the Quire of Paul's, *ibid.* is confessed by Queen Philip King Edward the third's Wife, to be neither hers, nor King Edwards Son, 167.

None to be King that were called John, 137.

Saint John of Hierusalem near to Smithfield, by whom founded, 42.

Saint John's Colledge in Oxford, called before Bernard Colledge, by whom founded, 178. 199. Enlarged and by whom, *ibid.* 325. 570.

Saint John's Colledge in Cambridge, by whom founded, 250.

Benjamin Johnson, an excellent Writer of Stage-Plays, 402. 585.

St. Johnstons in Scotland, a grand Convention held there, 602. The Town taken by Cromwell's Forces, 606. The Cittadel thereof seized on for the General by Captain Witter, 664.

Captain Johnson secures Berwick for Gen. Monk, *ibid.* Mr. Jolhes prudent Speech to General Monk, 684.

Will. Jones of London Merchant, his Work of Piety, 114.

Colonel Michael Jones defeats the Marquess of Ormond's Army before Dublin, 592.

Joppa, a City of Palestine, built before the Flood, 63.

Joseph of Arimathea, first planted the Christian Faith at Thetford, now called Glaffenbury, 3.

San Joseph an Italian with 700 Souldiers landed in Ireland, and makes a Fort, calling it Fort del Or, 358. He renders himself without any conditions, *ibid.* His Souldiers are all put to the Sword in cold blood, and why, *ib.*

The Kings Journey into Scotland to be crowned, 453.

His second Journey into Scotland, 512.

His Journey into Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, to win those places to his Party, 519.

Ireland, by what English man first entred, 55. Submits it self to King Henry the Second, *ibid.* Reduced by King John, 71. Lord of Ireland, a Title first given to King John, 72. Laws of England when first executed in Ireland, 74. Irish men commanded to avoid the Realm, and why, 147. Ireland afforded to King Edward the third Thirty thousand pounds yearly, *ibid.*

The Tax in Ireland called the Cresse, what it was, 354. King of Ireland, who had the Title first, 289. The Governours of Ireland, what Titles they had, 357. Many Rebellions, but soon suppressed, 351. A Rebellion through the severe Government of Richard Bingham, 367.

In Ireland nine pence to go for twenty Pence, 396. English Laws first planted in Ireland by King John, 72.

Colonel Ireland and several others appear in Sir George Booth's Rising, 652.

Henry Ireton made Commissary General of the Army, 547. Deputy of Ireland in the room of his Father-in-law Gen. Cromwell, 612. his death, *ibid.*

Queen Isabel the Daughter of a King, the Wife of a King, the Sister of a King, and the Mother of a King; and yet a miserable Woman in the end, 116.

Another Isabel of France married to King Richard the second, 154.

The Fields about Islington and Hogsden, laid open, and the Inclosures thrown down, which have ever since continued, 262.

Sir Henry Isly a Conspirator with Wiat, taken in disguise, is hanged at Maidstone, 320.

Isip in Oxfordshire, the place where King Edward the Confessor was born, 17.

Simon Isip Archbishop of Canterbury, founded Cantuari Colledge in Oxford, 130. He writ many Treatises, 134.

Sir Andrew Jude his Work of Piety, 313.

The Jubilee for 50 years, brought to be every 25 years, when and by whom, 217.

Judges carefully looked to by King Edgar, 12. Their Circuits appointed by King Henry the Second, 36. The Lord Chief Justice required to be chosen by Parliament, 81. and also, 85. 86.

The Judges fined for corruption, 100. The Circuits of Justices Itinerants, when first begun, 101. They give Sentence as the King would have them, 143. All the Justices banished the Realm, and their goods confiscated, 149. 150. The Chief Justice committed the Prince to the Fleet, and why, 163. When they first had allowance for their Circuits, 396. Their number increased by King James, 420. Their Debate about Ship-money, 456.

Junto. See Common-wealth Parliament.

A Jury questioned and fined for acquitting Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, 44.

Lord Justices manage the Affairs of Ireland, 478. They issue out Commissions of Martial Law, 602. They send an account of the Irish Affairs to the Ear of Leicester, 513. Their Message to the Lords of the Pale, 161. They desire men out of Scotland, *ibid.*

The Index.

A Just at *Richmond* that continued a month, 240.
A Just in *Smithfield*, to which resorted many great Lords out of foreign Nations, and the manner of the Solemnity, 146. another solemn Just, 259. 263.

K

Saint *Katherine's* Hospital by the Tower, by whom founded, 50.

Queen *Katherine* is cited to appear in Court, and her carriage there, 276. She appeals from the Cardinals to the Pope, *ibid.* she is confined, 281. her marriage is by Parliament dissolved, *ibid.* she dieth at *Kimbolton*, 283.

Katherine-hall in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 217.
Keeper of the Privy seal, the fourth degree of honour in *England*, 351.

Kenelworth Priory by whom founded, 42.
Kenred the eighth King of *Mercia* left his Crown and became a Monk, 7.

Kent at *Caesars* coming had four Kings in it, 2. The first Kingdom of the *Saxons*, 5. Divided into Parishes, *ibid.* The *Kentish* Men are of due placed in the forefront of the Battail, 23. They procure of the Conquerour the continuance of their Laws, and by what device, 27.

The *Kentish* Men take up arms in the behalf of the King, 560. Routed at *Maidstone*, by General *Fairfax*, 561.

Kenwolp the 13 King of *Mercia*, founded the Monastery of *Winchcombe* in *Gloucestershire*, 7.

Col. *Kerr* defeated M. Gen. *Lambert*, 603.

Kerry in *Ireland* made a County Palatine, and by whom, 354.

Kett, his Insurrection in *Norfolk* about inclosures 305. how pacified, 306. he is taken and hanged in Chains upon *Norwich*-Castle, *ibid.*

Morgan Kidwelly informeth the Earl of *Richmond*, of King *Richards* purpose to marry one of his Brother King *Edwards* daughters, 232.

Kilkenny in *Ireland* with several other Towns taken by the English Forces, 6. 8.

John Killingworth a Physitian, Astronomer and Philosopher, when lived, 133.

Kimbolton with five Members of the Common-house, accused of Treason by the King, 516.

Kings-hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded, 130.

Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 199.

The *Kings*-evil first cured by *Edward* the Confessor, 18.

The Kings grant not always of force, 50.
Kingston, the usual place where the Kings of *England* anciently were crowned, 10. 11. &c.

Sir *William Kingston* his bloody Jest with the Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, 305. also with a Millers Man, *ib.*

Kitts house by *Alsford* in *Kent*, a Monument erected in memory of *Colligern* there slain, 4.

Knees brawned with continual praying, whose, 29.
Thomas Kneefworth Mayor of *London*, his Work of Piety, 267. Fined and why, 250.

Sir *Thomas Knevet*, and the ship called the *Regent*, with 700 men in it, all drowned, 257.

Sir *Edward Knevet* adjudged to lose his right hand, and the solemn manner of it, and how he was pardoned, 288.

Knighthood conferred in an extraordinary manner, 9.

The Order of the Knights *Templars*, when begun, 41.

The Order of Knighthood imposed upon men of a certain Estate, 98.

Knighthood anciently more solemnly conferred then now a-days, *ibid.*

Knights *Templars* accused of Heresie, and committed to prison all *Christendome* over, 113.

Knights of the *Hare*, who, and why so called, 118.

Degrading of a Knight, in what manner done, 204. 205.

Knighthood imposed upon all men of 40 pound Lands, 282. 449.

The Order of Saint *John* of *Hierusalem*, commonly called *Knights* of the *Rhodes*, when dissolved, 296.

What multitude made by *K. James* at his first coming, 405.

Major *Knight* being sent with a party to seize *Newcastle* is prevented, 665. he, Col. *Cloeberry*, and Col. *Wilkes*, the three Commissioners sent by the Gen. to treat with *Lambert*, 667. his Speech to the Army Officers, to encourage them to subscribe the Engagement which the General had caused to be drawn up, 697.

K

Henry Knighton writ a history, Intituled, *De gestis Anglorum*, 134.

Knol in *Kent*, a house of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by him enlarged, 249.

Sir *Robert Knolls*, how otherwise called, and his first act, 126. scorned, as risen from a mean Estate, *ibid.* he daunteth the Rebels, 142. his Work of Piety, 165.

Sir *Francis Knolls*, a Counsellor of great age dyeth, 387.

John Knox in *Scotland*, perswades the Lords that it belonged to them to take away Idolatry, and by force to reduce the Prince to the prescript of the Laws, 332.

Kickers, or Adventurers, Souldiers so called, what they were, 272. All defeated, *ibid.*

L

L

Lacock Abby in *Wiltshire*, by whom founded, 89.

Sir *John Lamb*, and Doctor *Sibthorp*, inform against the Bishop of *Lincoln*, 457.

Major Gen. *Lambert* defeats Col. *Kerre*, and takes him prisoner, 603. he defeats Sir *John Brown* in *Eife*, 605.

takes the Pass at *Upton*, 608. his words to the speaker of the Remnant of Parliament, at the delivery of the Armies Petition, and Address, 646. he receives his Commission in the house from the Speaker, 648. he is sent against Sir *George Booth*, 652. defeats him, *ibid.* he promotes several consultations among the Army Officers in prejudice of the Juncto's power 654. is thereupon censured by them, *ibid.* is removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him successively advanced 661. he dissolves the Remnant Parliament, by stopping up the passages to the Parliament house, *ibid.* his Army in great want of Money, 666. a Treaty agreed on, between him and General *Monk*, *ibid.* his party dayly decreases, upon the appearance of the *Portsmouth* Commissioners. 676. he makes an escape out of the Tower, 698. the Generals care to suppress him, *ibid.* Col. *Ingoldsby*, and Col. *Streeter*, march against him, *ibid.* his party defeated, and he taken Prisoner, 699. *Cobbet*, sent again to the Tower, *ibid.*

William Lambert, his work of Piety, 399.

Lambeth, the Collegiate Church there, by whom founded, 66.

The E. of *Lancaster* withdrew from *K. Edward* 2. 108.

The Earl of *Lancaster's* Wife claimed by a lame Dwarf, and avowed by her, 109.

John Duke of Lancaster, bears divers Offices at the Coronation, quarrels with the Bishop of *London*, and why, 136. he bears a spleen to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and why, 140. Accused by a Fryer of intending to kill the King, and how the Fryer was made away, *ibid.*

Thomas Earl of Lancaster posselt of five Earldomes, 105. Is beheaded, 111. his death bemoaned by the King, 115.

Duke of *Lancaster* goes to *Spain* with an Army, 141. Is canonized for a Saint, 153.

James Lancaster with three Ships takes nine and thirty Spanish Ships, and his other Acts, 383.

Peter Landeis the Duke of *Britains* Treasurer, bribed by King *Richard*, promiseth to keep the Earl of *Richmond* in perpetual prison, 231. Is hanged for it by the Duke of *Britain*, *ibid.*

Ralph Lane, the first that brought Tobacco into *England*, 368.

Lanfranke Archbishop of *Canterbury* builds two Hospitals about *Canterbury*, and procures 25 Mannors to be restored to that See, 29. he dies, 32.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and the Lord *Digby* routed near *Sherborn*, by *Coply* and *Lilborn*, 544. he joyns with Sir *Tho. Glenham*, and *Phil Musgrave* 561. he joyns with the Scottish Army under Duke *Hamilton*, *ibid.* defeated by *Cromwell*, 562.

Thomas Lanquet writ an Epitome of Chronicles, and also of the winning of *Bullogn*, 300.

Lapis Calaminaris, the stone so called, when first brought into *England*, 399.

Langley, a Monastery builded there by King *Edward* the second, to pray for the soul of *Gareston*, 112.

Latham-house relieved by Prince *Rupert*, 533. surrendered to the Parliaments forces, 585.

The Lord *Latimers* Family, as far heirs Male, extinct, 355. how his four Daughters were bestowed, *ibid.*

Hugh Latimer, late Bishop of *Worcester*, sent to the Tower, 317. burnt at *Oxford*, 321.

Doctor *Land* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his pious Work,

The Index.

Work, 423. His dream concerning the Bishop of Lincoln, 486. He is advanced to the Bishoprick of London, 487. Libels found against him and the Lord Treasurer. *ibid.* is made Archbishop of Canterbury in the room of George Abbot deceased, 489 his house at Lambeth beset in a tumultuous manner by Apprentices, 471. he is committed to the Black rod, 476. accused by the Commons of high Treason, and ordered to the Tower, 477. he is brought to his Tryal, 539. beheaded at Tower-hill. *ibid.*

The Earl of Lauderdale accompanies his Majesty to White-Ladies, after the fight at Worcester, 607. taken near Newport by some of Col. Lilburns Troops, 608 kept prisoner at Windsor Castle till his Majesties Restauration, 610.

Laws made by Ina King of the West-Saxons, 5.

Excellent Laws made by King Alfred, 9.

A Law ordained by the West-Saxon Kings, that no Kings Wife should have the Title or Majesty of a Queen, and why, 6.

Laws made by King Athelstan of excellent use, 10.

Laws made by King Edmund, translated into Latine by Master Lambert, 1.

A Law made by King Edgar to suppress drunkenness, by sizing of Pots, 11.

Laws made by King Canutus of excellent use, 16.

Laws, as now they are called the Common Laws of England, composed for the most part by Edward the Confessor, 18.

Laws of Normandy brought in by the Conquerour, 16.

Laws commanded by the Conquerour to be written in French, and all pleadings to be in French. *ibid.*

The Law of *Ne exeat Regno*, first imposed by King William Rufus, 34.

Laws reformed by King Henry the second, 52.

English Laws, when first planted in Ireland, 74.

The Laws of England, written by Randolph Earl of Chester and also by Bracton, 91.

A Law made by King Henry the fourth, that no person should alledge for his excuse any constraint of his Prince, for doing of an unlawful Act, 164.

Lawyers not suffered by the King to be chosen Burgesses of the Parliament. *ibid.*

Law for admision of poor in *Forma Pauperis*, when first ordained, 249.

A Law that none assisting the King for the time being, should afterwards be impeached for it, by an Act of Parliament to be made, *ibid.*

A Law against Murderers and Thieves, *ibid.*

Laws of England, when first executed in Ireland, 309.

Lawyers in Westminster-hall plead in harness, for fear of Wyats coming, 318.

Laws for punishment of Heresie, revived, 325.

Laws more strict then before made against Papists, 361.

Laws made against Jesuits and Popish Priests, 366.

Lawyers famous when living, 218.

A League Tripartite, between the Emperour and the Kings of France and England, 266. Leagues of Princes of small validity, 267. A League offensive and defensive between King Henry the eighth and the Emperour, 269. broken and why, 275.

A League between France and England, 349.

The holy League in France, and to what it tended, 379.

Solemn League and Covenant entred into by the Scots, and taken in England, 561. Urged by the Parliament to all the Countries in England and Wales, *ibid.*

Learning so much esteemed by King Alfred, that he made a Law that all freemen possessing two hides of Land should bring up their Sons in Learning, till fifteen years of age at least, 8.

The Marquies of Leda sent Embassadour from Spain to the English L. Protector, 624. Governour of Dunkirk, and slain in a sally out of that Town, 634.

Leaden-hall in London, when and by whom built, and for what use, 199.

Leeds Castle in Kent, by whom first built, 29. to whom it anciently belonged, 110. Besieged and taken by King Richard the second, and why, *ibid.*

Leeds in the North taken by Sir Tho. Fairfax, 527.

Bartholemew Legat, and Edward Wighton two Arrian Hereticks burnt in Smithfield, 423.

Hugh Legat a Monk of St. Albans writ Scholias upon Boetius de Consolatione, 167.

The Legend of English Saints, written by John Capgrave, 201.

Leicester Abby, called Saint Mary de Prato, by whom founded, 42.

The City defended by the scite of the place, 54.

The new Hospital at Leicester, by whom founded, 131.

Earls of Leicester, Look Monford and Dudley

The Earl of Leicester, made Lord Deputy of Ireland in the room of Strafford, 513. an account of the Irish affairs, sent to him by the Lords Justices, with his answer, *ibid.*

Leicester taken by the King, 541. taken again by Fairfax, 542.

Leith in Scotland taken by the Earl of Hertford, 290.

John Leland writ divers Treatises, for instruction of Grammarians, 200. 201.

Lent first commanded to be kept by Ercombert King of Kent, 5. so observed by King Henry the fifth, that at the Coronation of his Queen, the Feast was only of fish, 175. Divers Lords imprisoned for eating of flesh in Lent, 291.

Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent of Scotland, 336. murdered, 338.

Leo King of Armenia, comes into England, and why, 141.

Leolyn Prince of Wales, rebels against King Edward the first, afterwards submits himself, and afterwards rebels again, 95. Is slain, and his head set upon the Tower of London, crowned with Ivie, 96.

St. Leonards Hospital at York, founded by William Rufus, 36.

Leopold Duke of Austria takes King Richard prisoner, 63.

The Letany and Procession, when first set forth in English, 304.

Alexander Lesly made General of the Rebel Scots, 466.

David Lesly defeats Montrose, at the fight at Philipshaugh, 567. He is taken prisoner in the pursuit after the Fight at Worcester, 610.

Old General Lesly and divers others are taken Elliot in Perth, 611.

A Letter of dangerous importance written by a Jesuite to the Father Rector at Brussels, 488.

A Letter to the House of Commons, called, *A speech without Doors*, 490. The Scots Letter to the King of France to implore his assistance, 469. The Scots Commissioners Letter to the Speaker, 546. The Kings Letters to the Parliament, 556. The Parliament of Scotland Letter to the English Juncto, protesting against the Kings Murder, 589. Kings Charles the seconds Letter to Montrose, 593. to the Committee of Estates, 594. another concerning their severe proceedings against Montrose, 599. The Earl of Lauderdale intercepted Letters, 606. Duke Hamiltons Letter to Crofts, *ibid.* The Kings Letter to Mackworth, 607.

His Majesties first Letter to General Monk, 651. his Majesties Letter to Sir John Greenville, *ibid.* A Letter from the Committee of the Council of Officers to Gen. Monk, concerning the Armies representation, 659. Gen. Monks Letter to the City of London, 672. Of several Members of the Council of State to Gen. Monk, 673. Of Lamberts Officers, *ibid.* A Letter of advice from Gen. Monk to Lambert, 678. Gen. Monks Letter to the Long Parliament, 679. another Letter from him to the said House, 686. his Letter to all the Regiments to acquaint them what he had done, 688. 689.

Overtons Letter to some of Monks General Officers, 691.

Gen. Monks Letter to Col. Overton, 692.

The Kings Letter to the House of Lords, 702. to the House of Commons, 703. to Gen. Monk, 704. to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, 706. to the Officers of the Fleet, 707. his Letter to the General, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, 710.

Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent of Scotland, 336. murdered, 338.

Leo King of Armenia, comes into England, and why, 141.

Leolyn Prince of Wales, rebels against King Edward the first, afterwards submits himself, and afterwards rebels again, 95. Is slain, and his head set upon the Tower of London, crowned with Ivie, 96.

St. Leonards Hospital at York, founded by Will. Rufus 36.

Leopold Duke of Austria takes King Richard Prisoner, 63.

Letters for secrecy sent in Bottles, 343.

The Levellers defeated at Burford, 591.

Dr. Levens hanged, and for what, 600.

Mr. Lewinstons Speech to the King at Breda, 595.

Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Mounson, set out to attempt something against Spain, and what they did, 395.

The Index.

Sir *Lewis Lukenor* the Master of the Ceremonies, and his Fee. 406.

Lewis Abbey in *Sussex*, founded by *William Warren* Earl of *Surrey*. 36.

King *Lewis* of *France* his policy to get *Vernuil*. 54.

Prince *Lewis* of *France* is sent for by the Barons of *England*. 71. he landeth at *Sandwich* with a Fleet of 600 Sail. 72. Prince *Lewis* the Fair, why so called. 78. He abjures his claim to any interest in *England*, and departs. 78. King *Lewis* of *France* his nobleness of mind, toward the Duke of *Bedfords* Monument at *Roan*. 185. *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France*, marries *Mary* sister of King *Henry* the eighth, and dies within 82. days after his marriage. 262. 263.

Lord of *Libberton*, see *Windram*.

A Libeller hanged and quartered. 231. Libellers have their right hands cut off. 382.

Libels found against Bishop *Land*, and the Lord Treasurer *Weston*. 497.

Liberty of the Subject. 35. 85. 86.

A Library erected at *Tork* by the Archbishop there. 6.

The Library at *Oxford* burnt. 13. The Library in *Tork* burnt by the Normans. 24.

The Publick Library at *Oxford*, built by Sir *Thomas Bodley*. 398. 418.

Lidington the Scotchman, for his variable disposition, called by *Buchanan*, the *Camelion*. 351.

A Lightning that burned a man to death. 425.

John Lilburn a great Champion of the Levellers. 595. he is banisht. 613. he comes over into *England* out of Exile. 636. tryed for his life, and quitted by the Jury, yet sent back to Prison. *ibid*.

Col. *Lilburn* defeats the Earl of *Derby* at *Wiggon* in *Lancashire*. 607. he makes all possible opposition against General *Monk* in *Torkshire*. 666. he endeavours to seduce the Generals Secretary from his service, but prevails not. *ibid*. he intercepts the Gen. Letter to Major Gen. *Morgan*. *ibid*.

Alan du Lin, a great Writer when he lived. 179.

Lincoln, The Cathedral Church there, builded by *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*. 36.

The City thought disastrous, for any King to enter into it with his Crown on his head. 51.

The Cathedral Church there rent to pieces with an Earthquake. 58.

The Earl of *Lincoln* brings *Martin Swart*, with a power of *Almains*, to assist *Lambert Symnel* in *Ireland*. 238.

The Bishop of *Lincoln* informed against by Sir *John Lamb*, and Dr. *Sibthorp*. 457. he is fined and imprisoned for certain misdemeanours. *ibid*. Released out of the Tower by the Parliament. 442.

The Earl of *Lindseys* expedition to *Rochel*. 442. successful. *ibid*. He is sent with a Fleet to scour the Seas. 455. he flies with others of the Peers to the King at *Tork*. 519. General of all the Kings Army. 521. he is slain at the Battle of *Edgehill*. 475.

John Lintester a Dyer, a Captain of the Rebels in *Cambridgeshire*, *Norfolk*, &c. 139. his insolence. *ibid*. defeated by the Bishop of *Norwich*, and beheaded. *ibid*.

Lyons when first appointed to be kept in the Tower of *London*. 56.

All the Lyons in the Tower die. 199.

Their nature discovered before King *James*, in killing a Cock, and sparing a Lamb. 409.

Sir *George Lisle*, shot to death at *Colchester*. 563. the ground bare of grafs for a good while after, where he fell. 578.

Litchfield the Hospital by whom Founded. 249.

The Town besieged by the Lord *Brook*. 524. The Close taken after his death by his Souldiers. *ibid*. Retaken by Prince *Rupert*. *ibid*.

Littleton, a Judge of the Common Pleas, made a Knight of the Bath, was Author of *Littleton's Tenures*. 219.

The Lord Keeper flies with the Great Seal to the King at *Tork*. 518.

Sir *Henry Littleton* and others committed to the Tower. 623.

Titius Livius de Foro Luvisius, an Italian, writ the Life of King *Henry* the fifth. 179.

Loan, taken by King *Henry* the eighth. 284.

A general Loan resolved on, and Commissioners appointed to gather it. 438. Divers Gentlemen imprisoned

for opposing it. *ibid*. They brought their *Habeas Corpus*, and came to a tryal. 440. their case debated. 441. Loans granted to the King, and by whom. 469.

Col. *William Lockhart*, one of the Itinerant Judges of *Scotland*. 631. sent by *Oliver Cromwel* Ambassadour to the French King. 653. Married to a Niece of *Cromwel's*. *ib*. he is made Commander in Chief of the English abroad in the room of *Reynolds*. 633. Afterwards Governour of *Dunkirk*. 634. he submits to the change of Government made by the Army. 648. he Negotiates for the English Commonwealth, at the Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Spain*. 653.

Leogrin, all the part on this side *Humber*, so called of *Lochrine*, eldest Son of *Brute*. 2.

Lollards, who so called. 129.

Peter Lombard, *Comester*, and *Gratian*, all three Brothers, and all three Ballards. 51.

Great Fire in *London*. 29. 250.

The Mayor upon solemn days walks to a Grave-stone in *Pauls Church* of a Bishop of *London*, who procured the Conqueror to confirm that Charter of Liberties. 27. The Mayor committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, and a Warden appointed to govern the City. 147.

The Mayor when first begun to go by water to take his Oath. 198. He swears Allegiance to the Lady *Jane*. 314. A great part of *London* overthrown with Tempests. 36. The Streets not paved in *William Rufus* time. *ibid*.

Franchises granted to it, by King *Richard* the first. 66. The Wall of the City of *London*, from *Cripplegate* to *Bishopsgate*, by whom built. 217. a great part of it burnt. 29. another time. 43.

The Bridge new made of Timber, by whom. 58. begun to be builded of Stone, when and by whom. *ibid*. when *London* first governed by a Mayor and Sheriffs. 66. 74.

The Mayor anciently continued many years in the place. *ibid*. Their Corporations and Fellowships when first granted. *ibid*. The Bridge finished of stone, when and by whom. 74. Their Common Council, when first ordained. *ibid*. The Mayor and Sheriffs ordained to be chosen every year. 74. *London* obtains of King *Henry* the third, to pass Toll-free thorow all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*, and to use a common Seal. 88. 89. Sheriffs of *London* to stay in their places but one year. *ibid*. The Mayor ordained to be sworn before the Barons of the Exchequer, when first. *ibid*. First Aldermen there. *ibid*. Franchises granted to the City of *London*. 129. Liberties of *London* seized, and why. 147. Mayor of *London* offended that the Lord Treasurer was placed before him. 205. *London*-wall repaired. 217. *London*-Bridge burnt. 571.

London-Derry the Siege raised by Sir *Charles Coot*. 638. 592.

Mr. *Long* sentenced in the Star-Chamber. 446.

William Longshampe, Bishop of *Ely*, left Governour of the Realm in King *Richards* absence, his insolent carriage. 62. 64. He disguiseth himself in Womans apparel, to flee the Realm, but discovered, is beaten by the Women. 64.

Longshanke, the Surname of King *Edward* the first, and why. 102.

William Long Espee, or *Longsword*, a base Son of King *Henry* the second, by *Rosamond*, made Earl of *Salisbury*. 59.

Rodericks Lopes a Jew, and Physician to Queen *Elizabeth*, corrupted to kill her, is hanged and quartered. 383.

Lords seize Castles upon report of King *Stephens* death. 47.

Their demands to King *John* refused. 71. they take Arms, and send for *Lewis* of *France*. 71. confederate against King *H*. 3. 79. the King proclaims them Outlaws, and seizes their Estates. 80. They come armed to the Parliament. *ibid*. The King oppresseth them. 81. several committed to the Tower. 149. several put to death. 204. several created. 226. 428. The Lords acquit the King from any design of making War against the Parliament. 519.

A Lottery holden in *London* for the Plantation of *Virginia*, and who got the best Prize, and what it was. 415.

Love unspeakable of a Wife. 94. Love yields to any conditions. 95.

The Family of *Love*, when and where begun. 397. Mr.

The Index.

Mr. *Christopher Love* and others tryed for their lives about a Plot, 605. *Love* and *Gibbons* beheaded. *ibid.*

John Lovekin, four times Mayor of London, his Pious Works. 131.

Low Countries, The War there, how it first began. 341. The means by which it hath so long been able to hold out against the King of Spain. 349. send to Qu. *Eliz.* to undertake their Protection, and her Answer. 353. also 367. They are aided by Qu. *Eliz.* with 4000 Souldiers. *ibid.* She undertakes their Protection, and hath *Flushing* and *Brill* delivered to her. 368. They complain of the Earl of *Leicesters* carriage. *ibid.* whereupon he is called home. 375.

Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, shot to death at *Colchester*. 563. The ground bare of grafs where he fell. 590.

Ludgate, the Image placed there, is of *Cadwalader*. 5 The Lord *Lumley*, from whom descended. 217.

Colonel *Lunsford* apprehended for endeavouring to raise forces about *Kingslone*. 529.

Martin Luther begins a Reformation of Religion. 295. *Lutherans* and *Protestants* how they differ. 296.

Colonel *Lydcot* preferred by General *Monk* to the Command of *Cobbets* Regiment. 672. He is called by the General to advise with in his Treaty with *Lambert*. *ibid.* He is sent with General *Monks* Letter to the Long Parliament, about the sending of their Souldiers out of the City. 681. He and Colonel *Cloeberry*, sent with a Letter from General *Monk* to the Long Parliament. 686. His Speech to the Officers of the Army, upon the reading of his Majesties Letter and Declaration. 705.

John Lydgate, a Monk of *Berry*, writes much in Poetry. 201.

The Lye given to K. *Henry* the third to his face, by *Simon Monford* Earl of *Leicester*, yet passed over. 84.

Thomas Lynde Knighted. 255.

Lynne garrison'd for the King. 529. Besieged and taken by *Manchester* and *Cromwel*. *ibid.*

Lyonel Duke of Clarence, third Son of King *Edward* the third, Ancestor by a Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. 132.

Nicholas Lyranus, or *De Lyra*, a converted Jew, and a great writer in Divinity, when he lived. 114.

Liveries not to be given, but to household-servants. 164.

M

M

Mac-guire, and *Mac-mahon*, two Irish Rebels, and seized on. 512. hanged, drawn and quartered at *Tyburn*. 513.

Mack-Williams, a Name of great account with the Irish, wholly extinct. 367.

Colonel *Mackworth*, Governour of *Shrewsbury*, his Letter to the Kings Letter and Summons. 607.

Magdalen Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom built. 199.

Magdalens Chappel at *Kingslone*, by whom founded. 131.

Magdalen, a man much like to King *Richard*, given out to be him. 159. is hanged and quartered. 160.

Madesfield Chappel in *Cheshire*, by whom founded. 250.

Mahomets Doctrine begins to spread. 5.

Major Generals constituted over Provinces, and who they were. 626.

Malcolme King of *Scots* made to do homage to the Conquerour. 26. A most valiant Prince, and an example of it. 33. forced to do homage to *William Rufus*. *ibid.*

The Island of *Malta* is given by the Emperour to the Knights of *St. John* of *Hierusalem*. 279.

Malden in *Essex*, anciently called *Camolodunum*. 2.

Malgo Conanus succeedeth *Vortiporus* in the Kingdom. 4.

A *Maletot*, what it was. 153.

Thomas Mallory, a *Welshman*, writ of King *Arthur*, and of the Round Table. 252.

Malmesbury Abbey built by *Kenwold* King of the *West Saxons*. 6. Founded by Saint *Adela*. 11. The Castle there by whom built. 42.

Sir *Roger Manhood*, Chief Baron, his work of Piety. 398.

The Isle of *Man*, whereof *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, hath the Title to be King. 117. The Isle given to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to hold of the King, by bearing the Sword, with which he entred *England*. 157.

Sir *Walter de Manny*, born at *Cambray*, founded the *Charter-house* by *Smithfield*. 130. he died at *London*, and was buried in the *Charter-house*. 137.

John Mandevile, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick, and a Knight, when he lived. 134.

Lord *Mandevile*, created Baron of *Kimbolton*. 430.

Henry Manners, Earl of *Rutland*, descended by his Mother from *Edward* the fourth. 274.

Sir *Thomas Manners*, Lord *Rosse*, is created Earl of *Rutland*. *ibid.*

Mannings treachery discovered, for which he is put to death. 624.

The Earl of *March*, what Earldom it was, 116. he gave the Sun for his badge, and why. 197. proclaimed King of *England* by the name of *Edward* the fourth. 198. Look his Reign throughout. 203.

Mardike Fort taken by joynt forces of the *French* and *English*. 630. The *Spaniard* attempts to regain it, but in vain. *ibid.*

Margaret, Queen of *Scotland*, marries *Archibald Dowglass*, Earl of *Angus*. 263. Eldest Daughter to King *Henry* the seventh, is married to *James* King of *Scotland*. 246. her Issue. 251.

Queen *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, and Wife to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. dies. 33.

The Lady *Margaret Dowglass*, the Kings near Niece, marries *Matthew of Lenox*, and by him had *Henry* Father of *James*. 284.

The Lady *Margaret*, Dutches of *Burgundy*, sets up *Perkins*, *Warbeck* against King *Henry* the seventh. 241.

Saint *Margarets* Church near the Abbey at *Westminster*, by whom founded. 18.

Marianus Scotus, a Historiographer in the Conquerours time. 31.

Markham Chief Justice, chosen rather to lose his place, than to assent to an unjust judgment. 215.

Sir *Griffith Markham* set at liberty, but lived long after in mean account. 407.

Col. *Markham*, and Mr. *Aikins*, sent by General *Monk* with a Letter to the City of *London*. 672. Imprisoned by the Committee of Safety, upon pretence that the Letter was fictitious. 673.

Statutes of *Marleborough*, when made. 88.

Sir *Henry Marney*, created Lord *Marney*. 271.

The Earl of *Marre*, by a special privilege, hath the custody of the King of *Scotland* in his minority. 350.

Marriage of Princes, when very young. 116.

Marriage of *Henry* the fourth. 161. marriage of *Henry* the eighth first excepted against. 276.

Sufficiently made by Parties bare consent. 473.

Marriage-Bed so loathed by Queen *Gutburga*, that she sued a Divorce, and became a Nun. 6.

Marron Nunnery near *Lynne*, by whom founded. 89.

William Marshal Earl of *Pembroke*, had five Sons, who all lived to be Earls successively, yet all died without Issue. 91.

The Noble Family of the *Marshals*, in whom extinct. *ibid.*

Richard Earl *Marshal* trained into *Ireland*, and there slain. 80.

Marston-Moor fight. 534.

Letter of *Mart* called in. 408.

Saint *Martins le Grand* in *London*, by whom founded. 28.

Gregory Martin, commonly called *Marprelate*, and his seditious Libel. 398.

Martinengi, the last Popes Nuncio in *England*. 334.

Mary Magdalen, *Lazarus* and *Martha* come into *England*. 3.

Saint *Mary Overies* in *Southwark*, began to be builded. 74. by whom founded. 42. More. 163.

Saint *Mary Hall* in *Oxford* founded by King *Edward* the second. 113.

The Church-yard of *S. Mary Hospital* without *Bishopsgate*, and an house in it, when and by whom built. 217.

Saint *Mary Ottery* in *Devonshire*, founded by King *Edward* the Confessor. 19.

Mary King Henry the eighths Sister, marries *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*, and is Crowned Queen. 262. She after marries *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. 263.

Mary Queen of Scots conveyed into *France*, and at six years old married to the Dauphin. 304. Offers all observance to Queen *Eliz.* so she might be declared her Successor.

The Index.

cessor. 333. Advises with her about her marriage. 335. Delivered of a Son. 338. Marries Earl *Bohrwell*, *ibid.* whereupon the *Scotch* Lords seize her, and force her to resign. 339. She flies into *England*, and the event thereof. 340, 341, 364, 365. Consultations about her. 371. Tried and condemned, *ibid.* 373, 374. Lady *Mary* constant to her Religion. 309. She claimeth the Crown. 314. Is proclaimed. 316. Crowned. 317. Preached to be with-child, but not so. 322. Her death. 325.

Mary de Medicis the *Queens* Mother comes over into *England*. 466.

Mary, eldest Daughter of *K. Charles of England*, is married to *William Prince of Orange*, 508. She is brought to bed of a Son. 571.

She arrives in *England*, soon after the restoration of the King her Brother. 730. Her death. 732.

Masks when first in *England*. 255.

A Mask of *Lords*, the youngest fifty. 266.

Mask of the *Innes of Court*. 454.

The *Mas* restored. 317. Commanded in all Churches to be used. 325.

Massacre of *Protestants in France*, at the marriage of the *K. of Navarre*. 349.

Colonel *Massey* takes *Sudley Castle* for the Parliament. 524. He beats the *Earl of Worcesters* forces, *ibid.* He keeps *Glocester* against the King. 527. He takes *Monmouth*. 537.

He deserts the *Parliaments Cause*, and is designed Commander in Chief of his Majesties *English* forces in *Scotland*. 605. He keeps the passage at *Upton*. 608. surrendering himself to the *Countess of Stamford*; after *Worcester* fight he is secured by the *Lord Grey* his Son. *ibid.* Makes his escape out of the *Tower*. 651. Bestirs himself for the King in *Glocestershire* at the time of *Sir George Booths* Rising. 651. is taken prisoner. 652. he escapes together with several other prisoners. *ibid.* Is knighted by his Majesty at *Canterbury*. 711.

Matild, King *Henry* the firsts Wife, Daughter to the King of *Scots*. 38. 43.

Mathild, King *Stephens* Wife, a valorous Woman. 50.

Maltrevers marries the Duke of *Lenox* his Eldest Daughter. 467.

Maud the *Empress* comes into *England*. 47. and received by the *Londoners*. 48. where buried, *ibid.* Besieged by King *Stephen* in *Arundel Castle*. *ibid.* In *Oxford*. *ibid.* she escapes in the snow. *ibid.* Discouraged, she leaves the prosecution of the War to her Son *Henry*. *ibid.* what became of her after the agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, uncertain. 49.

Maudlin, the Counterfeit *K. Richard*, hanged and quartered. 160.

Maulin in *Kent*, with the Nunnery, consumed with fire. 66.

Munday Thursday, the custom of washing poor mens feet, by whom first brought up. 129.

Prince *Maurice* cast away in the *West Indies*. 671.

Beats *Sir W. Waller*, near *Tewsbury*. 543.

Maximilian the *Emperour* wears a cross of *S. George*, as King *Henries* Souldier, and takes pay. 258. his death. 265.

Cuthbert Mayne, a Priest executed, and why. 397.

Medway River almost dried up. 42.

Melancholy a strange one. 209.

Sir John Meldrum besieged *Newark*. 531. he is blockt up by Prince *Rupert*. *ibid.*

Mend-all, so *Jack Kade* killed himself. 190.

Mendmarket, a name given to *Sir Robert Umprexis*, for taking divers *Scottish* ships, laden with corn, and thereby bringing down the price. 163.

Mendoza the *Spanish* Ambassador is thrust out of *England*, and why. 364.

The *East-India* Merchants confirmed, and made a body politick. 396. How the title of *Merchant-Taylors* came first to *Taylors*. 249. Prince *Henry* made free of the *Merchant-Taylors*. 412.

Mercherdack King of *Ireland*, a great honourer of King *Henry* the first. 44.

The *Muscovy* Company of Merchants, and the privileges granted them. 340.

The *Turkie* Merchants when first set up. 357. The *East-India* Merchants first set up with great privileges. 391.

Mercia, containing *Glocestershire*, and 15 other shires adjoining, make the sixth Kingdom of the *Saxons*. 7.

Adam Merimouth writ two historical Treatises; one entituled *Chronice 40 Annorum*, another 60 *Annorum*, 155.

Merival Abbey, by whom founded 42. 50.

Merlin, a Cabinet Counsellor of King *Vortigern* 3. A Magician, *ibid.*

Morton Abby in *Surrey* founded by a *Norman* Lord 29.

Merton Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded 101.

Morton Priory at *Dover*, by whom founded 5.

Mervin, Lord *Audley*, see *Earl of Castle-haven*.

Messina in *Sicily* taken by King *Richard* 63.

The Kings Message to the parliament 516. another Message 520. several more 536.

The message sent from the Estates of *Scotland* to King *Charles* the second 593. another message of the *Scots* to the King 599. from the King to the Committee of Estate 617. his message to the parliament of *Scotland*, *ibid.*

King *Charles* the second, his message to the House of Commons, concerning the Act of pardon 715.

Mich. Abbey at *Abbingdon*, by whom built, and by whom re-edified 10.

S. Michaels Church in *Crooked-Lane*, by whom build- ed 135.

Sir Francis Michill, a Justice of *Middlesex*, degraded, and whv 438.

Middleham Colledge beyond *Tork*, by whom founded 234.

Middleton Church in *Dorsetshire* consumed with lightning 113.

Sir Hugh Middleton brings water to *London*, from *Chadwell* in *Hartfordshire* 417.

Major General *Middleton* defeated in the *Highlands* 622. Made Lord Commissioner of *Scotland* 717.

Sir Thomas Middleton joyns with *Sir George Booth* in his rising for the King, and delivers up *Chirk-Castle* 650.

Middleton Monastery, and also that of *Michelness* in the County of *Dorset*, founded by King *Athelstan* 10.

Sir Walter Mildmay his works of piety 398.

The Military Garden, when first erected 417.

Sir John Minsterworth, hanged for defrauding his Souldiers of their wages 127.

Silver Mines found in *Devonshire* 101.

A Miracle done by King *Athelstan* 10.

A Miracle wrought by *S. Dunstan*, if not rather a Fiction 12.

A Miracle wrought upon a Bishop 28.

A Miracle wrought by *William* Bishop of *Durham* *ibid.*

A forged Miracle 95.

A Miracle reported to be done by the *Earl of Lancaster* after his death 110.

A Miracle of water rising to a great height upon a small rain 285.

A Miracle of the River *Dunne*, swelling to an incredible height *ibid.*

A Miracle of *Cranmers* Heart, which when all his body was consumed with fire, remained whole and untouched 323.

A Miracle of pease growing in great abundance, where never sowed 326.

Ministers in *Scotland* Authors of all disorder there 365. In *England* enjoyned to swear certain Articles, and what they were 398.

Minster Abbey in *Kent*, by whom founded 5.

Mineries without *Aldgate*, by whom founded 101.

Money, if great sums, not paid by tale, but by weight 26.

Money sterling first coyned in King *Johns* time 72.

Base Money made currant by King *Edward* the first 114.

Abated in the weight, yet made to pass at the former value 128. Base Money called in 354.

Money lent to Queen *Elizabeth*, paid by King *James* 420.

Monies raised in their price, and how much 421. See Coyns.

Monarchy subverted for a time by the Commonwealths-men in *England* 588.

Fifth-Monarchy-men apprehended upon a design against *Cromwells* Government 629.

Monasteries, seven and forty built by King *Edgar* 12.

Ransacked by the Conquerour, and all the goods taken to his use 26. Six hundred forty and five Monasteries 90. Colledges 110. Hospitals, and 2374. Chanteries

The Index.

ries, and free Chappels put down by the Lord Cromwell, 286. Look Abbeys.

Gen *Monk* takes *Sterling* Castle, 611. *Dundee* by storm, *ibid.* Overthrows the *Dutch*, in two notable Sea fights, 618, 619. Is made Commander in chief of the Forces in *Scotland*, 623. Defeats *Middleton*, at *Loughgery*, *ibid.* He seems to give his consent to what was done by the Armies power in *England*, 644. desires to lay down his Commission, 653. Marches into *England*, 677. marches into the City of *London*, 682. pulls down their Gates, 685. he regains the Cities Loves, 686. promises a Free Parliament, 687. is made Knight of the Garter, and Duke of *Albemarle*, 715.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk* a Minister, Brother to the General, takes a journey into *Scotland*, to perswade him to embrace the Kings Interest, 650. Is conveyed by Mr. *Clarges* on Ship-board, for his transportation into *Scotland*, 651. He arrives from *Scotland*, with private orders from the General to *Clarges*, 660.

A *Monks* *Cowl* accounted a great defensative to be buried in, 75.

Monmouth taken by *Massey*, regained by the Lord *Herbert*, 538.

Monopolies complained of by the Parliament, and thereupon called in, 394. called in by King *James*, 420.

Monopolies voted down by Parliament, 495.

George Monox, Major of *London*, his works of piety, 396.

Sir *Giles Monpeffon* censured and why, 418. Monster found, where, 682.

The new Viscount *Montacute* from whom descended, 102.

William Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*, made King of *Man*, 117. Is taken Prisoner by the *French*, 118. Is set at liberty by exchange, 119.

Thomas Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*, his Name a terror to the *French*, 180, 181, 182. unfortunately slain, 183.

Mountford the Original of that Family, 74. *Mountford*, *Gloucester* and *Spencer*, get all the Authority to themselves, 86. *Mountford* and *Gloucester* in arms, 87. their stratagems, *ibid.* They take the King, Prince, and divers Lords Prisoners, *ibid.* He and *Gloucester* fall at variance, *ibid.* *Gloucester* joyns with the Prince, *ibid.*

Montford Earl of *Leicester* tells the King to his face that he lied, 84. Is slain, 87. A Miracle is wrought by him after his death, *ibid.* His Sons flee into *Italy*, where they raised fortunes, *ibid.*

John de Montford surnamed the Conqueror, 165. His widow married to King *Henry* the 4th, *ibid.*

Montmedi, St. *Venant*, and *Murdi*ke fort taken by the *French* and *English*, 630.

Monuments for great personages erected in divers places 43, 102.

Montross, offers his service to the King by Letters, which by the means of *Hamilton* were stoln out of the Kings pocket, 474. He is made Governour General of *Scotland* for the King, 530. He enters *Scotland* with an Army, *ibid.* his success there, 536. he defeats the Covenanters at *Aldern* and *Kelsterb*, 544. Is defeated by *David Lesly* at *Philips-Haugh*, 547. Disbands his Army and quits *Scotland* at the Kings command, *ibid.* Commissioned from King *Charles* the Second, to raise forces for him, 595. The Kings Letter to him, *ibid.* He lands with forces in *Scotland*, 596. Is defeated by *Straughan*, 595. Brought Prisoner to *Edinburgh*, *ibid.* Brought to his Tryal in the Parliament of *Scotland*, 597. His speech at his Tryal, *ibid.* at his Execution, 598. He is hanged on a Gallows 30 foot high, *ibid.*

John Moon an *Englishman*, but a student at *Paris*, compiled in the *French* Tongue, the Romance of the *Rose*, translated into *English* by *Geoffrey Chawcer*, 155.

Sir *Peter de la Moore* Speaker of the Parliament, 127.

Sir *Thomas Moore* Under-Sheriff of *London*, 264. Chosen Speaker of the Parliament, is made Lord Chancellor, the first Layman in any mans memory, 277. He comes into the House of Commons, and acquaints them with the determinations of divers Universities, that the Kings marriage with the Lady *Katherine* is unlawful, 281. He delivers up the Great Seal, in whose place is presently appointed *Thomas Audley*, Speaker of the Parliament, *ibid.* Is beheaded, and why: his vein of jesting, scoffing, 282, 283. his devotion in helping the Priest to say Mass, being Lord Chancellor, *ibid.* he never purchased above a hundred pound a year, *ibid.*

More-fields which had before been Gardens, when first laid down for Archers to shoot in, 250. Cast into walks, 417.

Mooregate, when and by whom first made, 178.

Henry Lord Mordant, fined for not appearing at the Parliament according to summons, 411.

M. *John Mordant*, brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, tryed before a high Court of Justice, 633. Is created Viscount *Mordant* of *Ireland*, 712.

David Morgan a *Welshman*, writ of the antiquities of *Wales*, 218.

Morgan, a base Son of King *Henry* the second, refused a great dignity in the Church, rather than to deny his blood, 59.

Morgan the Judge, that gave sentence against the Lady *Fane*, falleth mad and dieth, 320.

Colonel *Morgan* routs *Glengarn* in the *High-lands*, 622. Dissolves the General Assembly at *Aberdeen*, 623. He gains a very high esteem from Marshal *Turen*, by his great valour shewn at the taking of *Tpre*, 637. He betakes himself into *Scotland* to Gen. *Monk*, 667.

Morlay in *France*, surprized by the Earl of *Surrey*, 269.

Henry Lord Morley writ divers Comedies and Tragedies, 300.

The Lord *Morley* slain, and by what means, 240.

The Statute of *Mortmain* when enacted, 101.

Roger Mortemen, the Queens favorite, 111. They are in *France*, *ibid.* whence being sent for and not coming, they are proclaimed Enemies to the Estate, *ibid.*

Roger Mortimer made Earl of *March*, and when, 116.

Mortimer seized on by the King in the Queens Chamber ready to go to bed, 117. attended with ninescore Knights and Gentlemen, *ibid.* condemned, and why, *ibid.* Is drawn and hanged at *Tiburn*, *ibid.*

Roger Mortimer, son and heir of the Lady *Philip*, eldest Daughter of *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, is proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown, 141. His grandchild was after Duke of *Tork*, and Father to King *Edward* the fourth, *ibid.*

Edmund Mortimer, the last Earl of *March*, dying, to whom his Inheritance descended, 182.

Morton Bishop of *Ely*, is committed to the custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, 228. He plots with the Duke to bring in *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, *ibid.* He passeth over into *France*, 230. He advertiseth the Earl of *Richmond* of the plot against him by *Peter Londo*, 231. Is called home, and made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 230, 237.

Earl *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, 350. Beheaded and why, 360.

Montauban won by King *John* in fifteen days, 70.

Lord *Montjoy* Deputy of *Ireland*, 410.

General *Montague* his Victory over the *Spanish* Fleet near *Cadix*, 627. He is sent with a Fleet into the *Sound*, to aid the King of *Sweden*, 638.

He acquaints the Council of State, with the condition of the Fleet, 699. He is made by his Majesty one of the Knights of the Garter and Earl of *Sandwich*, 715.

Mr. *Richard Montagues* books called the *Romish Gagger*, and *Apello Casarem*, questioned in Parliament, and censured, 443.

The Lord *Mounteagle*, how rewarded, for being a means of discovering the Powder Treason, 411.

Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshal beheaded and why, 167.

John Mowbray restored to his dignity of Duke of *Norfolk*, 183.

Sir *Thomas Mole* Speaker of the Parliament, 289.

Mulberry trees commanded to be planted for breeding of Silk-worms, 421.

A Murder discovered by a dream, 424.

Earl of *Murray* who with his rising and carriage, 338. made Regent of *Scotland*, 339. is murdered, 344.

Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and *Thomas Glenham* raised forces for the King in *Westmoreland* and *Cumberland*, 560. He is taken at *Dunfriz*, 623.

Mutiny in the Army, 555.

Mutiny in *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, 556.

Mutiny of the *London* Apprentices, 559.

Of several Companies of Souldiers who were to depart out of the City, 682.

Colonel *Mya* defeated and slain by *Massey*, 539.

Names

The Index.

N

Names of the Kings of England, how changed at several times 440.

Naseby Fight, 542.

James Naylour his Tryal before the Parliament, 629 His sentence, *ibid.*

Necromancers, George Rippley a Carmelite Fryer, 152. William Blackney a Carmelite, *ibid.*

Neotstock Abby in Cornwall built by Neoto son of King Ethelwolph, 8.

St. Neots vulgarly St. Needs in Huntingdon-shire so called, 8.

Nesting a Lord so called, for being found in an Eagles nest, by King Alfred, 12.

Nevil, the last Earl of Westmerland, of the Family, dyeth; and how many great personages came out of his house, 365.

Richard Nevil the great Earl of Warwick, is sent into France to treat of a marriage for King Edward the fourth, 205. In his absence the King marries the Lady Grey, which so incenseth him, that for anger he leaveth the Court, 206. He riseth against the King, and takes him prisoner, 206. 207. He flies into France and after six months returning, he makes King Edward flee into France, and releaseth King Henry, 208. 209. King Edward assisted by the Duke of Burgoyne, returns, 210. And at Barnet-field overthrowes him, 211.

Newark besieged by Sir John Meldrum, 331. Yielded to the Scots upon the Kings desire, 546.

Newbery Fight, 537.

Newcastle upon Tyne, by whom first built, 29. Finished by King William Rufus, burnt, 90.

Newcastle taken by the Scots, 572.

The Earl of Newcastle proceeding at York, 527. He is besieged at York by the Parliaments forces, 534. He with several others depart the Kingdom, and lands at Hamburg, *ibid.*

New Colledge in Oxford, by whom founded, and why so called, 165.

Newgate in London by whom built, 165. antiently called Chamberlainsgate; when and by whom begun to be built, 99. the tolling of the Bell there, at the Execution of Prisoners, by whom ordained, 424.

New Hall in Essex, otherwise called Beaulieu, a Manor of King Henry the eighth 265.

New England planted, 428.

Nexham Abbey in Devonshire, by whom founded, 89.

New-haven taken by Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, but by reason of a pestilence surrendered again, 352. also 354. 355.

St. Nicholas Priory at Exeter, founded by the Conqueror, 29.

Non obstante, when first brought up, 89.

Northampton Monastery of Saint Andrews, by whom founded, 42.

Norton Priory in Cheshire, by whom founded, *ibid.*

The Race of the Duke of Normandy, 20. Ends in King Henry the first, 44.

Dukes of Normandy, at their Installment, girt with a Sword, and crowned with a Coronet of Golden Roses, 68.

All Normandy lost by King John, after it had been held from the French 316 years, 70. Recovered by King Stephen, 47.

Normandy resigned by King Henry the 3d for a Sum of money, 86.

All Normandy recovered by Henry the fifth, 174.

Normandy all recovered from the English, after it had been 100 years in their possession, 189.

John Duke of Norfolk, firm to King Richard the third, and his descent, 237. Seeks to marry the Queen of Scots, 242. Is commanded by Queen Elizabeth to desist, 343. Is committed to the Tower, *ibid.* Is delivered out of the Tower, 344. his affection to the Queen of Scots discovered, and by what means, 366. Is upon Tryal condemned, 348. Is beheaded, *ibid.*

Henry Norris made a Baron, *ibid.*

Sir John Norris his first going to War, 355. Is made General of the Field in the low Countreys, and in a first battel prospers, in a second is beaten, 360. Is sent into Ireland, 385. Falls melancholick out of discontent and dies, 388.

N

Sir John Norris presents General Monk with an Address from the Gentry of Northamptonshire, pressing for a free Parliament, 681.

Mount Norris, a Fort in Ireland, by whom built, and why, 390.

Henry Norris, committed to the Tower, and beheaded, about Queen Anne Bullen, 283.

Sir Edward North, is created Baron of Cantley, 321.

The Earl of Northampton routing the Parliaments Forces before Lichfield, is himself slain, 524.

Henry Earl of Northampton founded three Hospitals, and where, 474.

Northumberland with five other Shires adjoyning, made the fifth Kingdom of the Saxons, 7. Taken from the King of Scots by King Henry the second, 52.

The Earl of Northumberland rebelling against Henry the 4th, slain, 153. President of the North, appointed to gather a Tax is slain, 239.

The Earl of Warwick is made Duke of Northumberland, 310. He persuades King Edward the sixth, lying sick, to exclude his two Sisters, and to appoint the Lady Jane, his Successor, 311. After the death of King Edward, he takes upon him to rule all, 314. Is sent against the Lady Mary, *ibid.* Hearing of the Lords revolt, he also at Cambridge proclaims Queen Mary, 315. Is by the Earl of Arundel arrested, *ibid.* Is beheaded, and dieth a Papist, though thought but feignedly, 317.

The Earl of Northumberland is committed to the Tower, and why, 411. is fined to pay 30 thousand pound, and why, *ibid.*

Sets out with a Fleet of 60 Sail to scour the Seas of the Dutch Busses, 455. Designed General of the Kings Army against the Scots, 471.

Norwich almost quite consumed with fire, 251.

Norwich made the Bishops See, 36. The Cathedral Church there by whom founded, 42.

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bayliffs, and to enclose the Town with Ditches, 49. The Church is burnt, 58. Is burnt again, 178.

Earl of Norwich tried before a High Court of Justice, 589. saved from Execution, *ibid.*

Nottingham antiently called Snottingham, 24. Charles Howard Admiral, made Earl of Nottingham, 408.

Alexander Nowel Dean of Pauls, his work of piety, 398.

He sets forth a Catechism after the Doctrine of the English Church, 402.

Nunne Eaton Abby in Warwickshire by whom founded, 58.

O

O

THE Oath usual with the Conquerour, was by Gods Resurrection and his Brightness, 30. The Oath usual with King William Rufus, was, by Saint Lukes Face, 37. &c. 35.

The Oath usual with King Henry the first, was, by our Lords death, 39.

The Oath usual with King John, was, by the Feet of God, 71.

The Oath usual with King Richard the second, was, by the Soul of God, and by St. John Baptist, 146.

The Oath usual with King Richard the third, was, by St. Paul, 228.

Oaths dispenced by the Pope, 53.

The Oath of the King at his Coronation, 77.

The Oath *ex Officio*, judged by some Lawyers to be unchristian, 381.

The Oath of Allegiance when ordained, 420.

The Oath of Supremacy, upon the first offering taken by all, some few excepted, and who, and how many they were, 331.

Refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, made Treason, 396.

The Oath framed by the Bishops, 569. It gives distaste, *ibid.*

The Oath administered by Fiennes, to Richard Cromwell, at his being proclaimed Protector, 636.

An Oath of Abjuration of the King and his Family, to be taken by the Members of the Juncto, and Council of State, 678. Opposed by many of the house, *ibid.* General Monk answer concerning it, 686. He refuseth the Oath, 682.

L I I I I 2

The

The Index.

The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, taken by both houses of Parliament, and the Officers of the Kings House-hold, 714.

William Ockham, a Fryer Minor and a great Shoolman, when he lived, 114.

O Conally discovers the Plot for the *Irish* Rebellion, 512. rewarded, 513.

Blind and dumb till a certain age, 6.

The beautiful King of the *East Saxons*, enriched the Church of *Westminster*, and became a Monk, 6. was the first King of the *East Angles*, 7.

Offa the eleventh King of *Mercia*, built the Monastery of *St. Albans*, 7.

Sir John Oldcastle, Lord *Cobham* by what title, 177. condemned of Heresie, is hanged by the middle, and after consumed with fire, gallows and all, *ibid.*

O Neal a title more esteemed in *Ireland*, than to be called Emperour, 383.

Roger Onely, accused of Sorcerie, wrote a Book *Contra Vulgi Opiniones*, 201.

William Prince of *Orange* dieth, shot into the body with three Bullets by a *Burgundian*, 365.

The young Prince of *Orange*, a match proposed between him and the Princess *Mary*, approved by the Parliament, 477. He is married to the said Princess 508. His death, 613.

Ordinance of Parliament for calling home all Members from their employments in the Army, 541.

Duke of *Orleans* after 25 years imprisonment ransomed, 186.

The Earl of *Ormond*, how first raised, 363.

The Earl of *Ormond* and others receive Commission to raise Forces against the *Irish* Rebels, 514. Made Lieutenant General of the Forces in *Ireland*, *ibid.* His diligent seeking for the Kings Service in *Ireland*, 591. His Army defeated before *Dublin*, 592. He having layn conceal'd in *England*, about his Majesties Affairs, makes his escape beyond Sea, 633. He is created Duke of *Ormond*, and Earl of *Brecknock*, 715.

Bryan O Rourke the *Irish* Potentate, arraigned and condemned, and the manner, and executed at *Tyburn*, 381.

Oryall Colledge in *Oxford*, founded by King *Edward* the second, 113. New built, 590.

Osney Priory near *Oxford*, by whom founded, 42.

The Popes Legate how used at *Osney*, for which he interdicteth *Oxford*, and how appeased, 89.

Oswestry in *Wales* burnt, 399.

Ostend in *Flanders*, after three years fight, taken by *Marquis Spinola*, 408.

Oswald Bishop of *Salisbury* founded the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*, 36.

Outabone the Popes Legat in fear at *Oxford*, 89.

Thomas Otterborn a Franciscan Fryer, writ a History of *England*, 179.

Outcries for sale of Goods, when first ordained, 396.

Sir Thomas Overbury poysoned, and how, and why, 414.

Col. Overton reduceth the Isles of *Orkney* and *Sherland*, to the Power of the *English* Commonwealth, 612. He endeavours a Letter to pervert some of *Monk's* Officers, 691. The General writes to him to deliver up *Hall*, 692. He submits to the Generals Orders, *ibid.*

Sir John Owen, routed in *Wales* by Major General *Milton*, 560. tried for his life, before a High Court of Justice, 589. saved from Execution, *ibid.*

Oxford or *Cambridge* University, founded by *Sigebert*, King of the *East Angles*, 7.

Oxford University founded by King *Alfred*, in the year 895. 9. burnt by the *Danes*, 14.

The Castle there by whom built, 8.

Oxford Interdicted by *Ortobone* the Popes Legat, and why, and the Scholars there how punished, 89.

Edgar Atheling made Earl of *Oxford*, 19.

Robert Vere Earl of *Oxford*, created Duke of *Ireland*, 142.

Oxford Chancellour superiour to the Mayor, by whom ordained, 130.

A contention in *Oxford*, between the Northern and Southern Scholars, 146.

The Earl of *Oxford*, though feasting the King, punished for keeping Retainers against the Statute, 247.

King marches to *Oxford*, 523. *Oxford* surrendered to General *Fairfax*, 547. Visited by the new Chancellour, 559.

A sudden mortality at the Assizes at *Oxford*, 375.

P

Pacification made with the *Scots*, 465. 467.

Doctor *Pace* a Religious Man, imployed by *Wolsey* to *Rome*, but through crosses in his imployment, falls mad and dieth, 268.

Sir William Paget Controller is made Lord *Paget*, 308. He hath the Garter taken from him, upon pretence that he was no Gentleman by Father or Mother, 311. is fined at 8 thousand Pound, and why, 447.

Frederick Prince Palatine upon a treaty of marriage comes into *England*, 415. He marries the Lady *Elizabeth*, *ibid.* Is elected King of *Bohemia*, 418.

Of what extent the Palatinate is, 416. Preparation for War for recovering the Palatinate, but frustrated by King *James's* death, 419. Renewed and vigorously prosecuted, 433.

John Palsgrave a *Londoner*, writ certain instructions for the French Tongue, 299.

Gregory Panzany sent by the Pope into *England*, to decide the difference between the *Jesuits* and secular Priests, 503.

Paper commonly called white brown Paper when first made in *England*, 445.

Papists put to death for denying the Kings Supremacy, and at the same time Protestants put to death for denying the Real Presence, 296. Divers both Bishops and other Lords, who had been privy Councillors to Queen *Mary*, become Protestants, 331. Papists refuse to assist against Queen *Elizabeth*, 343. Strict Laws made against Papists, and why, 364.

Thomas Parr, almost 160 years old, 455.

Lady *Katherine Parre* married to King *Henry* the 8th, 291. Accused of Heresie, but escapes the danger, and how, *ibid.*

A general pardon used at the Kings Coronation, when first it came up, 116.

Pardons and Charters granted by the King, and affirmed by the Bishops and temporal Lords to be revokable, but not by the Judges, 148.

A general pardon granted to all offenders, but only fifty, whose names the King would not express, to keep the Lords in awe, 149.

A pardon published by Queen *Mary*, but so full of exceptions that few took benefit by it, 317.

The Kings pardons oftentimes fallacious, 212.

Sir Edward Parham acquitted, 407.

Parks and Warrens first allowed the Subject by King *Henry* the first, 38.

William Parker Merchant Taylor his work of piety, 424.

Matthew Parker made Bishop of *Canterbury*, by whom consecrated, 331. His work of piety, 398.

Paris in *France*, after 17 years it had been held by the *English*, yielded up, and all the *English* expelled, 185.

Parishes ordained in *Kent*, by the Archbishop *Honorius*, 5.

Afterward through *England* by King *Alfred*, 9.

Parishes in the 37 shires of *England*, 128.

The Parishes of *England*, how many, 270.

The High Court of Parliament first instituted by King *Henry* the first, 40.

Lords come to Parliament armed, 80.

The King hath not power to reverse a Statute made by the Parliament whereof he is but a member, 95.

The chief-Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurer, required to be chosen by Parliament, 81. 84. 85.

The Parliament agrees to depose King *Edward* the 2d, and to set up his Son, 116. Parliament called the good Parliament, 127. A Parliament at *Westminster* which lasted but eight days, *ib.* The great Officers of the Kingdom to be chosen by Parliament, which the King grants, 128. The Parliament appoints 13 Lords to have the oversight under the King of the whole government of the Realm, 142. King *Richard* suffers the Parliament to do their pleasure, but as soon as it was dissolved, he undid all they had done, 143. King *Richard* propounds to his Justices at Law, divers questions concerning the Parliaments proceedings, wherein they resolved as the King would have them, *ibid.* King *Richard* requires the Sheriffs to choose none to the Parliament, but such as he and his Council should nominate, to which they answer, that it lay not in their power, 144. The Parliament that wrought wonders, 145. The Parliament requires an Oath of the King

The Index.

King *Richard*, and had it, that he should stand to such order as they should take, 146. The Parliament called the Great Parliament, 149.

In a Parliament, Articles propounded by the King, at first to be handled, and if it be done otherwise, that is Treason, adjudged so by the Judges, *ibid.* The whole Authority of Parliament is confirmed upon certain Lords, *ibid.* The Acts of Parliament confirmed by the Pope, *ibid.* A Parliament called by the Duke of *Lancaster*, but in the name of King *Richard*, 152. The Parliament depose the King *Richard*, *ibid.* The Parliament called the Marvellous Parliament, 154. Speeches to be free in Parliament, 158. The Parliament called the Lay-mens Parliament, and why, 164. Lawyers not suffered by the King to be chosen Burgeffes of the Parliament, *ibid.* *William Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, being in durance, the Clergy would not sit in Parliament without him, *ibid.* The Parliament called the Unlearned Parliament, and why, *ibid.* In a Parliament the Commons require that the King might have the temporal possessions of the Bishops and Clergy, able they said to maintain 150 Earls, 1599 Knights, 6000 Esquires, and 199 Hospitals for maimed Souldiers, *ibid.* The Resolutions of Parliaments uncertain, 212.

King *Henry* would not make War with *France*, but by consent of Parliament, 257. Speeches in Parliament to be free, 270. A Parliament dissolved at nine a Clock at night, *ibid.* The House of Commons require the like pardon as the Clergy had, but the King answered, he would not be compelled to shew his mercy, and therefore refused; but afterward of his own accord he granted it, 280. Supreme Head of the Church given to the King by Parliament, 282. A Burgeff of the Parliament arrested, how the Arrester was punished, 289. The Parliaments Commands to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, by only shewing his Mace, *ibid.* King *Henry* resolved to maintain the privileges of Parliament, *ibid.* Servants of the King, or of the Parliament-men, free in a time of Parliament, *ibid.* King *Henry* comes in person to the Parliament, and exhorts them to Concord and Charity, 293. The Parliament kept in the great Chamber at *White-Hall*, and why, 321. The Parliament asks pardon of Cardinal *Pool* for what they had done amiss, and desire to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, 322. The Parliament will not consent to have King *Philip* Crowned, as Queen *Mary* desired, *ibid.* The Parliament moves *Q. Elizabeth* to marry, and her answer to the motion, 332. Speeches in parliament to be free, 358. The parliament solicits *Q. Elizabeth* to marry, and to declare a Successor, and her answer to it, 337. A Parliament begun by Authority of the Queen, is derived to certain Lords, 371. The Parliament petitions the Queen, that the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots* might be promulged, and her answer, *ibid.* Parliaments not properly to deal in Ecclesiastical Affairs, 398. Not appearing at Parliament after Summons, how punished, 411. A Parliament dissolved under the Great Seal of *England*, 413.

Men attainted being chosen Burgeffes of the Parliament not suffered to sit in the House, till a Bill was presently passed for reversing their Attainder, but for King *Henry* the case not like, because the Crown once gotten takes away all defects, 236.

Parliaments Remonstrance concerning Mr. *Cook* and Dr. *Turner*, 436. Dissolved by the Kings Commission under the Great Seal, 437. The proceeding of the next Parliament called in the third year of King *Charles*, 440. &c. A Parliament called in his sixteenth year which sate but 22. days, 470. The same year the Long Parliament called, 474. They entertain jealousies of the Kings Designs, *ibid.* They take Exceptions at some things in the Kings Speech, *ibid.* Their Petition and Remonstrance to his Majesty, 514. They set forth a Declaration, and make preparation for War, both by Land and Sea, 517. They declare against the Kings absence, *ibid.* They oppose the King in the business of *Hull*, 517. They become Masters of the Navy, *ibid.* Raise an Army against the King, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, 519. Their propositions to the King, 518. They declare it Treason to assist the King, 517. Their Orders concerning the King and his party, 546. Divided into Presbyterians and Independents, 549. Eleven Members of Parliament impeached by the Army, 550. The Speaker and divers Members of Parliament fly to the Army, 551. They vote that no more Addresses should be made to the King, 537. They recal

their Votes of Non-addresses, 563. They come to an agreement with the King, 564. Divers of their Members secluded, and the Parliament new modelled by the Army, 565. They annul the Votes against Non-addresses, *ibid.* and proceed to a Tryal of the King, *ibid.* They alter the Government of the Nation from a Monarchy to a Commonwealth, 588. Dissolved by *Cromwel* their General, 618. Another Parliament chosen by *Cromwel*, 673. They resign up their power to him, 638. Another Parliament chosen by *Cromwel*, 673. They resign up their power to him, 638. Another Parliament called by the Protector, 619. Dissolved, 620. A third Parliament called by him, 623. Dissolved, 631. A Parliament called by *Richard Cromwel*, Lord Protector, 639. Dissolved at the instance of the Army, 643. The Commonwealth parliament, or Juncto, their Government and proceedings, 644, 645, 646. Long parliament dissolved, 686. A Free parliament assembles at *Westminster*, 688. They present his Majesty and his Brother with a sum of Money, 705. They send twelve of their Members, six Lords, and six of the Commons, to wait on his Majesty at *Breda*, 707. Their Instructions to their Commissioners, 709. King summons a parliament in *Scotland*, 717.

Alexander Farnese, Prince of *Parma*, is made Governor of the Low-Countries, 356. He dieth, and his condition, 382.

Sperma ceti taken out of the Head of Whales, 399.

Sir *William Parre* is made Lord *Parre*, 287. Is created Earl of *Essex*, 292. Is made Marquess of *Northampton*, 302.

William Parre a Welshman, writ a Treatise intituled, *Speculum Juvenum*, 300.

William Parre, Doctor of the Laws, his bold Speech in Parliament, and his practises against the Queen, for which executed as a Traytor, 366.

Thomas Parre brought up to Court by the Earl of *Arundel*, 455.

The Parsimony of King *Henry* the second, 56.

George Palin, his works of piety, 424.

Paul's Church first founded by *Sebert* King of the East Angles, assisted by King *Ethelbert*, 5. 6. After being fired, was newly founded by *Maurice*, Bishop of *London*, and with what great charges, 29. Burnt again, *ibid.* Built where in ancient time stood the Temple of *Jupiter*, 113.

Paul's Cross, by whom built, 119. The place for hearers on the South-side, and by whom built, 423.

The Church Spire burnt down with Lightning, 399. Of what height it was, *ibid.* Begun to be repaired, when and by whom, 423. 570.

The preachers at *Paul's Cross*, how and by whom provided for, 477. 424.

Paul's School, by whom founded, 250.

Sir *William Paulet* Treasurer of the Kings Household is made Lord St. *John*, 287. Is created Earl of *Wiltshire*, 308. Is created Marquess of *Winchester*, 310. He dieth at the age of 97 years, and his numerous Family, 350. Sir *Aimas Paulet* sets *Wolsey* by the heels, 261.

A Peer of the Realm not to be excepted against for being of a Jury, 310. Assembled at *Tork*, and why, 473.

The Peace between the Emperour, the Kings of *England* and *France*, called the Womans peace, and why, 277.

A peace concluded between *France* and *England*, 124, 128. 214. 293. 332.

Another peace concluded between them, whereof the chief condition was, that neither the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *Scots* should henceforth use the Title of *England* or *Ireland*, 332.

A consultation held whether a peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England*, wherein the Lords were divided in opinion, 389. A peace concluded between *England* and *Spain*, 408.

A peace with *France* for a sum of money, 216.

A peace with *France* during the lives of King *Lewis* and K. *Henry*, and a year after, 262.

Peace again concluded between the King of *England* and *Spain*, 447. Between the *Dutch* and the Protector, 621. Between the Protector and the Kingdom of *Sweden*, *ibid.* Between him and the Kingdom of *France*, 627.

Peace renewed with *Spain*, 728.

Robert Peak of *London* Gold-Smith, his work of piety, 424.

Reynold Peacock, Bishop of *Chichester*, his Heresie, for which deprived, 199. When he lived, 201.

Pease growing in great abundance where none was sowed, 326.

Pelagius,

The Index.

- Pelagius* a Monk born at *Bangor* in *Wales*, spreadeth his Heresie. 3.
- Pembroke-shire* in *Wales*, assigned by King *Henry* the first to *Flemmings* to inhabit. 41. 43.
- William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Protector of the Realm, dieth. 78.
- Aymar de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke* sent into *Scotland* with an Army, and why. 98. *John* Earl of *Pembroke* taken prisoner by the *French*, 126. Earl of *Pembroke* little better than a Vagabond. 205.
- An Earl of *Pembroke* so illiterate that he could not write. 244.
- Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge* by whom founded, 130.
- Pembroke Colledge* in *Oxford* built and endowed. 170.
- William* Earl of *Pembroke* his sudden death. 447.
- Pembroke Castle* yielded up to *Cromwell*. 560.
- General *Pen* commanded the Fleet to *Hispaniola*. 624. His return into *England*. 625.
- Penal Statutes, the forfeitures taken. 216. Their forfeitures exacted by *Empson* and *Dudley*. 247.
- Penda* the first Christian King of the *Mercians*. 7.
- Vier* called *Pendragon*, and why. 4. He discomfitteth the *Saxons*, and dieth by poyson. *ibid*.
- Sir *John Penwington*, made Admiral by the King, in opposition to the Earl of *Warwick*, the Parliaments Admiral. 517.
- Penrudeck* and *Grove* beheaded about the western rising. 624.
- Gentlemen pensioners, when and by whom first instituted. 295.
- Henry Percy*, created Earl of *Northumberland*, and when. 136.
- Henry Percy* called *Hotpurre* slays 1000 *Scots*, and takes 500 prisoners. 161. Is slain. 163.
- Thomas Percy* was first made Knight, after Lord, and the next day created Earl of *Northumberland*. 323. Is beheaded. 349.
- Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, having been formerly committed to the Tower, is found dead in his bed, as having killed himself, and why. 366.
- Perfidiousness in love revenged. 10.
- Perjury punished by the divine hand, in Earl *Goodwin*. 19. also in *Alfred*. 9. 10.
- Perkin Warbeck*, set up by the Lady *Margaret*. 241. By what courses he proceeded. *ibid*. who were his Abettors, and divers of them put to death. 242. Is married in *Scotland* to the Lady *Gourdon*, the Kings near Kinswoman. 243. expelled out of *Scotland*: he flies into *Ireland*, and after comes back into *Cornwall*, besiegeth *Exeter*, but at last takes Sanctuary at *Fewly*, in *Hampshire*: his Wife in regard of her parentage and beauty is allowed a competent pension, during her life. 244. *Perkin* yields himself, and is sent to the Tower. *ibid*. He escapes out of the Tower, and procures a Prior to beg his pardon, only is made to declare publicly his parentage, and all his proceedings. Once again committed to the Tower, he attempts to escape, but the plot discovered, he is hanged at *Tyburn*. 245.
- Sir *John Perot* arraigned, and for what Treason condemned, but died in the Tower. 381.
- Robert Persecutor*, a great Philosopher, or rather a Magician. 114.
- The King of *Persia* grants free commerce, through all his dominions to the *English*. 415.
- Peter* an Hermit assembles 300 thousand men, to recover *Jerusalem*. 35. prediction of *Peter* the Hermit. 7.
- Peter Pence* first given to *Rome* by *Ina* King of the *West Saxons*. 6. Imposed by *Henry* the second, upon *Ireland*. 58. Forbidden to be paid at *Rome*. 129.
- Saint *Peters Church* at *Cornhill* founded by King *Lucius*. 3.
- Saint *Peters Colledge* in *Cambridge* by whom founded. 90.
- Hugh Peters*, one of those excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, as guilty of the Murther of King *Charles* the first, He is apprehended in *Southwark*. 721.
- Peterborough*, the Cathedral Church there anciently called *Mecleshamstead*, founded by *Penda* King of *Mercia*. 7.
- The Parliaments petition against Recusants. 423.
- The petition of Right taken in debate by the Parliament, and granted by the King. 441.
- The Lords petition to the King to call a parliament. 472.
- Citizens petition the Parliament against the Church Ceremonies. 476. petitioners against the Earl of *Stratford*, throng to *Westminster*. 506. The *Londoners* throng to *Westminster* with petitions against the Bishops. 515. The House petition the King for a Guard, and are backt by a petition from the City. *ibid*. The Kings answer to the petition. *ibid*. The County of *Buckingham*s petition in behalf of *Hambden*. 536. The Commons petition the King to have the Militia in their own power. 516. Parliaments petition to be presented to the King by the Earl of *Essex*. 511. Their petition to him at *Colebrook*, for a Treaty. 523. The petition of the City against the Vote for taking the Militia out of their hands. 550. petitions brought to the Parliament by great numbers out of *Essex*, *Surrey*, and other parts. 560. petitions from City and Country for a Treaty with the King. 563. The Army petition for Justice against the King. 564. The parliaments petition and advice to the Protector to take upon him the title of King. 631.
- Sir *John Peyton* the first Knight made by King *James*. 405.
- Philip* Prince of *Spain* marries Queen *Mary*. 321. He passeth over into *Flanders* where he stayed 18 months. 323. He marries *Isabell* daughter to the King of *France*. 331. He had solicited Queen *Elizabeth* for marriage. 330.
- Queen *Philip* Wife to King *Edward* the third, upon her death-bed confesteth to *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, that *John* of *Gaunt* was a supposititious Son. 167.
- Queen *Philip* in the Kings absence doth great matters against the *Scots*. 121.
- Her merciful intercession for the six *Callicians*. 122. She dieth. 126.
- Thomas Philip* an excellent discoverer of unknown characters. 369.
- John Philpot* a Citizen of *London*, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and took one *Mercer*, a notable Scottish Pirat, but was ill rewarded. 137.
- Physitians famous, when they lived. 218. 252.
- Sir *William Pickering* hopes to marry Queen *Elizabeth*. 333.
- Alice Pierce* a great favorite of King *Edwards*, and her Insolence. 127. She is banished the Realm. 141.
- John Percivall*, the Mayors Carver, chosen Sheriff of *London*, and how. 237.
- Pipes of Lead without Soder for conveying Water under ground, when and by whom first. 298.
- Plaife Colledge* in *Essex* by whom founded. 131.
- Plague that continued ten years, that scarce the tenth person was left alive. 131. A second plague, in which died many great Lords and Bishops. *ibid*. Two great plagues, the latter continuing 14 months. 207. A plague in *London* which made the King keep his Christmas at *Eltham*, called the still Christmas. 274. A great plague in *London* and what number died. 424. 570.
- Richard Plantagenet* created Duke of *Tork*, was afterwards father of King *Edward* the fourth. 182.
- George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, hath the Crown entailed upon him in case King *Henry* failed of Heirs Males. 209. Is drowned in a Butt of *Malmsey*. 215. The last Heir Male of that name, who, 245.
- Edward Plantagenet* Son and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence* shut up in the Tower, 236. beheaded and why. 245.
- Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, bastard Son to King *Edward* the fourth created Viscount *Lisle*. 270. He dieth with joy, and for what. 289.
- Pleas of the Kings Bench, and prisoners arrested by Sheriffs, set at liberty, when and why. 152.
- Pleas of Law which were before in *French*, King *Edward* the third caused to be made into *English*. 128.
- Pleas of the Crown pleaded in the Tower of *London*. 88.
- Pledges no Security. 182.
- Plimpton Monastery* in *Devonshire*, when founded. 42.
- A plot discovered for the Seising of *London*. 469.
- Plowden* the famous Lawyer dieth. 365.
- Famous Poets. 585.
- Pollesworth Abbey* in the County of *Warwick*, founded by King *Egberts* Daughter *Edith*, who died there Governess her self. 8.
- John Pole* a priest writ the life of a famous *English* Woman. 201.
- Poll-money first granted.
- Policie of *Henry* the 5th. 171.
- Policy of the Duke of *Albany*. 272. Of the *English* against the *Spanish* Fleet. 377. With which it prevails. 76. Policy

The Index.

- Policy to self hurt, 181. 256.
 No policy to make an Enemy desperate, 290.
Pomfret, the priory there founded by *Robert Lacy*, 29.
Pomfret Castle taken by Major General *Points*, 543.
Michael de la Poole, a Merchants Son created Earl of *Suffolk* and made Lord Chancellor, 142, 143. Charged by parliament with such Crimes, that he is adjudged to die if the King pleased, *ibid.* He flies to *Calice* in disguise of a Porter, but is known and sent back, yet nothing said to him. 149.
Reginald Pool made a Cardinal, 286. How descended, and why made a Cardinal, *ibid.* Is chosen Pope, but refuseth it, and the manner how, 208. He dieth the day after *Queen Mary*, 325. He absolveth the Realm, 322.
William de la Pool Marquis of *Suffolk* is made Duke of *Suffolk*, 188. Committed to the *Tower*, but the Parliament being dissolved, is released, 189. Is banished for five years, but passing into *France* is taken, and his head chopt off, 190.
Emund de la Poole, Earl of *Suffolk* offends King *Henry*, 246. Is delivered to him and sent to the *Tower*, 247. put to death, 257.
 Two Popes at one time, 57.
 The Pope offers to make King *Henry* his Legate, 57.
 Two Popes at once, which Schism continued almost twenty years, *ibid.*
 Two quarrels with King *John*, and why, 73.
 The Popes power over Princes first ordained. *ibid.*
 Sends over 300 Romans to have the first Benefices that should be vacant, 81.
 The Pope had sixty thousand Marks yearly out of *England*, 82. But ordained to have no more, *ibid.*
 The Pope seeking to borrow Money of the Earl of *Cornwall*. is denyed, the Earl saying, he liked not to lend his Money to one, upon whom he could not distrein, 84.
 The Pope absolveth King *Edward* of his Oath, 199.
 Restrained from conferring Benefices in *England*, 129.
 Pope *Urban* the fifth Son of an *English* Man, 133. Two Antipopes striving, a third chosen, 164. Three Antipopes rejected, a fourth is elected, 177. A schism of Antipopes that continued 29 years *ibid.* He sends a present to King *Henry*, and what it was, 262, 272.
 The Popes Authority utterly abolished in *England*, 282.
 The Popes primacy restored by Parliament, but with some difficulty, 321. The Popes Authority restored in *England*, 325.
 The Pope makes *Queen Elizabeth* great offers if she would become a Papist 333. Invites her to send to the Council of *Trent*, *ibid.*
 The Court of *Rome* hears no Causes judicially, from the last of *July*, till the fourth of *October*, 277.
 The Popes-head Tavern over against the *Old Exchange*, an ancient Mansion of the Kings of *England* 30.
Richard Cromwell, proclaimed Protector of the Nation 637. His Proclamation for the dissolving of his Parliament 641.
Portland Island in *Dorset-shire*, given by King *Edward* the Confessor to the Ministers of *Winchester* 17.
Portsmouth, why so called 5.
Portsmouth taken by the Parliaments Forces 521.
 The King of *Portugal* marries the Duke of *Lancasters* Daughter 141. An Ambassador comes over from him to the State of *England* 621. The *Portugal* Ambassadors Brother beheaded *ibid.*
Gilbert Pot set in the Pillory, for speaking against the Lady *Jane*, 314.
 The Grammar School of Saint *Lawrence Pountney* in *London*, founded by Sir *John Pountney* Mayor 399.
 Saint *Lawrence Pountney* in *London*, by whom built, 130.
 Captain *Pouch*, the Ring leader for throwing down inclosures, executed, and why so called 4127.
Poyer and *Langhorn* take up Arms for the King in *Wales* 519. Defeated by Collonel *Horton* 560. *Poyer* shot to death 595.
 Sir *Edward Poynings* sent General of 1500 Archers, in aid of the Lady *Margaret* Duchess of *Savoy* 255.
 Poysoning punished by boyling to death, executed by *Richard Roope* 295.
 King *John* thought to be poysoned 75.
 Prince *Edward* poysoned in the Holy Land, and how cured, 94.
 The Common-Prayer Book commanded to be used, 396. confirmed by King *James* 422.
 England to have precedence before *Spain*, resolved at the Council of *Constance*, 177. The Temporal Lords before the Spiritual, 204. The Lord Treasurer of *England*, before the Lord Mayor of *London*, 205. Strife for precedence between *Katherine Parre* Queen Dowager, and *Anne Stranhoper* wife of the Lord Protector, 306. Chief Officers of the Kingdom have precedence before all of their degree, 388. The Commissioners of *Spain* and *England* break off a treaty, for not agreeing about precedence, 391.
 Prelages how to be construed, 22. Are as they are taken, 120.
 Prerogative abused, 69.
 Presbyterians and Independants, the Parliament divided into two parties so called, 594. Presbyterian Government settled, 561.
 Prescription no Warrant to do things unlawful, no more than robbing upon *Shooters-bill*, 278.
 President of the *North*, when first ordained, 352. Of his Authority and from whence it took beginning, 38.
 Sir *John Preston* a Scotch-man made Earl of *Kildare*, coming out of *Ireland* drowned, 405.
 Presents sent by King *James* to the King of *Spain*, 408. Sent from the King of *Spain* to King *James*, 411.
 Prizes of things in King *Johns* time, 75. Price of Victuals in King *Edw.* the 1. time, 101. In *Richard* the seconds time, 154. In a dearth set upon Victuals, but soon released, 113. Of Meat in a great plenty, 101. 131. Wine sold for 13 s. 4. pence the Tun, 143. Price of wheat in a dearth, 154.
 The price of things in King *Henry* the 7th time, 250.
 The price of Mutton and Beef in King *Henry* the eighth time, 297.
 The price of Corn in *Queen Maries* time, 225. The price of Corn in a Dearth, 400.
 Price of Fowl and Poultry ordained by an Act of Common Council, 101.
 Preferment sometimes gotten by ridiculous courses, 41.
 Priests married, questioned whether they ought to live in Monasteries, 12. Miraculously made appear they ought not, *ibid.* Being married, not suffered to officiate Divine Service, 17. Marriage forbidden them in King *Rufus* time, 36. Their marriage decreed against, 41. So revered, that though they committed Treason, yet had their lives saved, 245. Their Children made legitimate, 312.
Prin. Burton, and *Bastwick* censured, 456. enlarged out of prison, 475.
 Printing when first found, and by whom, 198.
 Priories suppressed, 178.
 Privy Seals, King borrows Money of them, 433.
 Privy Chamber-men to the King, their Authority, 279.
 The Kings proclamation, forbidding all Levies, except by his Order, 514.
 A proclamation against Kingly Government, 587. A proclamation of the Royalists proclaiming underhand Prince *Charles* to be King of *England*, *ibid.* Of the parliament of *Scotland*, to the same effect, 589. He is again proclaimed at *Edenborough Cross*, 599. In *England* again at the Head of his Army, 606. The solemn manner of proclaiming him in *London* and *Westminster*, 708. His Majesty sets forth a proclamation to summon in those of the Kings Judges, who had absented themselves, 708. Against Debauchery and profaneness, 714. Concerning the *Irish Rebels*, *ibid.* Against Duels, 717.
 Prodigality of a King 35.
 Professors of the Universities, of the Hebrew, Arabick and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil Law, History, and Physick, when and by whom instituted, and what allowance to each of them, 296. 423. 570.
 Promoters set on the pillory, with shame whereof within seven days they all died, 254.
 A Prophecie of *Merlin* mistaken, deceives Prince *Leolin*, 95. Prophecies, how fulfilled, 286.
 Prophetick speech of King *Henry* the fifth, concerning his Son *Henry*, 176.
 Prophetick speech of King *Henry* the sixth, of *Henry* afterward *Henry* the seventh, 209.
 Nineteen propositions sent from the parliament to the King at *York*, 518. Rejected by the King, *ibid.* Others presented to the King at *Oxford*, 537. Sixteen propositions sent from the parliament to the King at *Newcastle*, 548. propositions sent to the King at *Hampton-Court*, 552.
 Several propositions of the Commissioners sent from the

The Index.

Scots to General Monk, at Berwick, 674. Gen. Monks Answer to them, *ibid.*

Protector chosen of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Oliver Cromwel, 620.

The Protestation and Oath of the Governour and Council in Breda.

The protestation taken by both Houses and the Subjects of England, 508.

Protestation of the Lords against the proceedings of the Commons, 588.

Protestants, why so called, 296. put to death for denying the real presence, *ibid.*

Persecuted in France by the Guysses, and in the Low-Countries by the Duke D'Alva, they came flocking into England as into a Sanctuary, 341. In Piedmont by the Duke of Savoyes Souldiers, 626. A Contribution for them throughout England, *ibid.*

The Divine providence, 94. In revenge, 149. Works by strange means, 249.

Provision stoppt from going to the King, 198.

Provision for the Queens house, when first brought to a rate, 396. provision for the Kings house paid before in kind, was now rated and paid in Money, 40.

Publick-faith, money borrowed upon it by the parliament, 518.

La Pucelle of France begins to shew her self, 183. Is wounded, 184. Is taken, and a Sorcerers burnt at Roan, *ib.*

Puckering the Queens Serjeant at Law, made Lord Keeper, 381.

Punishments made to be pecuniary, 40.

A pulse of one dead that beat strongly, 399.

Purveyors restrained, unless they paid ready money, 128

Puritans how increased, 397.

Mr. Pym is sent to the Lords, with an impeachment against the Earl of Strafford, 475. One of the five Members taxt by the King, 515.

Piracy taught by a Preacher to be lawful 359.

English Pyrates turn Turks, 413.

Q

Q

Queen of Scots detained in England, 340. beheaded, 374.

A Quarrel amongst some of the chief Commanders, 555 Between the Embassadors of France and Spain, 729.

The Queen-Mother comes into England, 466. she departs out of England, *ibid.*

The Queen accompanieth her Daughter the Princess Mary into Holland, 517. She lands at Bridlington Bay with Money and Ammunition, 524. She meets the King with Forces at Edge-Hill, 526. She departs into France, 535.

Queens Colledge in Oxford, by whom founded, 130. And endowed, 570.

Queens Colledge in Cambridge, by whom founded, 199, 217. Endowed by King Edward the third, 234.

Saint Quintinus won chiefly by the English, 323.

The Writ of *Quorum Nomina*, what it was, 190.

R

R

Ragland Castle surrendreth, 547.

Rain of blood, two hours together in the Isle of Wight, 58.

Rain almost continual from Easter to Michaelmas, 199.

Of blood, where and when, *ibid.*

Rain in seed-time so extreme, that it caused a great dearth, 296.

Rain so great, that Boats were rowed over Westminster Bridge, into Kings-street, 326.

A Rain-bow how reversed, when appeared, 326.

Ralph Bishop of Salisbury, how from a poor Prince he came to his greatness, 49.

Ramsay Abby in Hampshire founded by King Edgar, 12.

Rapier and Dagger, by whom the fight first brought up, 375.

Sir Robert Ratcliff is created Viscount Fitz-Wateres, 374.

The Free-School at Ratcliff, and the Alms-house there, by whom built, 297.

Egremont Ratcliff, son to the Earl of Sussex, accused to be sent to kill John d' Austria, is put to death, 355.

Sir George Ratcliff sent for out of Ireland, by a Serjeant

at Arms, 515. Impeached before the Parliament, *ibid.* He flies into Holland, 516.

Rates and Measures for Wine, Bread and Cloth, first settled by King John, 76.

Men rated to find Souldiers, 131.

Ravishing punished by cutting off the Genitals, by a Law of the Conquerour, 27.

Sir Walter Rawley his first appearing in Action, 344.

Is sent with 15 ship, to meet with the Spanish Fleet, but the Fleet not coming forth that year, he took a mighty Carack called the Mother of God, and of what value, 382.

He undertakes a Voyage to Guyana, and his success, 384.

Is questioned for going on land without the Earl of Essex his Generals leave, but by mediation of the Lord Thomas Howard, pardoned, 387. He enters into a Conspiracy with the Lord Cobham and others, 407. Is arraigned and condemned, but suspended, *ibid.* Is kept in the Tower divers years, and how he spent his time there, *ib.* His project to fetch Gold from Guyana, his carriage in it, and his death after it, and his constancy at his death, 417. 418.

Reade, Alderman, for refusing to pay a tax is sent to the Wars in Scotland, where he is taken prisoner, 292.

Reading Abbey founded by King Henry the first, 41.

The School there by whom founded, 325.

Reading surrendred to Essex, by Col. Fielding, 524.

With Rebels no parley to be holden, 358. The Rebels in the Insurrection in Kent, grown to be 100 thousand, 138. they sack the Savoy, the Duke of Lancasters house, *ib.* so just, that sacking the Dukes house, they would keep none of his Goods but threw them all into the Thames, *ib.*

They punish one of their fellows for keeping privily a piece of Plate, *ibid.* Two and thirty of them drinking drunk at the Dukes Cellar, the house being set on fire, the Rafter fell upon them that they were heard cry seven days after, and so perished, *ibid.* Their other outrages at the Temple, and at Saint Johns by Smithfield, at last daunted by Sir Robert Knolles, they cry for mercy, 139.

The Rebels in Suffolk commit great outrages and what, *ibid.* Fifteen hundred found guilty of the Rebellion, are in sundry places executed, *ibid.*

A bloody Rebellion breaks forth in Ireland, and proceedings thereupon, 512.

Recognition of the Government, to be signed by the Members of Cromwells second Parliament, 623.

Robert Record Doctor of Physick, writ a Book of Arithmetick, 327.

Records of the Law carried to York in 21 Carts, but within half a year brought back, 113.

Reculver in the Isle of Thanet, where King Ethelbert built him a Palace, 5.

Redman and Brett, being of the Irish Brigade to the General Monk, 677.

Reeze the last King of Wales slain, 33.

The Tree of Retormation, where and why so called, 305.

Retaliation a just one, 56.

Rubens the Painter sent from the Arch-dutcheffs into England, to mediate a peace with Spain, 496.

A Register of Weddings, Chrihtnings, and Burials, when first kept, 295.

Reliques accounted holy, one of Saint Peters Hairs, 23.

Saint Austins Arm, 16.

Reliques sent to King Athelstan by divers Princes and what they were, 10.

Reliques of King Edward the Confessor, laid up in Westminster in a Chest of Gold, by King Henry the third, 89.

King William Rufus wavering in Religion, 35.

Religious houses given to the King, 283.

Different Religions not fit to join in marriage, 367.

Alteration of Religions in Queen Elizabeths time by Parliament, only with the difference of six Voyces, 370.

Through Voyces thought to be begged by Cecil and others, 331.

A Conference in matters of Religion between Papists and Protestants, how broken off, 330. Another Conference at Hampton-Court, 421.

Committee for Regulation of Religion, 731.

In matters of Religion, divisions how occasioned, 567.

Remigius Bishop of Dorchester began to build the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, 36.

The Parliaments Remonstrance against the Duke of Buckingham, 441. The Armies Remonstrance demanding Justice against the King, 564.

The

The Index.

The Remembrance of the Western Covenanters in Scotland, 602.

The Republick or Commonwealth-Government in England. See from 588. to 708.

Rescuing a Prisoner, punished with cutting off the right Hand, 101.

Reuchlin the great Hebrician when he lived, 252.

Revenue of the King, what course taken to advance it.

Sir John Reynolds Commander in chief of the Forces sent by Protector to aid the French against the Spaniards, 630. He and his Company cast away upon Goodwin Sands, *ibid.*

Doctor Reynolds and his commendation, 426.

Reyor a Minstrel, founded St. Bartholomews Hospital by Smithfield, 42.

Remes, an English Seminary set up there upon the dissolution of the Seminary at Doway, 353.

Sir Richard Rich is made Lord Rich. 302.

Richard the Conquerours second Son, Hunting in the new Forest, killed, 29.

Richard the first, King of England, 61. See his Story throughout. Imprisoned by the Emperour of Germany, but at last ransomed, 64. His Metaphorical Daughters, how disposed, 66. Why called *Cœur de Lyon*, 67. His charitable act at his death, *ibid.* Richard of Bourdeaux declared Successor of the Crown, and created Prince of Wales, 131.

Richard the second, see his Story throughout, 136. His Coronation, *ibid.* Enters Scotland with an Army, 141. Goes into Ireland, 147. Where he receives news of the Duke of Herefords arrival in England, 150. Resolving to come over, but counselled to the contrary, 151. Yet at length when too late comes, *ibid.* Is entrapped and carried to Flint, *ibid.* Resigns the Crown, 152. Is murdered, 155.

Richard the third Crowned, 226. His Death, 235.

Richmond, called heretofore Scheen, 178. By whom new Builded, 249.

Earl of Richmond aided by the French, 230. Escapes the Plot of Richard the third by Mortons information, 231. Hastens his coming into England, and why, 232.

Cardinal Richelieu, sends over his Almoner to foment the differences in Scotland, 469.

Nicholas Ridley, late Bishop of London, burnt at Oxford, 321.

Rodolphus gives the Duke of Norfolk reasons to take up Arms, 346.

The Ring in Marriage, not spoken of in the Conference at Hampton Court, but allowed by King James, 422.

George Ripley a Carmelite Fryer, writ divers Treatises in the Mathematicks, and was counted a Necromancer, 252.

A Rising for the King in the North of Scotland, 608. Supprest by Kerr and Stranghan, 591. In Norfolk soon supprest, 603. An intended Rising in Lancashire, 605. At Salisbury supprest, 624. In other parts of the Nation supprest, *ibid.*

A deep River suddenly grown dry, 199.

A new River brought from Ware to London, 336.

The Lord Rivers and others beheaded at Pomphret, the very same day that the Lord Hastings was at London, 222, 223.

The City of Roan taken by King Henry the fifth, in which were two hundred and ten thousand Persons, yet not by force, but by Famine, 173, 174.

Robison gat possession of the Citadell of Ayre, for General Monk, 665.

The Earl of Rochester, sent Ambassadour to the Emperour, 677.

Robbers upon the Highway when first ordained to be hanged, 40.

Robert, the Conquerours eldest Son, riseth against his Father, in a Bartel unhorseth him, but knowing him by his Voice, to be his Father, kneels down and craves pardon, 25. Called *Cuthois*, and why, 29. Elected King of Hierusalem, refuseth it, and never prospers after, 35. Hath his Eyes put out by his Brother Henry, 39.

Robert Earl of Gloucester, taken Prisoner by Queen Mathild, 48. He dieth, 49.

Robin Hood and Little John, 65. An Earl, but having wasted his Estate, made him turn Robber, *ibid.*

Robin of Riddlestal, who and what he did, 207, 226.

Rochester Castle, the Constableship of it given to the Church of Canterbury, 41.

The Cathedral Church there, founded by King Sebert.

The stone bridge there built & by whom, 269.

The Church of Saint Andrews there consumed with fire, 65, 58.

Viscount Rochford, is made Earl of Wiltshire, 278. Is committed to the Tower, 283. Is beheaded, *ibid.*

Rochus a Charterhouse Monk, that writ Epigrams, 218.

Sir Thomas Roe Mayor of London, his work of Piety, 398.

Sir Thomas Roe sent to the Diet at Ratisbone, to assist the Prince Elector, 511.

Ralph Rookby, his work of piety, 419.

John Rogers, the first Martyr of those times, burnt at London, 321. He translated the Bible into English with Notes, 326.

Ragmans Roll delivered to the Scots, and how, 120.

Henry Rolph hanged, for counterfeiting the Queens Hand, 348.

Some sacked by the Imperialists, 275. Reconciling to the See of Rome, made Treason, 347.

Romans how long conquering England, 2. leave England again, 3.

The Red Rose and the white, whose Badges, 188.

Rosamund, the Concubine of King Henry the second, and her fate, 59.

Richard Roose, boyled to death for poysoning, 295.

Rowen, the Daughter of Hengist, poysoneth Vortimer, 4.

Thomas Rodborn, Bishop of St. Davids, writ a Chronicle, 167.

Royston Town burnt, 178.

Rufus, why King William so called, a notable Act of his, 36.

Prince Rupert arrives in England with his Brother Prince Maurice, 520. He routs Collonel Sands at Worcester, 522. He takes Cirencester for the King, 524. He takes Litchfield, *ibid.* Bristow, 527. Raileth the Siege of Latham-House, 533. Fetcheth off the King from Oxford, 541. He is entertained by the King of Portugal, *ibid.*

Sir John Russel, Lord Russel, is made Earl of Bedford, 308.

Sir John Russel, Comptroller is made Lord Russel, 287.

Sir John Russel escapes death by feigning himself mad, 150.

William Russel Deputy of Ireland, 384.

John Russel writ a Treatise *super Jure Caesaris ac Papae*, also Commentaries in *Cantica*, 300.

The Earl of Ruiland sent into Denmark, and why, 406.

Ripiers ordained to sell their Fish in Cornhill and Cheap-side, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again, 235.

Ryding Hospital in Norfolk by whom founded, 424.

A River not far from Bedford, suddenly remained almost dry, 154.

S

S

THE Conde De Sa comes in splendid Embassie to Cromwell, 621. His Brother Don Pantaleon Sa beheaded, *ibid.*

The Sabbath-day first kept holy, from having Fairs, Markets, Huntings, and secular Affairs forbidden by a Law of Canutus, 16.

Sir Ralph Sadler the last Banneret of England, 376.

The Law Salique violated, 175.

The Law Salique written against, by Thomas Becketon Bishop of Batho, 200.

Salisbury anciently called Ambrii, 4.

Church built there, 36.

Secundum Usam Sarum, a Form of Divine Service, devised by Oward Bishop of Salisbury, 28.

Salisbury Dunne and others hanged, 370.

A Salut, what Coin it was, 175.

The Sanctuary at Westminster, how ancient, and by whom hallowed, 222.

Sanctuary priviledge restrained from such as committed Treason, 237. Their priviledges abated, 249.

Sir Nicholas Sanders is sent to Ireland by the Pope, with a consecrated Banner, 357. Is starved to death, 363.

M m m m m

Collo-

The Index.

Colonel *Sandys* routed at *Worcester* by Prince *Rupert* 252.

John Savage and others conspire against Queen *Elizabeth*, and how discovered, 369.

Lord *Sanguier* hanged, and why, 415.

St. *Saviours* at *Bermondsey* in *Southwark* founded by *Alwin Child*, Citizen of *London*, 28.

St. *Saviours* Abbey near *London*, founded by the Conquerour, 29.

Sir *Henry Savile*, his learned Works, 401.

The *Savoy* Hospital, when and by whom first finished, 249. and by whom the House first built, 32. set upon by the *Londoners*, and why, 130. burned by the *Rebels of Kent*, &c. under *Wat Tyler*, 138.

Sir *Oliver St. John* is made Baron of *Beltsho*, 329.

The Lord *Say*, Treasurer of *England*, sequestered from his Place, 190. Is committed to the *Tower*, *ibid.* Hath his Head chopt off by *Jack Cade*, 191.

Saturday, a fortunate day to King *Henry* the seventh, 238.

Saxons who, and their Idolatry, 2, 3. Possessors of all *England*, 4.

Saccarium, why so called, 27.

Scoggin a learned Gentleman, for his pleasant wit called to Court, 219.

Scarborough Castle taken for the Parliament by Sir *Matthew Bownton*, 543.

Tho. Scot, and *Luke Robinson*, sent from the Juncto to Complement and attend upon General *Monk*, in his way to *London*, 678. Their Message to him from the House, 680. *Scot* opposeth the Proposition of the Citys Commissioners, 681. The General seems to comply with him, *ibid.* *Scot* instructs him how to receive the intended Gratulations of the House, 682. He excepts against General *Monk*'s speech, 684.

John Scot Knighted, 255.

Scotland, anciently called *Albania*, and why, 2. *Scots* King enters *England* in behalf of *Maud* the Emperess, 46. Fatal Chair of *Scotland* brought to *England*, 97. *Scots* swear fealty to King *Edward*, *ibid.* *Scots* invade *England*, but are defeated, 121, 131, 259. invaded by the *English*, 302.

Scots defeated by *Hubert de Lacy*, and eleven thousand slain, 47. The *Scots* get all the North parts of *England*, from *Carlisle* to *Berwick*, 108. So emboldned that three *Scots* durst encounter an hundred *English*, *ibid.* The *Scots* defeated, with the grief whereof the King dieth, who leaving one only Daughter, King *Henry* the eighth seeks to marry her with his Son Prince *Edward*, and how crossed in it, 290. The *Scots* so beaten by the *English*, that some Women had three or four *Scottish* Prisoners, *ibid.*

The several transactions between the *Scots* and the King about Episcopal Government and the Liturgie, 453. The King marcheth with an Army into the North against them, 466. They come to an agreement, *ibid.* New preparations against them, 471. He again marcheth against them, *ibid.* New Articles of Agreement, 473. Their Demands at a Treaty with the Parliaments Commissioners, 475. They are invited by the Parliament to come in to their assistance, 530. They enter *England* with an Army, to the assistance of the Parliament, *ibid.* They take *Newcastle*, 537. They besiege *Hereford*, 544. *Newark* surrendred to them by the Kings desire, 546. The King in a disguise goes from *Oxford* to their Army, *ibid.* They are ordered to depart out of *England*, 548. They deliver up the King upon the receipt of a good sum of money, into the hands of the Parliament, *ibid.* They enter *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, 562. Are defeated by Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwell*, *ibid.* They consult about a Treaty with King *Charles* the second, they treat with him in the Isle of *Fersey*, 593. At *Breda*, 594. They are routed at *Musclebrough*, 600. Defeated at *Dunbar*, 601. At *Worcester*, 608. They treat by their Commissioners with General *Monk* at *Berwick*, 674, &c. Their ancient way of Government set over them, after the Kings Restoration, 717.

The Lord *Scroop* put from his Chancellorship, for refusing to seal some grants of the King, 144.

William Scroop, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Treasurer of *England*, beheaded, 150.

Thomas Scroop Archbishop of *York* beheaded, and why, 167.

Hen. Lord *Scroop* Lord Treasurer, put to death, and why, 170.

Thomas Scroop, surnamed *Bradley*, of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*, his devotion and long life, 252.

A Sea-fight between the *English* and *French*, wherein the *English* Victors, 119.

A Sea-fight between the *English* and the *French* at *Harflew*, where the *English* prevailed, 172.

Another at the Bay of *Brittain*, 256. Three hundred *French* Ships taken by the *English*, 292. Between the *English* and *Spaniards* in eighty eight, 376. Between the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*, 468. Between the *English* and *Hollanders*, 613, 614, 615, 616. Between the *English* and the *Spaniard*, 627, 629. between the *Swede* and *Dutch*, 638.

Secretary of State, whether he may not transact a business of State without special Commission from the Prince, 364.

A new Seal made by King *Henry* the third, for confirming of former grants, 79.

The Great Seal delivered to certain Counsellors, 381.

A new great Seal voted by the Parliament, 525. Seals of State broken in the Lords House, 547.

Sebbu, King of the *East Saxons*, takes upon him the Habit of a Monk, and lies buried in *Pauls* Church, 6.

Selby in *Yorkshire* founded by the Conquerour, 29. Taken by the Lord *Fairfax*, 533.

Mr. *John Selden* reckoned among the learnedst Men of the Age in the Reign of King *Charles* the first, his death, 585.

Sermes Tower in *Bucklers-Bury*, an ancient Mansion of the Kings of *England*, 30.

Sevenock in *Kent*, where a Free-school and 13 Almshouses founded by *William* of *Sevenock*, who found an Infant newly born in the streets there, came afterward to be Mayor of *London*, 178.

Seventeenth day of *November* celebrated in honour of Queen *Elizabeth* coming to the Crown, 345.

Severus the Emperour wounded at *York* dieth, 2, 3.

Col. *Sexby* dies in the *Tower*, 631.

Lady *Fane Seymour* married to *Henry* the 8th, 284. Delivered of a Child named *Edward*, but dieth, 285.

Sir *Edward Seymour* created Viscount *Beuchamp*, 286.

Edward Seymour is made Earl of *Hartford*, 286. 329.

Edward Seymour Earl of *Hartford*, chosen Protector till King *Edward* should be eighteen years old, 301.

Sir *Thomas Seymour* is made Lord *Sudely*, and Lord Admiral, *ibid.* He aimeth at the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, 304. 307. Is condemned, and by a Warrant under his Brother the Protectors own hand beheaded, *ib.*

The Protector having lost his Brother, is now left open to his Adversaries, *ibid.* Is committed to the *Tower*, 308. Is released, but no more Protector, *ibid.* Is arraigned, and acquitted of Treason, but condemned of Felony, 310. Is beheaded, *ibid.*

William Seymour marries the Lady *Arbella*, and both committed to the *Tower*, 417.

Serjeants at Law made, 205.

Two calls of Serjeants in King *Henry* the seventh's time, 247.

A call of Serjeants in King *Edward* the sixth's time, 312.

Another call in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, 337.

A call of Serjeants in King *James* his time, 406.

A second call in King *James* his time, 416.

A third call in King *James* his time, 419.

Sir *Thomas Saintleger*, and other Favourites of the Earl of *Richmond*, executed, 230.

Sir *Anthony Saintleger*, Deputy of *Ireland*, 289.

Sir *William Saintleger*, the first President of *Munster*, 337.

A faithful Servant, 64.

The greatest Rot of Sheep that ever was known, and continued 25 years, 101.

Coteswold Sheep sent for a Present to the King of *Arragon*, 206.

Seminaries and seminary Priests why so called, and where erected, 558. An *English* Seminary in *Valledolid* in *Spain*, 381.

Servants refrained from buying any Victuals, unless they brought a testimonial whom they served, 325.

Service begun to be said in *Latine* in *Pauls* Church, *ibid.* In the *English* Tongue when first begun, 330.

William Shakespear, an excellent writer of Comedies, 402.

Shaftsbury Abbey of Nuns founded by King *Alfred*, 9.

Shew,

The Index.

Sheen, now called *Richmond*, re-edified by King *Henry* the 5th, 178.

Sir Edmund Sheffield made Lord *Sheffield* of *Busterwick*, 302.

Sheriffs and *Justices of the Peace*, first ordained by the *Conqueror*, 27. To be chosen of Men of the County, when first ordained, 101.

Robert Singleton writ a *Treatise of the seven Churches*, and certain *Prophecies*, 300.

Sherburne in *Dorset-shire*, anciently the *Episcopal See*, 9.

The *Abby* there founded by King *Henry* the first, 41.

The *Castle* there by whom built, 42.

No *Ships* in *England*, till after *Cæsars* coming, 2.

King *Edgar* had 3600 *Ships*, 11.

The *Subjects* commanded to find *Ships* and *Armour* at certain rates, 13. *Ship-money* imposed upon the *Subjects* by King *Hardiknut*, 17.

A *Navy* of 1287, *Ships* prepared by the *French* to invade *England*, 142. but distressed by *William Beauchamp*, Captain of *Calice*, *ibid.* 500 *French Ships* made by the *English*, *ibid.*

The goodliest *Ship* that was ever seen in *England*, built by King *Henry* the eighth, and called *Henry Grace de Dieu*, 257. burnt at *Wolwich*, 325.

The number of *Ships* increased by Queen *Elizabeth*, 334. the great *Ship* called the *Revenge* taken by the *Spaniard*, 381.

The *Merchants* built a *Ship* of twelve hundred *Tun*, naming it the *Trades Increase*, but this *Ship* was cast away at *Sea*, after which King *James* built a *Ship* of fourteen hundred *Tun*, and carrying 64 *Pieces* of great *Ordinance*, and was called the *Prince*, 413.

Ship-money designed by *Attorney General Noy*, 454. taken into debate by the *Judges*, 455. Voted down by the *Parliament*, 475.

The division of the *Kingdom* into *Shires* and *Hundreds*, when and by whom first made, 9.

Shoos and *Boots*, of what length their beaks and pikes should be, 216.

Shortmantle, a name of King *Henry* the second, and why, 59.

Edmund Shaw Mayor of *London*, made of *Counsel* to make the *Duke* of *Glocester* King, 224.

Doctor Shaw's shameful *Sermon* in praise of the *Duke* of *Glocester*, and how over-shot in it, *ibid.*

Shrewsbury surprized by the *Parliaments Forces*, 541.

Shores Wife, who and what she was, 217. After King *Edward*'s death, retained by the *Lord Hastings*, 223.

Spoiled of all her *Goods*, and *Penance* besides, and her carriage in it, 224.

Shrewsbury Abby founded by *Waring Earl* of *Shrewsbury*, 29.

Dr. Sibthorp informs against the *Bishop* of *Lincoln*, at the *Council Table*, 457.

Sir Philip Sidney is sent to the *Emperour*, and why, 354. is slain, and his condemnation, 268. 401.

Sigebert King of the *West-Saxons*, slain by a *Swineheard*, 6.

Sigebert the fifth King of the *East-Angles*, founded the *School* of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, and becomes a *Monk*, 7.

Sigismund the *Emperour* comes into *England*, and why, 172. makes a *League* with King *Henry*, *ibid.*

Silver Mines found in *Devonshire*, in King *Edward* the first's time, 101.

Lambert Simmel, given out to be *Edward Earl* of *Warwick*, is conveyed into *Ireland*, and thereby many believed, 237. Is there *Crowned King* of *England*, 238.

Is taken and put into the *Kings Kitchen* to turn the *Spit*, and at last made one of the *Kings Falconers*, *ibid.*

Simon Zealotes, one of the *Apostles* Martyred in *England*, 3.

Miles Sindercome and others *Plot* against the *Profectors* life, 628. he is tried and condemned. *ibid.*

procures his own death by a *poisonous Powder*, *ibid.*

Sion near *Richmond*, by whom founded, 178.

Major *Gen. Skippon* set over the *City Militia* by the *Parliament*, 560.

Skuiſh, a *Cornish Man*, writ *Abbreviations of Chronicles*, and of the winning of *Troy*, 299.

Skelton a pleasant *Poet*, when he lived, *ibid.*

A sleep of fourteen days together, 298.

Col. Slingsby and *Sir John Berkly* apprehended in the *West* of *England*, 593.

Sir Henry Slingsby tried before a *High Court* of *Ju-*

stice, for conspiring against the *Protector*, 633. Is be-headed, *ibid.*

The *Family* of *Smith* in *Essex*, from whom descended, 131.

John Smith, *Cousin-German* to King *Edward* the 6th, is sent into *Spain*, and his bold behaviour there, 353.

Thomas Smith the *Customers Rent* raised, 380.

Sir Thomas Smith writ an imperfect *Work* of the *Commonwealth* of *England*, 401.

Smithfield, when first paved, anciently a *Laystall*, and the place of *Execution*, 42. 437.

Snow in such abundance, that almost all *Cattel* and *Fowl* perished, 18. 165.

The *Solemnity* of *Oliver Cromwells* *Installment*, 620. of his *Funeral*, 637.

Duke of *Somerset* sent to the *Tower*, but soon released and made *Captain* of *Calice*, 193. is slain, *ibid.*

Sir Charles Somerset, made *Earl* of *Worcester*, 204.

Somerset-House in the *Strand*, by whom built, and by what impious courses, 307.

Somerville, *Arden*, and others condemned, and why, 363.

A good temper for a *Souldier*, 51.

Souldiers for the *Kings War*, found by the *Subjects*, 83. Levied by rate from all *Cities*, 108. and 127.

Southfleet in *Kent*, the *Conventual Church* there, by whom founded, 58.

South-Saxons Kingdom, when begun, 5.

King of *Spains* eldest Son marries the *Duke* of *Lancasters* *Daughter*, 141. 142.

King of *Spain* seizeth upon the *Kingdom* of *Portugal*, 360.

The *King* of *Spain*, a *Peace* concluded between him and the *King* of *England*, 447. Open *War* proclaimed between him and the *English Protector*, 627.

The *Spanish Army* vanquished near *Fuentes Fort*, by the *French* and *English*, 633.

The *Spanish Fleet* in 88. of how many *Ships* it consisted, their number of *Souldiers*, and their setting out, 376. Their fight and event, 377. 378.

The *Bishop* of *Carlisle* bold speech in behalf of King *Richard*, 158.

Speech of *K. Charles* the first, at his first *Parliament*, 432.

The speech of the *Earl* of *Strafford* at his death, 510.

King *Charles* the first, 581. *Ec.* of *Duke Hamilton*. 590. of the *Earl* of *Holland*, *ibid.* of the *Lord Capel*, *ibid.* of *Castles* to the *King* at the *Treaty* at *Bréda*, 594.

Monrofs his speech at his tryal, 597. At his *Execution*, 598.

Olivers speech to his last *Parliament*, 631.

The *Speaker Lenthalls* speech to *Lambert*, upon his delivery of the *Armies Petition* and *Address*, 647.

Gen. Monk's speech to his *Officers* at *Edinburgh*, 664.

Mr. Caryl's speech to *Gen. Monk* in the name of the *Independent Churches*, 670.

Lenthall, *Speaker* of the *Long-Parliament*, his speech to *General Monk*, 682. the *Generals* speech in answer to the *Speakers*, 683.

Mr. Folly, a *Citizen*, his speech to the *General*, 707.

Col. Knight's speech to the *Officers*, to encourage them to take an *Engagement* which the *General* had caused to be drawn up, 697.

Col. Lydcots speech upon the reading of his *Majesties Letter*, and *Declaration*, 705.

His *Majesties* speech to the *Members* of *Parliament* at his first *Arrival*, 712. His speech to the *Parliament*, to hasten the perfecting of the *Act* of *Oblivion*, 716. his speech at the passing the *Act* of *Indemnity*, and several other *Acts*, 718. his speech at the passing the *Act* for *Disbanding* the *Army*, and many other *Acts*, 724.

My *Lord Chancellors* speech to the two *Houses*, *ibid.*

Hugh Spencer the younger, as great a *Favourite* of King *Edward* as *Gaveston* had been, 108. his *Father* and himself, both banished the *Kingdom*, but soon called home again. 110.

Hugh Spencer the *Father*, a man of 90. years old, executed by the *Queen*, 112. The younger hanged and quartered, *ibid.*

Henry Spencer *Bishop* of *Norwich*, opposeth the *Rebels*, takes *Lyttelster* their *Captain*, and hangs him, 139. goes into *France* with an *Army*, 140.

The *Lord Spencer* is sent to the *Duke* of *Wintenberg*, and why, 406.

The Index.

- Marquess *Spinola* takes *Offend*, and how rewarded, 408.
Thomas Spot a Chronographer, when lived, 103.
Spotwood Archbishop dies, 470.
 Spoils gotten by Souldiers from the Enemy, made to be restored, 11.
Edward Squire executed, and why, 389.
 Stabbing with a Dagger or Knife made wilful murther, 421.
George Stadlow, his advice followed against the common inclination of the Citizens, 307.
Henry Lord Stafford, Son to *Edward Duke of Buckingham*, translated a Book out of *Latin* into *English*, intitled, *Urinusque Potestatis Differentia*, 327.
 The Lord *Stafford* of *Southwark* beheaded, 207.
 Stage-Plays abolished by Ordinance of Parliament, 612.
 The Earl of *Stamford* proclaimed Traytor by the King, 520.
 Beaten by *Sir Ralph Hopton*, 524. at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, 525.
 The Standard in *Cheap*, when and by whom built, 199.
 The Standard of King *Charles* the first, erected at *Nottingham*, 520.
 The Standard of King *Charles* the second set up at *Aberdeen*, 600.
 The Lord *Stanley* sets King *Richards* Crown upon the Earl of *Richmonds* head, 234. Is firm to the Earl of *Richmond*, to the hazard of his own Sons life, *ibid.* yet is put to death, and why, 242.
Sir Edward Stanley made Lord Mounteagle, 261.
Ferdinand Stanley Earl of *Derby* dieth, thought by Poyson, or Witchcraft, 383.
Edward Stanley the means of taking *Zurphen*, and his reward, 365.
Walter Stapleton Bishop of *Exeter*, founded *Exeter* Colledge, and *Hart-Hall* in *Oxford*, 130.
 Star-Chamber which consisted before by the Common Law, is confined by Parliament, 249.
 The Star-Chamber, High-Commission Court, and Court of Wards, voted down by Parliament, 511.
 A Star appears at Noon, a little after the Birth of Prince *Charles*, 571.
 A new Star appearing ten months together, 425.
 Statutes of *Marlborough*, when made, 88.
 Statutes of *Westminster* the first, when made, 101. Of *Aston Burnel*, when made, *ibid.* *Additamenta Gloucestræ*, when made, *ibid.* Of *Mortmain*, when made, *ibid.*
 The Statute *Ex Officio* revived, 325.
 The Statute of *Knighthood* executed, 449.
 The Statues and Arms of the late King demolished by Order of Parliament, 600.
 Stealing of Cattel, when made Capital, 88.
Sterling fortified by the Kings Forces, 604. taken by *Cromwells* Forces, 629. the Castle delivered up to Monk, 611.
Stephen King of England, 46. see his story throughout.
 Marries his Son to the *French Kings* Daughter, 46.
 seizes King *Henries* Treasurer, *ibid.* taken Prisoner, 48.
 recovers his liberty, *ibid.*
 Saint *Stephen's* Chappel at *Westminster*, by whom built, 130.
Thomas Sternhold, turned into *English* Metre, 37. of *Dauids* Psalms, 314.
Robert Stuart Crowned King of *Scots* at *Scone*, 126.
James Stuart King of *Scots*, who had been Prisoner 18 years in *England*, is set at liberty, and doth homage for his Crown of *Scotland*, 181.
 Stews and Brothel-Houses put down, 295.
Stigand Archbishop of *Canterbury* his equivocating, swearing he had not one Penny upon Earth, when he had hidden much Treasure under the Earth, 28.
 The Stocks, a Market for Fish and Flesh, by whom builded, 101. 165.
John Stodie Mayor of *London*, gave to the Vintners all the Quadrant where the Vintners Hall now standeth, with the Tenements round about it, 131.
 Stonehinge in *Wiltshire*, a Monument of the slaughtered *Britains*, 4.
John Story, Doctor of the Laws, condemned and executed, and why, 347.
John Stow a Monk of *Norwich*, 201.
 The Earl of *Strafford* impeached of High Treason, and committed to the *Black Rod*, 475. to the *Tower*, 477. he is brought to his Tryal, and the Articles against him, with his Reply to each of them, 477. to 485. the Testimony of the Parliament produced against him, with his Answer, 465. to 495. his Answer to Secretary *Vane's* Accusation, 495. to 501. The Bill of Attainder passed against him, 508. he is beheaded at *Tower-hill*, 510.
 Strangers dangerous to be called in aid, 3.
 Strangers removed from the King, 80. 85.
 Stratagems of War, one of Duke *William*, 23.
 One of King *Lewis*, 54.
 One of the *English*, 78.
 One of the *Scots*, 108.
 One of King *Henry* the fifth, 173.
 One of *Sir Francis* the *Arragonist*, 185.
 One of the *French* at *Ardes*, 188.
 Of the *English* Admiral, 377.
Stratford the Bow, why so called, 42.
Stratford Langthorn Abby, by whom founded, 50.
Stratford upon *Avon*, the great Bridge there by whom built, 250.
Jack Straws confession at his death, and what the Rebels intended to have done, 139.
 Colonel *Streeter* joins with *Ingoltsby* against *Lambert*, 699. defeats his Party, and takes him Prisoner, *ibid.*
Thomas Stukely with his bragging is made by the Pope, Earl of *Wexford*, and Marquess of *Lemster*, and of his design and death, 356.
 The Lord *Sturton* hanged at *Salisbury*, with a Silken Halter, for a Murder, 323.
 The Stile of publick Writings, the Great Seal, and the Stamp of Coin altered by the *English* Commonwealth, 588.
 A subsidy granted to King *Henry* the third, conditionally, 83. 141.
 A subsidy paid by only the great Men, and the Commons spared, 152. 153.
 A subsidy granted of four-pence upon the Poll, *ibid.*
 A subsidy granted, but so, that two Citizens should see it bestowed for defence of the Realm, 136.
 A subsidy granted, but with condition, that the Earl of *Arundel* should see it issued, 142.
 A subsidy granted to *Henry* the fifth, without asking, 169. to *Henry* the eighth with much ado, 269. 270.
 A subsidy, where every one of fifteen years and upwards paid four-pence, 294.
 A subsidy where all Men should be sworn what they were worth, and pay accordingly, 294. 295.
 Five subsidies granted to the King, 423.
 Successors in the Kingdom appointed by the Prince, 20.
Sudley Castle taken for the Parliament by Colonel *Maffey*, 524.
Suffolk and *Norfolk*, with *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, made the Kingdom of the East *Angles*, 7.
 Two Suns shining at one time, when seen, 325.
 Surplice, no cause to forbear the wearing it, 422.
Sussex and *Surrey* made the second Kingdom of the *Saxons*, 5.
 The Earl of *Surrey* wins *Morlays* and other Towns in *France*, 269. his service against the *Scots*, 277. created Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of *Scotland*, 261.
Sussex Sidney Colledge in *Cambridge*, by whom founded, 398.
Subred King of the East-Saxons, subdued by *Egbert* King of the West, 6.
Sutton-Walleys, in the County of *Hereford*, the Seat of King *Offa*, 8.
Suttons Hospital *Smithfield*, built by *Thomas Sutton*, and with what Endowments, 423.
 Sweating Sickness, when and how violent, and the Remedy, 237. another, 250. another, and whom it took away, 297. another most extreme in *London*, and proper to the *English* Nation, who dyed of it wheresoever they were, and none of any other Nation, 312.
 Swords and Daggers limited to a certain length, 396.
 The League between the Kingdom of *Sweden* and *Cromwel*, 621.
 King of *Swedens* success in *Germany*, 449. Declining, 454. his death, 452. A Peace between the *Swedes* and *Germans*, 454.
 King of *Swedens* War-like Proceeding against *Denmark*, 638.
 Sea-Fight between the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, *ibid.*
 The Synod of *Dort*, 422. the Synod of *Glasgow* sends a Declaration to the Estates and Kirk at *S. Johnstons*, 602.
Sweeney

The Index.

Sweyne King of Denmark, stricken by the divine hand, and why, 314.
Kath. Swinefords Children Legitimated by Parliament, 151.

T

T

T *Albot Earl of Shrewsbury*, his name a terror to the French, 182. taken prisoner, by the French, is ransomed, 183, 184. is slain, 193. his Title upon his Tomb, *ibid.*

Col. *Talbot* sent along with *Charges* into Scotland for Monk by the Grandees of the army, 663. they are well received at *Edenburgh* by the General, 666.

Tamworth Monastery in *Warwickshire*, by whom founded, 10.

John Tate Mayor of *London*, his work of Piety, 250.

Tatshall Colledge in *Lincolnshire*, by whom founded, 199.

Tavestock Abby in *Devonshire*, by whom founded, 11.

Taunton besieged by the Kings Forces, relieved by Colonel *Welden*, 541. streightned again by the Kings Forces, *ibid.*

William Taylor a Priest burnt in *Smithfield*, and why, 216.

William Taylor Mayor of *London*, his Works of Piety, 217.

John Hawkwood, a Taylor in *London*, but in *Italy* so famous for his valorous acts, that a Statue was publickly erected in his memory, 133.

Taxes and Impositions forborn when, 46.

In King *Stephens* time, none at all, but great Confiscations, 49.

Terms for Law-busines, first ordained by the Conqueror, and where to be kept, 27.

The Term adjourned by reason of Wars, but the Exchequer and the Courts of Tenth open, 292.

Term kept at *Redding*, 433.

Michaelmas Term holden at *St. Albans*, 400.

Teeth abated in mens mouths, after a Plague, 131.

A marvellous Tempest when, 326.

The Middle Temple Gate by whom re-edified, 261.

Tenants to the Conqueror paid their Rent in Corn, 27.

Tennis-Balls sent from the Dauphin of *France*, to King *Henry the fifth*, in derision, and his answer, 169. 170.

The new Testament translated into *English* by *Tyndal* and *Foy*, and is by the Bishops forbidden to be read, 279.

Tewkesbury Church there founded a new by *Robert Fitzham*, 42.

A Thanksgiving for Victory, eight days together all *England* over, 124.

Theobalds, the Brick-Wall about the Park there, by whom made, 423.

Thomas Thesdale, of *Glympton* in *Oxfordshire*, his works of Piety, 113.

Thetford, anciently the Bishops See, now removed to *Norwich*, 36.

The Monastery there built by *Robert Lofaunge*, Bishop of *Thetford*, *ibid.*

Owen Tudor, an Esquire of *Wales*, marries Queen *Katherine* the Dowager of King *Henry the fifth*, 178. beheaded and for what, 197.

Thomas Archbishop of York, chuseth rather to dye than to company with a Woman, 41.

William Thomas, a Welshman, writ a History of *Italy*, 327.

Saint Thomas Hospital in *Southwark*, by whom given for relief of diseased persons, 312.

Valentine Thomas, for offence against Queen *Elizabeth*, is by King *James* executed, 406.

Thong Castle, why so called, 3.

Thorney, the ancient name of *Westminster*, 5.

Thorp, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, is taken and beheaded by the Commons at High-Gate, 196.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, arraigned of Treason, cleareth himself, 320.

Francis Throgmorton, upon the second racking, confesseth all, 364. is condemned and hanged, *ibid.*

Strange Thunder and Lightning at *Winbecomb*, 571.

John Tyler a principal mover of the Insurrection in *Kent*, and why, 138.

Wat. Tyler, the Rebels Captain, his insolency, and how slain, *ib.* 139.

William Tindall, burnt at a Town in *Flanders*, translating the New Testament into *English*, 283.

John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of *Worcester*, found on the top of a Tree, taken and beheaded, 209.

The Earl of *Tiroens* first revolt, and why, 333. he submits himself again, and his dissembling courses, 383. he grows strong, and slays 1500 of the *English*, 389. he submits himself absolutely to the Deputy, 396. he is brought into *England* and pardoned, 406. yet most ungratefully he flies beyond Sea, and solicits foreign Princes against *England*, 412.

Titles of Writs, see *Writs*.

Tobacco, when first brought into *England*, and whom, 400.

A Toleration of tender Consciences asserted by the Independents, 594.

Tomkins and *Chaloner*, hanged about a Plot, 570.

Tonnage and Poundage; Complaint made against those who refused to pay it, 441. the Commons prepare a Bill against it, *ibid.* see *Tonnage and Poundage*.

John Tonney writ certain Rules of Grammar, 252.

Adam Tortion, Bishop of *Hereford*, a pestilent Counsellour of the Queen, 111.

Richard Tortion, an excellent Stage-player for the Clowns part, 402.

Tournay yielded up to *Henry the 8.* 259. twelve hundred Masons and Carpenters sent thither to build a Castle, 264. By *Wolseys* means delivered back to the King of *France*, 265. recovered from the French by the Emperor, 268.

The Tower Royal, now the Kings Ward-robe, an ancient mansion house of the Kings of *England*, 30.

The Tower of *London*, enlarged and walled by King *William Rufus*, 29. walled with an outer wall, by whom, 66.

Traille Baston, a Writ of Inquisition used by King *Edward* the first, 100.

John Trask, Censured for holding Judaical Opinions, 423.

Traitors hanged by them whom they betrayed, 108.

Sanctuary no defence in case of Treason, 237.

In case of Treason, no Council is to be allowed the Delinquent, 348.

A Law made what punishment he shall have that goes about to free any person imprisoned for Treason, 384.

A Treason, of a strange Composition, by the Lord *Cobham* and others, 406. 407.

Treason may be committed, though the King be not Crowned, 407.

A Treaty between the two Kingdoms, 512.

A Treaty begun at *Oxford* between the King and Parliament, 524. another Treaty begun at *Uxbridge*, 539. the King sends from *New-Castle* to the Parliament about a Treaty, 547.

Commissioners sent with new Propositions to Treat with the King in the Isle of *Wight*, 563.

A treaty between General *Monks* Commissioners and *Lambert*, 666. Broke off, 667.

Tredagh besieged by *Cromwel* and taken by storm, 592.

Michael Trigony, a learned Man of *Cornwall* made Governor of the Universities of *Caen* in *Normandy* by *Hen. 5.* 201.

Trent at *Nottingham* almost dried up, 43.

Francis Tres-amy, counterfeiting Loyalty, is suspected and sent to the Tower, and there dieth, 410.

Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice, found in an Apothecaries House, was had to the Tower, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged, and why, 146.

Lord Treasurers in a sequence, suddenly made Earls, 434. 414.

John Trevisse a *Cornish-man*, translated the Bible, and writ divers Treatises, 155.

Trials by Combate, discontinued in the Conquerours time, and the Tryals by the Verdict of twelve men begun, 27.

Trial of the King before the High Court of Justice, the manner of it, 571. to 580.

Of the Tryers or pretended Judges of King *Charles* the first, 731.

Trinity Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded, 130. 151.

Tri-

The Index.

Trivallis, a Prison of the Emperours so called, out of which none was ever known to escape with life; and into which King *Richard* the first was put, being taken by *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, 64.

Nicholas Trivet, writ Histories, and a Book of Annals, 133.

Sir *Thomas Trivet* with a fall off his Horse dieth, 146.

Andrew Trollop revolts from the Duke of *Tork* to the King, and discovers all his practice, 195. Truce with the *Scots*, and why, 108. Truce with the *French*, 124, 146, 150, 151. Truce with the *Scots*, 238, 244.

A Truce not infringed, by what is gotten politickly without blows, 184.

A Truce abused, 188.

Van Trump his death and Character, 619.

A Tumult in *Fleet-street* about an arrest for which *C. Stamford* and *C. Ashurst* were hanged, 447.

Tumults in *Dublin* about restraining the liberty of the Catholics, 449. In *Scotland*, how occasioned, 452. of the *London* Apprentices thronging to *Westminster*, 515.

At *Tunbridge* in *Kent* a Free School, by whom founded, 313.

Payment of Tunnage and Poundage refused by several Merchants, who thereupon had their Goods seized on, 443. the King relinquisheth his claim to it, 511.

Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of *Durham*, his work of piety, 325.

A Family of the *Tunstalls* in *Lancashire*, how ancient, and what Arms they bear, 327.

Dr. *Turners* six Queries, 435. the King offended at them, *ibid.* Dr. *Turners* Vindication, *ibid.*

Simon Turvey, from a great Scholar becomes an Ideot, 75.

Turwin delivered to King *Henry*, 259.

James Touchet Lord *Audley*, joyns with the Rebels of *Cornwall*, but defeated, is beheaded, 243.

Touchet Lord *Audley*, his Tryal, and for what, 450.

V

Vale Royal Abby in *Cheshire* by whom founded, 99.

Valour of *K. William Rufus* 34. Valour respected in an Enemy, 126.

General *Venables* commanded the Land Forces that went to *Hispaniola*, 625. his ill success, *ibid.* his return into *England*, 626. he is sent to the Tower, but soon released, *ibid.*

Robert Venile, in single Combat with a great Scot called *Thronhill*, first killed his Dog and then himself, 133.

Venner the Fifth-Monarchy-man, his insurrection and disturbance in the City, 734, 735.

Robert Vere Earl of *Oxford*, created Duke of *Ireland*, 142. he repudiates his Wife the Daughter of the Earl of *Bedford*, and marries a Joyners Daughter, a *Bohemian*, but dyed afterward in *Lorraine* in great misery, 143, 145.

He claims the Office of a Chamberlain, at the Coronation, 136.

Sir *Francis*, and Sir *Horatio Vere*, their valour at the Battail of *Newport*, 391. their Commendation, 426.

Sir *Francis Verney* and others, turn first Pyrats, and then Turks, 413.

Vertue regarded in an Enemy, 128.

Verulam, the Seat of the King of the *Trinovants*, 2.

William Uford Earl of *Suffolk*, dyes suddenly, 140.

Vitallers forbidden to sell meat or drink, to any serving man, unless he brought a testimonial whom he served, 325.

Master *George Villiers*, his first coming in favour with King *James*, and the great honours suddenly conferred upon him, 414.

Vintners Hall standeth in a Quadrant, given to the Vintners by *John Stodie* Mayor of *London*, 131.

Virginia planted first, and the success thereof, 427.

A strange Vision appearing to King *James* of *Scotland*, 261.

University Colledge in *Oxford*, founded by *William* Bishop of *Durham*, 29.

Voaditia, a Queen of *Brittain*, discomfited the *Romans* and afterward, being overthrown herself, she killeth herself, 2.

Vorstius, at King *James* soliciting, is expelled out of

the Low-Countries, and what his erroneous opinions were, 422.

Vortigern Earl of *Cornwall*, chosen King of the *English*, calls in the *Saxons* to his aid against the *Scots*, 2. he falls in love with *Rowena*, the Daughter of *Hengist* the *Saxon*, and marries her, 3. is deposed, *ibid.* is re-established in the Kingdom, 4. he flyeth into *Wales*, where he and his Castle burnt by *Ambrosius*, *ibid.*

Vortimer the son of *Vortigern*, is chosen King upon his Fathers deposing, 4. who in divers Battails overcomes the *Saxons* and makes *Hengist* flee the Realm, *ibid.* Is poisoned by *Rowena*, 4.

Vortiporus succeedeth *Conanus* in the Kingdom, and overcomes the *Saxons* in many Battails, 4.

Mr. *Vowell* a Schoolmaster, executed about a Plot against *Cromwell*, 621.

Nicholas Upton, writ of Heraldry, and of the duties of Chivalry, 201.

Pope *Urban* the fifth, Son of *William Grisant*, an Englishman, 133.

James Usher Archbishop of *Armagh*, his Universal Learning, Piety and Prudence, 585. his Death and Burial, 627.

W

W

SIR *William Waad* sent to the King of *Spain*, and his stout carriage there, 364.

Roger Walden, of a poor Scholar in *Oxford* came by degrees to be Treasurer of *England*, and at last to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and after how he fell, 167.

Wales anciently called *Cambria*, and why, 2. made Tributary to King *Stibestian*, and what Tribute it paid, 10 made tributary to *William Rufus*, 32, 33. the *Welsh* repressed by *K. Hen.* the second, 53. first annexed to the Crown of *England*, by *K. John*, 71, 96. the Kings eldest Son to be Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*, when it first began, 84. the *Welsh* Womens inhumanity to *English* that were slain, 160.

Walter Walker, dwelling at the Sign of the Crown in *Cheapside*, put to death for idle words spoken, and what they were, 215.

Sir *William Waller* is beaten at *Roundway-down* by *Hopton* and *Wilmot*, 526. by Prince *Maurice* near *Tewksbury*, 527. made General of several Countries, *ib.* beats the Kings Forces at *Farnham*, and takes *Arundel* Castle, 533. he defeats the Lord *Hopton* and takes *Winchester*, *ibid.* defeated by the King at *Cropredy-Bridge*, 534. he besiegeth *Rasing* House, 453.

William Wallace a *Scotchman*, opposed King *Edward*, 97.

William Wallis a Black Fryer in *Lin*, writ morals upon *Ovids Metamorphosis*, 179.

Sir *John Wallop*, sent General over six thousand, to joyn with the Emperours Forces, but little done, 491.

Secretary *Walsingham* understanding the Plot of Treason in *Babington* and others, dissembles it, and his carriage in it, 369 his death, 38.

Robert Walsingham wrote divers Treatises, 114. *Henry Walsingham* wrote sundry Books of Divinity, 201.

Thomas Walsingham a diligent Historiographer, *ibid.*

Walthamstow Church, by whom re-edified, 297. Cawsey of Timber from *Walthamstow* Locks Bridge, by whom made, *ibid.*

William Walworth Mayor of *London* kills *Wat. Tyler*, 138. and how rewarded by the King, 139, 140.

William Wansleet Bishop of *Winchester*, why so called, 188.

Robert Wansham wrote a Book of the original and signification of words, 167.

War between *England* and *Scotland*, 160. War between *England* and *France*, 255.

A new War between *England* and *France*, how occasioned, 438. war begun between the King and Parliament, 518. the war with the *Dutch*, how occasioned, 613. open war proclaimed between *England* and *Spain*, 627.

Wardships first instituted by *William* the Conquerour, 26.

Wards of Barons first given to King *Henry* the third, Court of Wards taken away, 731.

Sir *Edward Warner* Lieut. of the Tower, put from his place, for a Prisoners escape, 334.

The

The Index.

The Lord de la Ware restored in blood by the Parliament. 388.
 John Earl of Warren opposeth the Kings way for raising of mony by Quo Warranto, 100.
 Warwick Castle builded by King Henry the second, 58.
 The Colledge of St. Mary there by whom founded, 42.
 The Earl of Warwick dies, 185.
 The Earl of Warwick received by the Londoners, 54.
 The Earl of Warwick made Admiral of the English Navy by the Parliament, 517. opposed by Sir John Pennington, Admiral for the King. *ibid.*
 Water brought to the City of London, from Chadwell in Hertfordshire, when and by whom, 416.
 Anne Waters her cruel murder of her Husband, and how discovered, and she burned, 424.
 Weapons forbidden to be worn, 325.
 Weights and Balances to weigh Gold, when first ordained, 177.
 Wells Church founded by Ine King of the West Saxons, afterwards made an Episcopal See, 5. 6.
 The Lord Wells upon King Edwards unjust surmise, beheaded, 207.
 Sir Robert Wells firm to the Earl of Warwick, 208. Is taken prisoner and executed. *ibid.*
 William, King of Scots, does Homage to King John, 69.
 The Family of the Welsburnes from whom descended, 74.
 Wenlock Abby founded by Waring Earl of Shrewsbury, 29.
 The Lord of Wenlock proving treacherous, hath his brains beaten out by the Duke of Somerset, 211.
 Sir Thomas Wentworth is made a Baron, and Lord President of the North, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, 452.
 Westmerland and Northumberland, Earls rebel, and the issue of it, 343.
 Westchefer anciently called Caerlegion, 7. besieged by Sir William Breton 558. 561. relieved by the King, 561. taken by Sir William Breton for the Parliament, 565.
 West Saxons Kingdom begun, 5.
 Westminster Church first founded by Sebert King of the East Angles, 6. anciently called Thorney. *ibid.* enriched by K. Offa, 7. of a little Monastery made a most beautiful Church by King Edward the Confessor, 19. the painted Chamber in the Palace there, the place where King Edward the Confessor died, 19. the Palace there, the ancient Mansion-house of the Kings of England, 30. the Hall built by King Richard the second, *ibid.* built by William Rufus, 36. the Church how long in building, and when, and by whom finished, 101. the Palace consumed with fire, *ibid.* the Hall repaired by King Richard, 154. the Chappel of our Lady at Westminster, when and by whom built, 250. Founded by King Henry the third, 89. the Abby converted into a Collegiat Church, when and by whom, 398.
 Matthew of Westminster, writ the Book called Flores Historiarum, 134.
 Sir Richard Weston sent to the Emperour about restitution of the Palatinate, but without success, 418. brings a message from King Charles to his Parliament, 435. made Lord Treasurer of England, 455. his death, *ibid.*
 Wexford in Ireland taken by Cromwells Forces, 638.
 A Whale in the Thames, and of what length, 399. 425.
 Col. Whetbam at Portsmouth, declares for Gen. Monk, 733. 674.
 John Wheshamstead writ Records of his own time, 201.
 John Whitakers answereth all the Books of Bellarmine, 401.
 Whichwood disforested by King Richard the third, 234.
 White a Priest burnt and why, 200.
 Sir Thomas White Mayor of London, his work of piety, 546.
 White-hall built by Cardinal Woolsey, made the Kings seat by King Henry the eighth, 30. whose it had been, 90.
 Whittington Colledge in London, founded by Richard Whittington Mayor of London, 165.
 Common Whores appointed a certain Habit to wear, 128.
 Sir Thomas Wiat, who dyed as he was going Embassador

to the Emperour, writ much in English metrie, and translated the seven penitential Psalms, 300.
 Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, opposeth Queen Marias marriage with Spain, and riseth in Arms, 318. his proceedings, his partakers, his opposites, 319. being denyed entrance at Ludgate, he yields himself to Sir Maurice Berkley, but is sent to the Tower. *ibid.* Is beheaded and quartered, 320.
 William Wickham Bishop of Winchester, forbidden to come to the Parliament, 127. is made Lord Chancellor, 146. his works of piety, 165. his true name, his education and means of rising, and lastly of his falling, 166. fallen into disgrace is restored to the Kings favour, by the means of Alice Pierce, 167.
 John Wickliffe bringing in new Doctrine, and what, and is much favoured by the Duke of Lancaster, 129. banished, he goes into Bohemia, 130.
 The Wicklevis encreasing are persecuted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 154. his Doctrine is maintained by Learned men in their Sermons at Oxford, 177.
 A Widow marrying within a year after her Husbands death, loseth the Joynture by a Law of King Canutus, 16.
 Wigmore Abby by whom founded, 58.
 Wilbie Colledge in Oxford, by whom founded, 433.
 Ralph Wilford, set up to take upon him to be the young Earl of Warwick, but is soon discovered and hanged, 245.
 Thomas Wilkes, Doctor Dales Secretary, doth the King of Navarre main good service, for which afterward Knighted by him, 352.
 Col. Wilkes, one of the three Commissioners appointed by Gen. Monk to treat with Lambert, 667.
 William King of England, called the Conquerour, 20. see his story throughout.
 A Fool saves his life, 21. takes a fall at his landing, 22. his stratagem, 23. Crowned King, *ib.* how he secured the Kingdom, 24. his troubles during his Reign, *ibid.* his aptness to forget injuries, 25. his Conquests, Exactions, Laws and Ordinances, 26. 27. Church affairs in his time, 28. Works of Piety and Casualties, 28. 29. scoffed at by the French King, 30. his death, *ibid.* his Corps neglected, and left of all, 31. molested at his burial, *ibid.*
 William Rufus King of England, 32. see his story throughout.
 Sir John Williams is created Baron of Tame, 321.
 Sir Roger Williams is made of the Council of War, 376. His valour highly extolled by the King of France, 380. he makes a challenge to the Spaniards of 300 to 300. *ibid.* he dieth, 385.
 Richard Williams executed at Tyburn, for being bribed to kill the Queen, 384.
 Bishop Williams Lord Keeper, 418.
 Sir Hugh Willoughby going a Voyage by sea, is frozen to death, 309.
 Sir Robert Willoughby is made Lord Brooks, 237.
 Lord Willoughby of Parham, Governour of the English Plantations in Virginia, and the Caribee Isles for the King, 612. he and the Lord Newport, and others committed to the Tower by Cromwell, 625.
 The Lord Wilmot sent Embassadour from the King to the Emperour, 621.
 Wilton anciently the head-Town of Wiltshire, and called Ellandon, 9. St. Denis Abby there by whom founded, 12.
 John Wiltshire, a Citizen of London, claims to hold the Towel at the Coronation.
 Wimundam Priory by whom founded, 89.
 Robert Wimbledon an excellent Preacher, 168.
 Winburn Abby in Dorsetshire, by whom founded, 7.
 Winchester Church founded by Kenwold King of the West Saxons, 5. A new Minister made there by King Alfred, 9. A Monastery of Nuns founded there by Elfworth, Wife of King Alfred, 9. Many holy Reliques given to it by King Athelston, and what they were, 10. The Church there endowed by King Canutus, with a Cross of as great value as the whole Revenue of England, 16.
 The Roll of Winton made by William the Conqueror, in which all the Lands and the Rents of the Kingdom were contained, 25. The Abbey of Black Monks there, founded by King John, 73. The Colledge of Saint Mary, by whom founded, 165.
 The Bishop of Winchester, Brother to the late King Hen, the fifth, made a Cardinal, 182. his prophane speeches in his death-bed, 188.

The Index.

Winchester taken by Sir William Waller, 533.
 Wincombe Abbey by whom founded, 7.
 Secretary Windebank fearing to be called to account by the Parliament, flyeth into France, 475.
 Col. Windebank shot to death at Oxford, for delivering up Blechington-house, 541.
 Mr. Windram Lord of Libberton, sent Commissioner from the Estates of Scotland, to the King, 593. He returns toward Scotland, *ibid.*
 Windsor Castle, new builded by King Henry the first, 42. The Chappel there enlarged, and 24 poor Knights ordained, and by whom, 130. The new Chappel there by whom founded, 217. Almes-Knights, and their Pensions enlarged by King James, 423.
 Wingham Colledge of Canons in Kent by whom founded, 101.
 Sir John Winter, and the Lord Herbert infest Gloucester, 529.
 Captain Winter takes possession of the Cittadel of St. Johnstons for General Monk, 664.
 Woden and Friga, the Idols of the Saxons, of whom Wednesday and Fryday take their names, 3.
 Wood forbidden to be sowed within four miles of any of the Queenshouses, 396.
 The Lord Woodvile aiding the Britains against the French is slain, 239.
 Wooll, a Sack raised from a Noble to Forty shillings, 100. Forbidden to be transported, but to be made into Cloth in England, 129.
 Thomas Woolesey's first employment by King Henry the seventh, which got him his special credit, 248. Is made Bishop of Lincoln, 261. His parentage, Education, and rising, *ibid.* Is made a Cardinal and Lord Chancellour of England, 262. 263. 264. His pride in making Earls and Dukes to serve him of Wine, and to hold the Bason at the Lavatory, 265. 269. He plots revenge upon the Duke of Buckingham, and upon certain accusations hath him arraigned, condemned, and beheaded, 267. Going Embassadour into France, he carries the Great Seal with him, *ibid.* He sends Dr. Pace to Rome, to sollicite for him to be elected Pope, but he came too late, 268. Blamed by the King for making a false report to the House of Commons, and his excuse, 270. By his power Legantine, he dissolves the Convocation at Pauls, convoked by the Archbishop of Canterbury, *ibid.* He obtains License of the Pope to suppress forty small Monasteries for erecting a Colledge at Oxford, and another at Ipswich, 273. He takes a spleen against the Emperour Charles, for denying him the Bishoprick of Toledo in Spain, 275. He is sent Embassadour into France, and passes over with twelve hundred Horses in his Train, *ibid.* He is charged in Parliament with points of Treason, but defended by his Servant Thomas Cromwel, is acquitted, 277. He hath a *Præmunire* sued out against him, all his Goods are seized on, and himself commanded to live at Ashur in Surrey, *ib.* Where for three weeks he lived in great penury, *ibid.* By the Kings favour is allowed to keep his Bishoprick of York and Winchester, *ibid.* Preparing to be enstalled at York, he sends to the King to lend him the Mitre and Pall, which he used at any great solemnity; at which insolence the King wondered, 279. Is arrested by Sir Walter Welch, and in what manner, *ibid.* In his Journey up to London, he falls sick and dies, and in what manner, 280. The Places of Dignity which he held all at once, *ibid.* His works of piety, 297.
 Wolfs by what means destroyed in England, 11.
 Woolverhampton in Staffordshire, a Monastery begun by Hubert Walter, 66. Why so called, and the Grammer School there, by whom founded, 250.
 Sir Edward Wotton sent into France, and why, 370. Is made Baron of Marley, 406.
 Sir Henry Wotton his employment and commendation, 427.

Worcester Fight, 608.
 The Earl of Worcester beheaded, 162.
 Robert Worsham a Monk in Dorsetshire, writ a Book in Verse, of the original and signification of words, 157.
 John Wraw a Priest, Captain of the Rebels in Suffolk, 139.
 Sir Thomas Wriothesley, the Kings Secretary, is made Lord Wriothesley of Titchfield, 292. Is made Lord Chancellour, after Thomas Audley, and Knight of the Garter, *ibid.* Is made Earl of Southampton, 302. Is removed from his place of Chancellour, and from the Council, *ibid.*
 Writ of Ne exeat Regnum, whence began, 34.
 The Writ of Quo Warranto, used by King Edward the first, to raise money, opposed by King John Earl of Warren, 100.
 The Writ of Traile Baston, what it was, *ibid.*
 Titles of Writs alter'd, and a new Great Seal made, 565.
 Why Parish Church, converted into a Colledge of secular Priests, 178.

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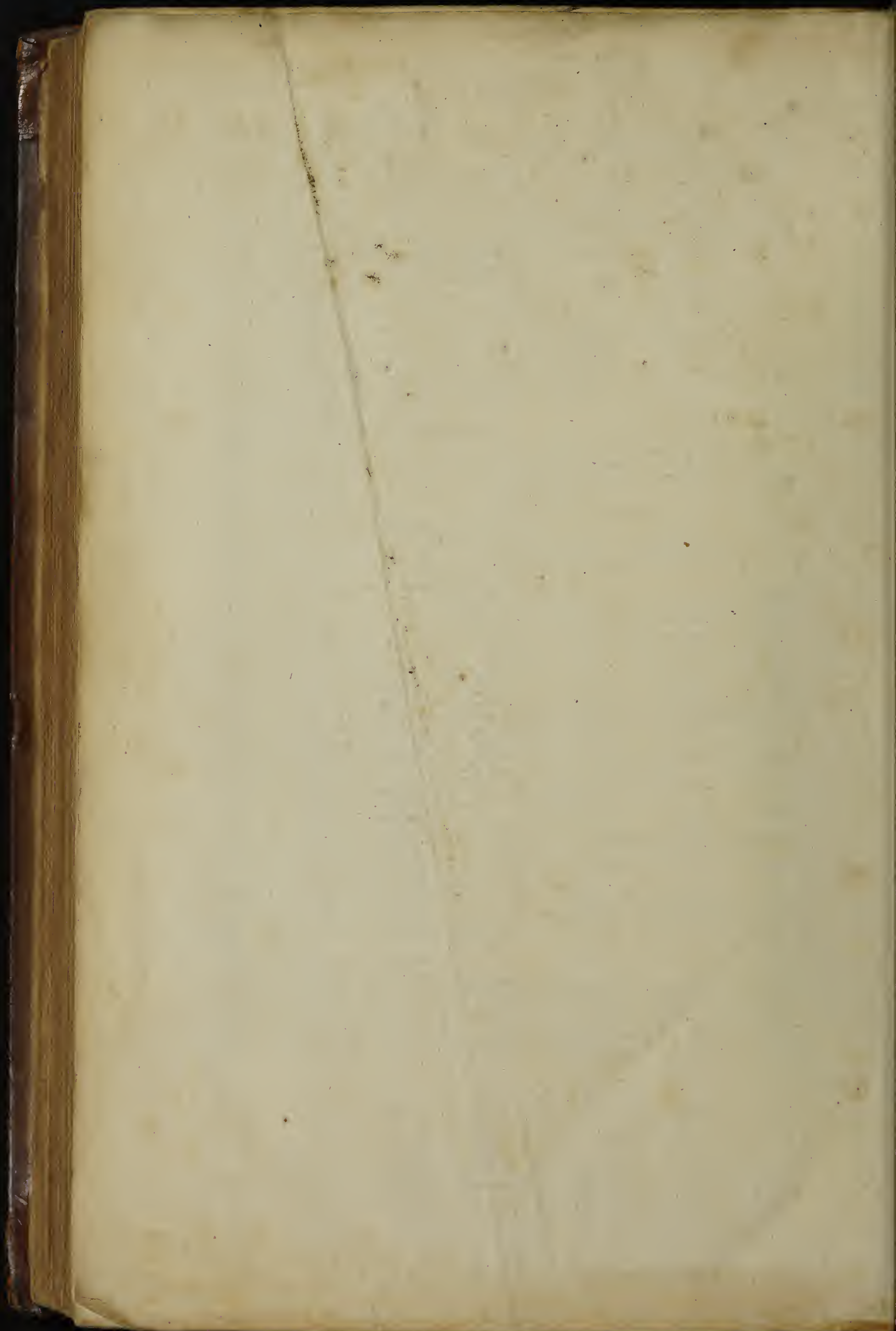
A Yard ordained to be a measure by King Henry the first, the length of his own arm, 38.
 Sir Henry Telverton the Kings Attorney, put from his place, and why, 417. Is made a puny Judge of the Common-pleas, *ibid.*
 Teomans and Bourcbier hang'd at Bristol about a Plot, 525.
 York Minster built by Thomas Archbishop of York, 29. The Town burnt, 58. The Minster burnt, 217.
 Richard Duke of York, by descent from whom he claimed the Crown, 170.
 Edward Duke of York, and the Earl of Suffolk slain at the Battel of Agincourt, 171. Duke of York made Regent of France, 185. Displaced, *ibid.* Restored, 186. Again displaced, and the Duke of Somerset in his stead, 187. He begins to set forth his Right to the Crown, 188. 190. Complains against the Duke of Somerset, and raiseth an Army, 192. Made Protector of the Kings Person and Realm, 194. Convict of Treason, 196. He comes out of Ireland, calls a Parliament, and opens his Title to the Crown, *ibid.* Declared Heir apparent to the Crown by Parliament, *ibid.* Slain at the Battel at Wakefield, 197.
 James Duke of York, escapes in a disguise out of England, 560. He is warned out of France, 645. He goes into Flanders to his Brother, *ibid.*
 The Exchequer and Courts of Justice, kept at York six years together, 97.
 Rowland York betrays Zutphen to the Spaniards, and his end, 375.
 At York, whose right it is to bear the Sword before the King, 405.
 York-Place in the Strand, whose it had been, and why so called, 90.
 York besieged, 534.
 York delivered up by Sir Thomas Glenham, 535.
 Ypre taken by the English under Major General Morgan, 637.

Z

Z

Colonel Zanchy sent with a Letter from Lambert's Officers to General Monk's, 672. The Conference of General Monk and his Officers with the said Colonel, *ibid.*
 Lodovic Zuinga succeeds d'Alva in the Government of the Netherlands, 351. his death, 353.

F I N I S.



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